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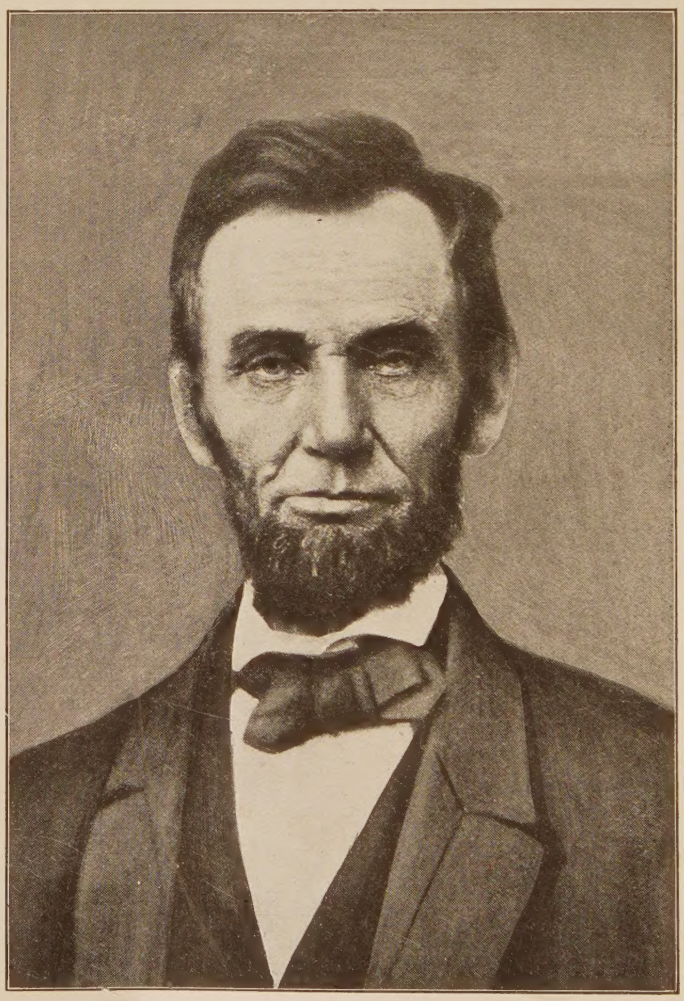
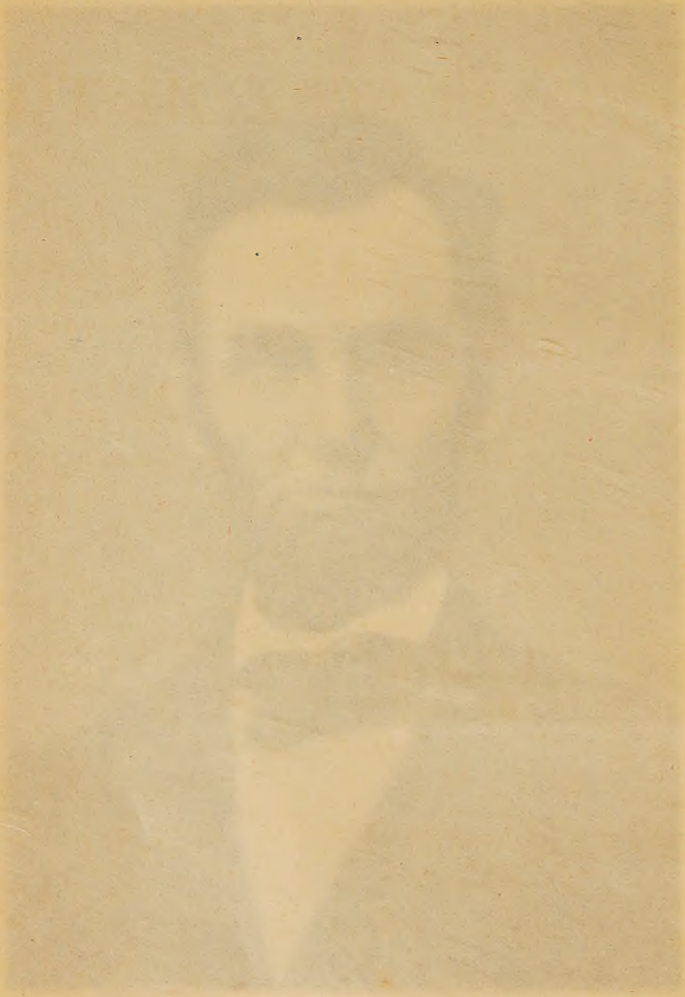


A. Lincoln



The Pittsburgh Gazette.

EDITION

HARPER'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA *of* UNITED STATES HISTORY

FROM 458 A.D. TO 1905

BASED UPON THE PLAN OF

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WITH A PREFACE ON THE STUDY OF AMERICAN HISTORY BY

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"A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE" ETC., ETC.

WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, PORTRAITS, MAPS, PLANS, &c.

COMPLETE IN TEN VOLUMES

VOL. V

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HARPERS' ENCYCLOPÆDIA

OF

UNITED STATES HISTORY

I.

Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d', founder of Louisiana; born in Montreal, Canada, July 16, 1661; was one of eleven brothers who figure in some degree in French colonial history. Entering the French navy at fourteen, he became distinguished in the annals of Canada for his operations against the English in the north and east of that province. In 1698 he was sent from France to the Gulf of Mexico with two frigates (Oct. 22), to occupy the mouth of the Mississippi and the region neglected after the death of La Salle. On finding that stream, he received from the Indians a letter left by De Tonty, in 1686, for La Salle. There he built Fort Biloxi, garrisoned it, and made his brother Bienville the King's lieutenant. In May, 1699, he returned to France, but reappeared at Fort Biloxi in January, 1700. On visiting France and returning in 1701, he found the colony reduced by disease, and transferred the settlement to Mobile, and began the colonization of Alabama. Disease had impaired his health, and the government called him away from his work as the founder of Louisiana. He was engaged in the naval service in the West Indies, where he was fatally stricken by yellow fever, dying in Havana, Cuba, July 9, 1706.

Idaho, the thirtieth State admitted to the American Union, was first explored by the whites of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Within its present limit the Cœur d'Alène mission was established in 1842. The region was visited almost exclusively by hunters and trappers till 1852, when gold was discovered on its present northern boundary. By act of Congress of March 3, 1863, the Territory of Idaho was created from a portion of Oregon Territory, with an area which included the whole of the present State of

STATE SEAL OF IDAHO.

Montana and nearly all of that of Wyoming. In 1864 the Territory lost a part of its area to form the Territory of Montana, and in 1868 another large portion was cut from it to form the Territory of Wyoming. On July 3, 1890, the Territory was admitted into the Union as a State, having then a gross area of 84,800 square miles. Between the dates of its creation as a Territory and a State it became widely noted as a most promising field for gold

and silver mining, and for several years later, Idaho was classed politically as a silver State. Prospecting, however, developed a large number of rich paying gold properties, and during the copper excitement of 1898–1901 many veins of that mineral were found. During the calendar year 1899 the gold mines of Idaho yielded a combined product valued at $1,889,000; and the silver mines a product having a commercial value of $2,311,080. The development of the various mining interests was seriously retarded for many years by the lack of transportation facilities, but by 1900 railroads had been extended to a number of important centres, and wagon-roads had been constructed connecting direct with the chief mining properties. The State also had a natural resource of inestimable value in its forests, with great variety of timber. The chief agricultural productions are wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, and hay, and the combined values of these crops in the calendar year 1903 was $13,921,855, the hay crop alone exceeding in value $6,800,000. For 1903 the equalized valuation of all taxable property was $65,964,785, and the total bonded debt was $692,500, largely incurred for the construction of wagon-roads. The population in 1890 was 84,385; in 1900, 161,772. See UNITED STATES, IDAHO, vol. ix.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.

Name.	Date.
Wm. H. Wallace	1863 to 1864
Caleb Lyon	1864 " 1866
David W. Ballard	1866 " 1867
Samuel Bard	1870
Gilman Marston	1870 to 1871
Alexander Connor	1871
Thomas M. Bowen	1871
Thomas W. Bennett	1871 to 1876
Mason Brayman	1876 " 1880
John B. Neil	1880 " 1883
John N. Irwin	1883
Wm. N. Burn	1884 to 1885
Edwin A. Stevens	1885 " 1889

STATE GOVERNORS.

Name.	Date.
George L. Shoup	1890
N. B. Willey	1890 to 1893
Wm. J. McConnell	1893 " 1897
Frank Steunenberg	1897 " 1901
Frank W. Hunt	1901 " 1903
John T. Morrison	1903 " 1905
Frank R. Gooding	1905 " 1907

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Date.
George L. Shoup	51st to ——	1890
Fred. T. Dubois	51st " 54th	1890 to 1897
Henry Heitfeld	55th " 57th	1897 " 1903
Welden B. Heyburn	58th " ——	1903 " ——

Ide, GEORGE BARTON, clergyman; born in Coventry, Vt., in 1804; graduated at Middlebury College in 1830; ordained in the Baptist Church; pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, Pa., in 1838–52, and afterwards had a charge in Springfield, Mass., for twenty years. He published *Green Hollow; Battle Echoes, or Lessons from the War;* etc. He died in Springfield, Mass., April 16, 1872.

Ide, HENRY CLAY, jurist; born in Barnet, Vt., Sept. 18, 1844; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1866. He was a member of the Vermont State Senate in 1882–85; president of the Republican State Convention in 1884; and a delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1888. In 1891 he was appointed United States commissioner to Samoa; in 1893–97 was chief-justice of the islands under the appointment of England, Germany, and the United States; in 1900 became a member of the Philippine Commission; and in 1901 Secretary of Finance and Justice of the Philippines. See SAMOA.

Ik Marvel. See MITCHELL, DONALD GRANT.

Illiers, COUNT HENRY LOUIS, military officer; born in Luxembourg in 1750; was one of the French officers who served in the Revolutionary War; took part in the battle of the Brandywine, where he saved Pulaski. He was the author of *De la guerre d'Amérique,* etc. He died in Paris in 1794.

Illinoia, the proposed name for a State of part of the Northwest Territory.

Illinois. The site of the present State was first explored by Marquette and Joliet, French missionaries from Canada, in 1763, who were followed by La Salle and Hennepin. Twenty years later mission stations were established at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria; and early in the eighteenth century a French monastery was established at Kaskaskia. By the treaty of 1763, the "Illinois country," as it was called, passed under the jurisdiction of the English. By the treaty of

1783 it was ceded to the United States, and it formed a part of the Northwest Territory. The country conquered by General Clarke, in 1778–79, the Virginia Assembly erected into a county, which they called Illinois. It embraced all territory north of the Ohio claimed as within the limits of Virginia, and ordered 500 men to be raised for its defence. In 1809, when the present boundaries of Indiana were defined, Illinois included Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota, and in 1810 contained more than 12,000 inhabitants.

STATE SEAL OF ILLINOIS.

On Oct. 14, 1812, Gen. Samuel Hopkins, with 2,000 mounted Kentucky riflemen, crossed the Wabash on an expedition against the Kickapoo and Peoria Indian villages, in the Illinois country, the former 80 miles from his starting-place, the latter 120 miles. They traversed magnificent prairies covered with tall grass. The army was a free-and-easy, undisciplined mob, that chafed under restraint. Discontent, seen at the beginning, soon assumed the forms of complaint and murmuring. Finally, when halting on the fourth day's march, a major rode up to the general and insolently ordered him to march the troops back to Fort Harrison. Very soon afterwards the army was scarcely saved from perishing in the burning grass of a prairie, supposed to have been set on fire by the Indians. The troops would march no farther. Hopkins called for 500 volunteers to follow him into Illinois. Not one responded. They would not submit to his leadership, and he followed his army back to Fort Harrison, where they arrived Oct. 25. This march of 80 or 90 miles into the Indian country had greatly alarmed the Indians, and so did some good. Towards the same region aimed at by General Hopkins another expedition, under Colonel Russell, composed of two small companies of United States regulars, with a small body of mounted militia under Gov. Ninian Edwards (who assumed the chief command), in all 400 men, penetrated deeply into the Indian country, but, hearing nothing of Hopkins, did not venture to attempt much. They fell suddenly upon the principal Kickapoo towns, 20 miles from Lake Peoria, drove the Indians into a swamp, through which they pursued them, sometimes waist-deep in mud, and made them fly in terror across the Illinois River. Some of the pursuers passed over, and brought back canoes with dead Indians in them. Probably fifty had perished. The expedition returned, after an absence of eighteen days, with eighty horses and the dried scalps of several persons who had been killed by the savages, as trophies.

General Hopkins discharged the mutineers and organized another expedition of 1,250 men, composed chiefly of foot-soldiers. Its object was the destruction of Prophetstown. The troops were composed of Kentucky militia, some regulars under Capt. Zachary Taylor, a company of rangers, and a company of scouts and spies. They rendezvoused at Vincennes, and marched up the Wabash Valley to Fort Harrison, Nov. 5, 1812. They did not reach the vicinity of Prophetstown until the 19th. Then a detachment fell upon and burned a Winnebago town of forty houses, 4 miles below Prophetstown. The latter and a large Kickapoo village near it were also laid in ashes. The village contained 160 huts, with all the winter provisions of corn and beans, which were totally destroyed. On the 21st a part of the expedition fell into an Indian ambush and lost eighteen men, killed, wounded, and missing. So destitute were the troops, especially the Kentuckians, who were clad in only the remnants of their summer clothing, that the expedition returned without attempting anything more. They suffered dreadfully on their return march.

Among the prominent events of the War

of 1812–15 in that region was the massacre at CHICAGO (*q. v.*). After that war the population rapidly increased, and on Dec. 3, 1818, Illinois, with its present limits, was admitted into the Union as a State. The census of 1820 showed a population of more than 55,000. THE BLACK HAWK WAR (*q. v.*) occurred in Illinois in 1832. There the Mormons established themselves in 1840, at Nauvoo (see MORMONS); their founder was slain by a mob at Carthage, in 1844, and soon afterwards a general exodus of this people occurred. A new State constitution was framed in 1847, and in July, 1870, the present constitution was adopted. The Illinois Central Railroad, completed in 1856, has been a source of great material prosperity for the State. During the Civil War Illinois furnished to the national government (to Dec. 1, 1864) 197,364 troops.

In 1903 the equalized valuations of taxable property aggregated $1,083,672,183; and in 1903 the entire bonded debt consisted of $18,500 in bonds, which had ceased to draw interest and never been presented for payment. The population in 1890 was 3,826,351; in 1900, 4,821,550. See UNITED STATES, ILLINOIS, vol. ix.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR.

Ninian Edwards	commissioned	April 24,	1809

STATE GOVERNORS.

Shadrach Bond	assumes office		1818
Edward Coles	" "		1822
Ninian Edwards	" "		1826
John Reynolds	" "		1830
William L. D. Ewing	acting		1834
Joseph Duncan	assumes office		"
Thomas Carlin	" "		1838
Thomas Ford	" "		1842
Augustus C. French	" "		1846
Joel A. Matteson	" "		1853
William H. Bissell	" "		1857
John Wood	acting	March 18,	1860
Richard Yates	assumes office	January,	1861
Richard J. Oglesby	"		1865
John M. Palmer	"		1869
Richard J. Oglesby	"		1873
John L. Beveridge	acting	March 4,	"
Shelby M. Cullom	assumes office	January,	1877
John M. Hamilton	acting	Feb. 7,	1883
Richard J. Oglesby		January,	1885
Joseph W. Fifer	"		1889
John P. Altgeld	"		1893
John R. Tanner	"		1897
Richard Yates	"		1901
C. S. Deneen	"		1905

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Date.
Ninian Edwards	15th to 18th	1818 to 1824
Jesse B. Thomas	15th " 19th	1818 " 1826
John McLean	18th " 20th	1824 " 1830
Elias Kent Kane	19th " 23d	1826 " 1835
David J. Baker	21st	1830
John M. Robinson	21st to 27th	1831 to 1841
William L. D. Ewing	24th	1836

UNITED STATES SENATORS.—*Continued.*

Name.	No. of Congress.	Date.
Richard M. Young	25th to 27th	1837 to 1843
Samuel McRoberts	27th	1841 " 1843
Sidney Breese	28th to 31st	1843 " 1849
James Semple	28th	1843 " 1846
Stephen A. Douglas	29th to 37th	1847 " 1861
James Shields	31st " 33d	1849 " 1855
Lyman Trumbull	34th " 42d	1855 " 1871
Orville H. Browning	37th	1861
William A. Richardson	37th to 39th	1863 to 1865
Richard Yates	39th " 42d	1865 " 1871
John A. Logan	42d " 45th	1871 " 1877
Richard J. Oglesby	43d " 46th	1873 " 1878
David Davis	45th " 47th	1877 " 1883
John A. Logan	46th " 49th	1879 " 1886
Shelby M. Cullum	48th " ——	1883 " ——
Charles B. Farwell	50th " 51st	1887 " 1891
John M. Palmer	52d " 55th	1891 " 1897
William E. Mason	55th " 57th	1897 " 1903
Albert J. Hopkins	58th " ——	1903 " ——

Illinois Indians, a family of the Algonquian nation that comprised several clans—Peorias, Moingwenas, Kaskaskias, Tamaroas, and Cahokias. At a very early period they drove a Dakota tribe, whom they called the Arkansas, to the country on the southern Mississippi. These were the Quapaws. In 1640 they almost exterminated the Winnebagoes; and soon afterwards they waged war with the Iroquois and Sioux. Their domain was between Lakes Michigan and Superior and the Mississippi River. Marquette found some of them (the Peorias and Moingwenas) near Des Moines, west of the Mississippi, in 1672; also the Peorias and Kaskaskias on the Illinois River. The Tamaroas and Cahokias were on the Mississippi. The Jesuits found the chief Illinois town consisting of 8,000 people, in nearly 400 large cabins, covered with water-proof mats, with, generally, four fires to a cabin. In 1679 they were badly defeated by the Iroquois, losing about 1,300, of whom 900 were prisoners; and they retaliated by assisting the French, under De la Barré and De Nonville, against the Five Nations. The Illinois were converted to Christianity by Father Marquette and other missionaries, and in 1700 Chicago, their great chief, visited France, where he was much caressed. His son, of the same name, maintained great influence in the tribe until his death, in 1754. When Detroit was besieged by the Foxes, in 1712, the Illinois went to its relief, and in the war that followed they suffered severely. Some of them were with the French at Fort Duquesne; but they refused to join Pontiac in his con-

spiracy. With the Miamis, they favored the English in the war of the Revolution, and joined in the treaty at Greenville in 1795. By the provision of treaties they ceded their lands, and a greater portion of them went to a country west of the Mississippi, within the present limits of Kansas, where they remained until 1867, when they were removed to a reservation of 72,000 acres southwest of the Quapaws. In 1872 the whole Illinois nation had dwindled to forty souls. This tribe, combined with the Weas and Piankeshaws, numbered only 160 in all.

Iloilo, the principal city and capital of the island of Panay, and one of the three ports of entry in the Philippine group opened to commerce in 1899. It is situated 225 miles south of Manila, at the southeastern extremity of Panay, and is built on low, marshy ground, the whole of which during a part of the spring is covered with water. The population in 1900 was estimated at over 10,000. On Dec. 25, 1898, after General Rios, who held the town with 800 Spanish troops, heard that the Philippine Islands were to be ceded to the United States, instead of awaiting the arrival of the American forces, then on the way to take possession of the city, he turned it over to Vincente Guies, the alcade. On the following day that official surrendered it to 3,000 Filipino insurgents. When Gen. M. P. Miller, of the American army, reached the bay on which the city is situated he found General Lopez with 5,000 Filipinos in possession. The Filipinos would not surrender without instructions from Aguinaldo, and General Miller made preparations to take forcible possession, but on a petition from the European residents no hostile move was made until Feb. 11, 1899, when the American commander demanded the surrender of the city to the authority of the United States. After it became evident that the insurgent-officer in command would not peaceably accede to this demand, the United States naval vessels *Petrel* and *Baltimore* opened fire upon the city, which was soon evacuated by the insurgents after being fired. The American troops quickly landed and extinguished the flames, but not before considerable damage had been done. During the engagement the Americans suffered no casualties. Iloilo at the time of the bombardment was the seat of the so-called government of the Visayan federation.

Ilpendam, JAN JANSEN VAN, merchant; appointed custom-house officer on the Delaware, and put in command of Fort Nassau in 1640 by the Dutch governor of New York. He tried to keep the English colony from trading on the Delaware, and his action in burning trading-houses and taking the traders prisoner involved the governor of New York in difficulty with the government of New Haven. As the result, Ilpendam resigned, but continued to trade with the Indians. He died at Marcus Hook, Pa., in 1685.

Imlay, GILBERT, author; born in New Jersey in 1750; served throughout the Revolutionary War; was the author of *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America; The Emigrants, or the History of an Exiled Family.*

Immigration. When the French dominion in America was ended, the causes for war dismissed thereby, and the Indian tribes on the frontiers were quieted, emigration began to spread westward in New England, and also from the middle colonies over the mountains westward. Many went from the other colonies into South Carolina, where immigration was encouraged, because the white people were alarmed by the preponderance of the slave population. Bounties were offered to immigrants, and many Irish and Germans settled in the upper districts of that province. Enriched by the labor of numerous slaves, South Carolina was regarded as the wealthiest of the colonies. Settlers also passed into the new province of east Florida. A body of emigrants from the Roanoke settled in west Florida, about Baton Rouge; and some Canadians went into Louisiana, for they were unwilling to live under English rule. A colony of Greeks from the shores of the Mediterranean settled at what is still known as the inlet of New Smyrna, in Florida. And while these movements were going on there were evidences of a rapid advance in wealth and civilization in the older communities. At that time the population and production of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina had unprecedented increase, and it was called their golden age.

Commerce rapidly became more diffused. Boston, which almost engrossed trade in navigation, now began to find rivals in New York, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and little seaports on the New England coasts; and its progress, which had been arrested by these causes twenty-five years before, stood still twenty-five years longer.

The leading political parties in recent years have made almost identical declarations in their national platforms. At the beginning of the campaign of 1896 the Democratic National Convention, which nominated Mr. Bryan, ignored the subject; but the Free-Silver wing of the party, in convention in Chicago, declared: "We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories; and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights;" and the Republican National Convention declared: "For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship, and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write." In the campaign of 1900 the Democratic National Convention called for the strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races; the Republican National Convention pronounced: "In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance;" the People's party (Fusion wing) inserted this declaration in its platform: "The importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigration laws. We demand that the federal government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws. We further pledge ourselves to strive for the enactment of more stringent laws for the exclusion of Mongolian and Malayan immigration;" and the Silver Republican party declared: "We are opposed to the importation of Asiatic laborers in competition with American labor, and favor a more rigid enforcement of the laws relating thereto."

Immigration Statistics. — During the period 1789–1820, when no thorough oversight was exercised, it is estimated that the number of immigrants into the United States aggregated 250,000; and during the period 1820–1904 the aggregate was 22,574,223. The nationality of immigrants in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, was as follows: Austria-Hungary, 178,316; German Empire, 46,520; Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, 194,155; Norway, 23,728; Sweden, 27,824; Rumania, 7,296; Russian Empire and Finland, 144,138; England, 37,865; Ireland, 36,731; Scotland, 11,113; Wales, 1,829; Japan, 13,046; Turkey in Asia, 5,659; West Indies, 11,285; all other countries, 75,846; total, 815,361.

High-water mark was reached in 1903, when the immigrants numbered 857,046. the total of the previous year being the highest up to that time, 648,743. The lowest number of arrivals in the period of 1867–1900 was 141,857 in 1877, and in the period 1880–1904, 229,299 in 1898.

Immigration Act of 1891.—This measure, "in amendment of the various acts relative to immigration and the importation of aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor," was introduced in the House by Mr. Owen, of Indiana, and referred to the committee on immigration and naturalization. It was reported back, discussed, and amended, and passed the House Feb. 25, 1891, as follows:

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, that the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission into the United States,

in accordance with the existing acts regulating immigration, other than those concerning Chinese laborers: All idiots, insane persons, paupers or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists, and also any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with money of another or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown on special inquiry that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, or to the class of contract laborers excluded by the act of Feb. 26, 1885. But this section shall not be held to exclude persons living in the United States from sending for a relative or friend who is not of the excluded classes, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe; *Provided*, that nothing in this act shall be construed to apply to exclude persons convicted of a political offence, notwithstanding said political offence may be designated as a 'felony, crime, infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude' by the laws of the land whence he came or by the court convicting.

"Sec. 2. That no suit or proceeding for violations of said act of Feb. 26, 1885, prohibiting the importation and migration of foreigners under contract or agreement to perform labor, shall be settled, compromised, or discontinued without the consent of the court entered of record with reasons therefor.

"Sec. 3. That it shall be deemed a violation of said act of Feb. 26, 1885, to assist or encourage the importation or migration of any alien by promise of employment through advertisements printed and published in any foreign country; and any alien coming to this country in consequence of such an advertisement shall be treated as coming under a contract as contemplated by such act; and the penalties by said act imposed shall be applicable in such a case; *Provided*, this section shall not apply to States, and immigration bureaus of States, advertising the inducements they offer for immigration to such States.

"Sec. 4. That no steamship or transportation company or owners of vessels shall, directly, or through agents, either by writing, printing, or oral representations, solicit, invite, or encourage the immigration of any alien into the United States except by ordinary commercial letters, circulars, advertisements, or oral representations, stating the sailings of their vessels and the terms and facilities of transportation therein; and for a violation of this provision any such steamship or transportation company, and any such owners of vessels, and the agents by them employed, shall be subjected to the penalties imposed by the third section of said act of Feb. 26, 1885, for violations of the provisions of the first section of said act.

"Sec. 5. That section 5 of said act of Feb. 26, 1885, shall be, and hereby is, amended by adding to the second proviso in said section the words 'nor to ministers of any religious denomination, nor persons belonging to any recognized profession, nor professors for colleges and seminaries,' and by excluding from the second proviso of said section the words 'or any relative or personal friend.'

"Sec. 6. That any person who shall bring into or land in the United States by vessel or otherwise, or who shall aid to bring into or land in the United States by vessel or otherwise, any alien not lawfully entitled to enter the United States, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"Sec. 7. That the office of superintendent of immigration is hereby created and established, and the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, is authorized and directed to appoint such officer, whose salary shall be $4,000 per annum, payable monthly. The superintendent of immigration shall be an officer in the Treasury Department, under the control and supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom he shall make annual reports in writing of the transactions of his office, together with such special reports, in writing, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall require. The

Secretary shall provide the superintendent with a suitably furnished office in the city of Washington, and with such books of record and facilities for the discharge of the duties of his office as may be necessary. He shall have a chief clerk, at a salary of $2,000 per annum, and two first-class clerks.

"Sec. 8. That upon the arrival by water at any place within the United States of any alien immigrants it shall be the duty of the commanding officer and the agent of the steam or sailing vessel by which they came to report the name, nationality, last residence, and destination of every such alien, before any of them are landed, to the proper inspection officers, who shall thereupon go or send competent assistants on board such vessel and there inspect all such aliens, or the inspection officer may order a temporary removal of such aliens for examination at a designated time and place, and then and there detain them until a thorough inspection is made. But such removal shall not be considered a landing during the pendency of such examination.

"The medical examination shall be made by surgeons of the marine hospital service. In cases where the services of a marine hospital surgeon cannot be obtained without causing unreasonable delay, the inspector may cause an alien to be examined by a civil surgeon, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall fix the compensation for such examinations.

"The inspection officers and their assistants shall have power to administer oaths, and to take and consider testimony touching the right of any such aliens to enter the United States, all of which shall be entered of record. During such inspection after temporary removal the superintendent shall cause such aliens to be properly housed, fed, and cared for, and also, in his discretion, such as are delayed in proceeding to their destination after inspection.

"All decisions made by the inspection officers or their assistants touching the right of any alien to land, when adverse to such right, shall be final unless appeal be taken to the superintendent of immigration, whose action shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Treasury. It shall be the duty of the aforesaid officers and agents of such vessel to adopt due precautions to prevent the landing of any alien immigrant at any place or time other than that designated by the inspection officers, and any such officer or agent or person in charge of such vessel who shall either knowingly or negligently land or permit to land any alien immigrant at any place or time other than that designated by the inspection officers, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

"That the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe rules for inspection along the borders of Canada, British Columbia, and Mexico so as not to obstruct, or unnecessarily delay, impede, or annoy passengers in ordinary travel between said countries: *Provided*, that not exceeding one inspector shall be appointed for each customs district, and whose salary shall not exceed $1,200 per year.

"All duties imposed and powers conferred by the second section of the act of Aug. 3, 1882, upon State commissioners, boards, or officers acting under contract with the Secretary of the Treasury shall be performed and exercised, as occasion may arise, by the inspection officers of the United States.

"Sec. 9. That for the preservation of the peace and in order that arrest may be made for crimes under the laws of the States where the various United States immigrant stations are located, the officials in charge of such stations, as occasion may require, shall admit therein the proper State and municipal officers charged with the enforcement of such laws, and for the purposes of this section the jurisdiction of such officers and of the local courts shall extend over such stations.

"Sec. 10. That all aliens who may unlawfully come to the United States shall, if practicable, be immediately sent back on the vessel by which they were brought in. The cost of their maintenance while on land, as well as the expense of the return of such aliens, shall be borne by the owner or owners of the vessel on which such aliens came; and if any master, agent, consignee, or owner of such vessel shall refuse to receive back on board the

vessel such aliens, or shall neglect to detain them thereon, or shall refuse or neglect to return them to the port from which they came, or to pay the cost of their maintenance while on land, such master, agent, consignee, or owner shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine not less than $300 for each and every offence; and any such vessel shall not have clearance from any port of the United States while any such fine is unpaid.

"Sec. 11. That any alien who shall come into the United States in violation of law may be returned, as by law provided, at any time within one year thereafter, at the expense of the person or persons, vessel, transportation company or corporation bringing such alien into the United States, and if that cannot be done, then at the expense of the United States; and any alien who becomes a public charge within one year after his arrival in the United States from causes existing prior to his landing therein shall be deemed to have come in violation of law and shall be returned as aforesaid.

"Sec. 12. That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to affect any prosecution or other proceeding, criminal or civil, begun under any existing act or acts hereby amended, but such prosecution or other proceeding, criminal or civil, shall proceed as if this act had not been passed.

"Sec. 13. That the circuit and district courts of the United States are hereby invested with full and concurrent jurisdiction of all causes, civil and criminal, arising under any of the provisions of this act; and this act shall go into effect on the first day of April, 1891."

The measure passed the Senate Feb. 27, and was approved by the President March 3, 1891.

Immigration, Restriction of. See Lodge, Henry Cabot.

Impeachment. The Constitution of the United States gives the House of Representatives sole power to impeach the President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States by a numerical majority only. It also gives the Senate sole power to try all impeachments. The Senate then sits as a court, organizing anew, Senators taking a special oath or affirmation applicable to the proceeding. From their decision there is no appeal. A vote of two-thirds of the Senate is necessary to convict. When the President is tried the chief-justice presides. The punishment is limited by the Constitution (1) to removal from office; (2) to disqualification from holding and enjoying any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States government. Important cases: (1) William Blount, United States Senator from Tennessee, for conspiring to transfer New Orleans from Spain to Great Britain, 1797–98; acquitted for want of evidence. (2) John Pickering, judge of the district court of New Hampshire, charged with drunkenness, profanity, etc.; convicted March 12, 1803. (3) Judge Samuel Chase, impeached March 30, 1804; acquitted March 1, 1805. (4) James H. Peck, district judge of Missouri, impeached Dec. 13, 1830, for arbitrary conduct, etc.; acquitted. (5) West H. Humphreys, district judge of Tennessee, impeached and convicted for rebellion, Jan. 26, 1862. (6) Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, impeached "of high crimes and misdemeanors," Feb. 22, 1868; acquitted. (7) W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, impeached for receiving money of post-traders among the Indians, March 2, 1876; resigned at the same time; acquitted for want of jurisdiction.

"Impending Crisis," the title of a book written by Hinton R. Helper, of North Carolina, pointing out the evil effects of slavery upon the whites, first published in 1857. It had a large sale (140,000 copies) and great influence.

IMPERIALISM

Imperialism. The Hon. William A. Peffer, ex-Senator from Kansas, makes the following important contribution to the discussion of this question:

The arraignment of the national administration by certain citizens on a charge of imperialism, in the execution of its Philippine policy, brings up for

discussion some important questions relating to the powers, duties, and responsibilities of government, among which are three that I propose to consider briefly, namely:

First. Whence comes the right to govern? What are its sphere and object?

Second. Are we, the people of the United States, a self-governing people?

Third. Is our Philippine policy anti-American?

I.

As to the right to govern—the right to exercise authority over communities, states, and nations, the right to enact, construe, and execute laws—whence it is derived? For what purposes and to what extent may it be properly assumed?

In the Declaration of Independence it is asserted that:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

But is it true that government, even in a republic like ours, derives its just powers only from the consent of the governed? Is it not a fact that at no time in our history have we either had or asked the consent of all the people within our jurisdiction, to the powers of government which we have been exercising over them? Is it not true, on the contrary, that we have been governing many of them, not only without their consent, but in direct opposition to it?

The Constitution, framed to provide such a form of government as the signers of the Declaration had in mind, contains the following provision:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

And this:

"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a duty or tax may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

These two provisions were intended to apply and did apply to negro slaves, of whom there were in the country at that time about 500,000, nearly one-sixth of the entire population; and they, as a class, together with our Indian neighbors and the free people of color, were all excluded from the ranks of those who participated in the institution of our new government. Their consent to anything done or contemplated in the administration of our public affairs was neither asked nor desired. Their consent or dissent did not enter into the problems of government. It made no difference what their wishes were, or to what they were opposed. A majority of such persons as enjoyed political privileges—they and they only—formed the new government and organized its powers, without regard to the disfranchised classes, as much so as if these classes had not been in existence.

And, in addition to the non-voting people, there were many white men in the States who, by reason of their poverty, were not permitted to vote, and hence could not take part in popular elections. It is, probably, safe to say that, of the whole population of the country, when the Constitution was put into effect, the number that had no part in the work of establishing the national government, either for or against it, although they were subject to its rule, constituted at least 25 per cent.

Still more. In every one of the States, and among those persons, too, qualified to vote, there was opposition, more or less, to the inauguration of the new régime. North Carolina did not ratify the Constitution till more than two years after the convention that framed it had adjourned *sine die;* and Rhode Island did not come into the Union till May of President Washington's second year.

There is no way of ascertaining exactly the number of voters who were opposed to the new plan, who did not consent to it, and who would have defeated it if they could; but, if these be added to the disfranchised classes, we have a total of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the country not consenting to the exercise of these governmental powers over them. Yet

these powers were deemed by the majority that organized them to be just powers, and the said majority felt that they were justified in executing them.

Thomas Jefferson held "the vital principle of republics" to be "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority." But whence comes the right of a majority to rule? And may the majority of to-day determine the course of the majority of to-morrow? Had two-thirds of a population of less than 4,000,000 in 1789 the rightful authority to lay down rules of government for a population of 75,000,000 in 1900—rules which we cannot change, save by revolution, unless we do it in accordance with forms prescribed by our ancestors more than 100 years ago?

We all believe with Jefferson that the right of a majority to rule in a republic is not to be challenged; and that the answer to these troublesome questions concerning the source of this undisputed right to govern can be found only in the theory that government is one of the essential agencies provided in the beginning by the Father above for the work of subduing the earth and bringing all men to Himself. The thought is tersely expressed by St. Paul in his letter to the Romans: "There is no power but of God." "The powers that be are ordained of God." The ruler is a "minister of God."

Man's right to life, liberty, and room to work in is inherent, and government follows as naturally as the seasons follow each other. As long as the individual man lives separated from his fellows, he needs no protection other than he is able himself to command; but when population increases and men gather in communities, governments are instituted among them in order to make these individual rights secure; and then new rights appear, communal rights; for communities, as well as individual persons, have rights.

The necessity for government increases with the density of population, and the scope of its powers is enlarged with the extension of its territorial jurisdiction, the diversity of employments in which the citizenship are engaged, and the degree of refinement to which they have attained. The trapper, with his axe, knife, gun and sack, pursues his calling alone in the wilderness; but, with settlement, the forest disappears, farms are opened up, towns laid out, neighborhoods formed, laws become necessary, and government begins.

It is not necessary, however, that we should agree on the origin of government, for we know that, as a matter of fact, governments in one form or another have existed ever since the beginning of recorded history; and we know, further, that under the operation of these governments 90 per cent. of the habitable surface of the globe has been reclaimed from barbarism. The whole world is to-day virtually within the jurisdiction of regularly organized powers of government, international law is recognized and enforced as part of the general code of the nations, and the trend of the world's civilization is towards free institutions and popular forms of government.

II.

As to whether we are a self-governing people, the answer to this question depends upon whether all classes of the population within our jurisdiction share in the work of governing, or whether, as in the ancient republics, only a portion of the people are to be taken for the whole for purposes of government.

In any age of the world, the character of government fairly represents the state of the world's inhabitants at that particular period. That a people are not far enough advanced to form a government for themselves, and conduct its affairs in their own way, is not a reason why they should not have any government at all. On its lower level, government may extend no further than the will of an ignorant despot, who holds the tenure of life and property in his hands; but as men advance, they rise to higher levels and the sphere of government is enlarged. In the end it will, of necessity, embrace all human interests which are common.

The members of the Continental Congress, in declaring the cause which impelled the separation of the colonies from the mother-country, began the concluding paragraph of the Declaration in these words:

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare," etc.

The words "good people of these colonies" included only such of the people as at that time participated in the work of local government, excluding those who were opposed to separation. The Tories —and there were a good many of them— did not approve anything that the Congress did. They were regarded by the patriots as public enemies, and were kept under constant watch by committees of inspection and observation in every county. They were subject to arrest and imprisonment—even to banishment; and in many instances their property was confiscated. The Congress surely did not speak in the name of the Tories, nor by their authority.

The Articles of Confederation, under the provisions of which the Congress acted after March 2, 1781, recognized as its constituency only "the free inhabitants of each of these States." Slaves, though constituting nearly, if not quite, 16 per cent. of the population, were not reckoned among the political forces to be respected. Indians, likewise, were excluded.

The Constitution of the United States opens thus:

"We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

But not more than two-thirds of the population were represented in "We, the people," and a majority of the two-thirds assumed the responsibilities of government—rightfully, as all loyal Americans believe. The machinery of the republic was set in motion in 1789, and the census taken the next year showed the total population to be 3,929,214, of which total number 757,208 were colored—mostly persons of African descent, who were nearly all slaves, and these, with the other disfranchised classes, as before stated, made up about 33 per cent. of the population that were not permitted to take part in establishing the new government.

Furthermore, when the Constitution was submitted to the legislatures of the several States for their action, it was strenuously opposed in some of them, and received unanimous support in only three—Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia. The majority in its favor was large in Connecticut and South Carolina, while in Virginia the majority was only ten votes, and in New York only three. The vote in five of the States stood thus: Pennsylvania, 46 to 23; Massachusetts, 187 to 168; Maryland, 63 to 11; New Hampshire, 57 to 46; New York, 30 to 27. North Carolina and Rhode Island were two years in making up their minds to accept places in the Union.

So we see that a majority of about two-thirds (and that may have been in fact less than a majority of the whole people) assumed to speak and act for all. The people of the United States have all along acted on that plan. We have gone even further than that. We have in some cases expressly authorized minorities to determine the gravest matters. The Constitution provides that "a majority of each (House of Congress) shall constitute a quorum to do business"; and "each House may determine the rules of its proceedings." The Senate now consists of ninety members; forty-six is a majority, constituting a quorum. Of this forty-six, twenty-four form a majority, and although it is less than one-third of the whole body, may pass any measure that is not required by the Constitution to receive a majority or a two-thirds vote—a treaty, for example. And it is the same in the House of Representatives.

And, although a majority of the electoral vote is required to choose a President of the United States, it has frequently happened that the successful candidate was opposed by a majority of the voters of the country.

In the matter of amending the Constitution, a majority of the voters may favor any particular amendment proposed, but it must be ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the several States before it becomes law.

We not only have adopted the majority principle as a rule of government, but we have uniformly insisted upon acquiescence in minority rule in any and all cases where it has been so provided in advance.

We have but to look at our record to see that, from the beginning, we have excluded a very large proportion of our own people from all participation in affairs of government, and we have never accused ourselves of exercising unjust powers or undue authority. This fact strengthens the belief that there is a source of power which does not lie in the people at all—a "higher power," if you please. The Declaration of Independence conforms to this view, in affirming that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and in appealing to the "Supreme Judge of the World," "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence."

III.

In order to determine whether our Philippine policy is anti-American, we must examine the testimony of American history, and see the record that Americans have made for themselves in their treatment of subject people in our own country.

Virginia and New England may fairly be taken as representative of the colonies up to the time of the Revolution, in so far as the Indian population is concerned.

Patents to the London Company and to the Plymouth Company were issued in 1606 by King James I., authorizing them to "possess and colonize that portion of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude." What legal rights or privileges James had in America were based wholly on the discoveries made by English navigators. Rights of the native inhabitants were not considered in the granting of these patents, nor in the subsequent colonization.

The London Company colonized Virginia and the Plymouth Company and its successors colonized New England. In both cases landings were effected and settlements begun without consulting the people that inhabited the country.

As to Virginia, among the early acts of the Jamestown colony, under the lead of Captain Smith, was the procuring of food from the Indians by trading with them, and at the same time fortifying the new settlement against Indian depredations. Smith strengthened the fort in 1608, trained the watch regularly and exercised the company every Saturday. No organized opposition to the white settlement appeared during the first few years, though the Indians manifested their dissatisfaction in the arrest of Smith, whom they would have summarily put to death but for the intercession of the chief's daughter. But in 1622, under Opechancanough, they attacked the settlers, killed several hundred of them, and devastated a good many plantations. They were finally beaten back by the whites, many of them being unmercifully slaughtered, and the rest driven into the wilderness. Twenty-two years later, under the lead of the same chief, another war broke out, lasting two years, causing much loss of life and property on both sides, and resulting in the utter defeat of the Indians and the cession by them of tracts of land to the colonists. This policy was pursued to the end of the colonial period.

The Plymouth colony early sent Captain Standish, with a few men, to confer with the natives and ascertain, if possible, the state of their feelings in regard to the white settlement; but the Indians eluded him and he learned nothing. The second year after this reconnoissance Canonicus, king or chief of the Narragansets, by way of showing how he felt about it, sent to the Plymouth people a bundle of arrows tied with the skin of a rattlesnake. As an answer to this challenge, the skin was stuffed with powder and bullets and returned. These exchanges of compliments opened the way for a peace treaty between the settlers and several tribes; but some of the chiefs were suspicious of the whites and formed a conspiracy to kill them off. The scheme coming to the knowledge of the colonists, it was frustrated by Standish and his company, who treacherously killed two chiefs. A treaty of peace with the Narragansets soon followed this occurrence, and it remained in force until the Wampanoags, weary of encroachments on their lands by the whites, made war on them under the leadership of King Philip, in 1675.

Among the incidents of that war, and as showing the temper of the colonists, may be mentioned the destruction of the Narraganset fort and the subsequent capt-

ure and treatment of Philip. The fort sheltered about 3,000 Narragansets, mostly women and children. It was surprised during a snow-storm, the palisades and wigwams were fired, and the Indians were driven forth by the flames to be either burned, suffocated, frozen, butchered, or drowned in the surrounding swamp. History says that "500 wigwams were destroyed, 600 warriors killed, 1,000 women and children massacred, and the winter's provisions of the tribe reduced to ashes." "The government set a price of 30*s.* per head for every Indian killed in battle, and many women and children were sold into slavery in South America and the West Indies." Towards the last, Captain Church, the noted Indian fighter, headed an expedition to find Philip and destroy the remainder of the Wampanoags. Philip was hunted from place to place, and at last found in camp on Aug. 12, 1676. The renegade Indian who betrayed the Narraganset camp led Captain Church to the camp of Philip. The attack was made at night, while the Indians were asleep. Philip, in attempting to escape, was recognized by an Indian ally of the whites and shot dead as he stumbled and fell into the mire. His body was dragged forward, and Church cut off his head, which was borne on the point of a spear to Plymouth, where it remained twenty years exposed on a gibbet. According to the colonial laws, as a traitor, his body was drawn and quartered on a day that was appointed for public thanksgiving.

With this policy steadily pursued to the end, when the time came for Americans themselves to turn upon their oppressors, there was little left of the Indian question in New England and Virginia, or in any of the States; but, with the Declaration of Independence, the formation of the federal Union, and the establishment of a national government for the whole country, our Indian troubles were confined chiefly to territory belonging to the Union, regions acquired after the Union was formed, and, hence, national territories under the sole jurisdiction of the national government, though inhabited by Indians, whose rights to the soil had never been questioned. What has been our policy with respect to this subject race in our new territorial acquisitions we shall now see.

The region bounded on the north by the Great Lakes, on the east by the Alleghany Mountains, on the south by the Ohio River, on the west by the Mississippi, out of which have grown the States of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana, had been claimed under their charters by Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, but they ceded their claims to the United States. The country so ceded was our first territorial acquisition, and became known as the Northwest Territory. A government was provided for it under the ordinance of 1787, and President Washington, in 1789, appointed Gen. Arthur St. Clair its governor. The various tribes of Indians inhabiting that part of the country objected to the jurisdiction of the whites, just as some of the Filipinos have done in the Philippine Islands, and they made war on the whites, under Michikiniqua, chief of the Miamis, as the Filipinos have done under Aguinaldo, chief of the Tagals.

Under date of Oct. 6, 1789, President Washington forwarded instructions to Governor St. Clair, in which he said:

"It is highly necessary that I should, as soon as possible, possess full information whether the Wabash and Illinois Indians are most inclined for war or peace. . . . You will, therefore, inform the said Indians of the disposition of the general government on this subject, and of their reasonable desire that there should be a cessation of hostilities as a prelude to a treaty. . . . I would have it observed forcibly that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. . . . But if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the disposition of the general government for the preservation of peace and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity."

The Indians were most inclined for war, as the Tagals have been, and a good deal of hard fighting, extending over five years, was done before they were brought

to terms in a treaty. The battle at Miami Village, Sept. 30, 1790, between about 1,800 Americans under General Harmar, and a somewhat larger body of Indians under various chiefs, resulted in a victory for the Indians, with a loss of 120 men killed and 300 wigwams burned. Another pitched battle was fought near the same place the next year. The Indians were again victorious, and the American loss was more than half the army—631 killed and 263 wounded. On Aug. 20, 1794, General Wayne, with 900 United States soldiers, routed the Indians in a battle near Miami Rapids, and a year later a treaty of peace was concluded, by the terms of which nearly the whole of Ohio was ceded by the Indians to the United States.

It will be observed that with five years of war we had got no farther west than Ohio. And these battles with the Indians in the Miami Valley were more bloody than any ever fought by American armies with white men.

This long and bloody Indian war did not end our troubles in the Northwest. The Indians confederated under Tecumseh in 1811, and they were routed at the battle of Tippecanoe by General Harrison. This practically terminated Indian hostilities in the Northwest Territory, but Tecumseh stirred up resistance among the Creeks and their allies in our new acquisitions south of the Ohio, known as the Southwest Territory. The rebellion there began with the massacre at Fort Mims, on Aug. 30, 1813, in the Creek Nation, and ended with the battle of Tohopeka, on March 27, 1814, where the Indians were defeated by troops under General Jackson. About 1,000 Creek warriors were engaged at Tohopeka, and more than half of them (550) were killed. Seven fierce battles were fought during the continuance of this brief war, with an aggregate loss to the Indians of 1,300 killed and an unknown number of wounded.

The Black Hawk War, in 1832, cost the lives of twenty-five Americans and 150 Indians.

The Florida War began in 1835 and lasted seven years, ending with the final defeat of the Indians.

Since the conclusion of the Florida, or Seminole, War our armed conflicts with Indians have been mostly in the West, on territory which we acquired by purchase from France and by cession from Mexico in concluding a two years' war with that country.

Between 1846 and 1866 there were some fifteen or twenty Indian wars or affairs, in which it is estimated that 1,500 whites and 7,000 Indians were killed.

In the actions between regular troops and Indians, from 1866 to 1891, the number of whites killed was 1,452; wounded, 1,101. The number of Indians killed was 4,363; wounded, 1,135.

Our Indian wars have been expensive as well as bloody. It is estimated by the War Department that, excluding the time covered by our wars with Great Britain (1812–14), and with Mexico (1846–48) and with the Confederate States (1861–65), three-fourths of the total expense of the army is chargeable, directly or indirectly, to the Indians; the aggregate thus chargeable is put at $807,073,658, and this does not include cost of fortifications, posts, and stations; nor does it include amounts reimbursed to the several States ($10,000,000) for their expenses in wars with the Indians. The Indian war pension account in 1897 stood at $28,201,632.

Except when engaged in other wars, the army has been used almost entirely for the Indian service, and stationed in the Indian country and along the frontier.

Such in general outline is Americanism as it has consistently exhibited itself in the policy followed by this country at the only junctures which are comparable to the Philippine situation at the present day. If it amounts to imperialism, then, indeed, are we a nation of imperialists without division.

But let us get closer to the subject. The case presented by the anti-imperialists against the administration is almost exactly paralleled in the history of Florida. Spain's title to the Philippines was as good as that by which she claimed Florida, for it had the same basis—the right of discovery; and her right to cede and convey her title was as perfect in the one case as in the other. In both instances, the inhabitants were, by international law,

transferred with the land on which they dwelt.* Filipinos inhabited the Philippine Islands when Magellan discovered them in 1521, and when Villalobos, a few years later, "took possession of the group and named it in honor of King Philip II., of Spain," and they were there in 1898, when Spain ceded the archipelago to the United States in consideration of closing a war and the payment of $20,000,000 in money.

The Seminole Indians inhabited Florida when that region was discovered by the Spanish navigators, and they were there in 1819–21, when Spain ceded the country to the United States in consideration of removing a just cause of war on our part, and a stipulation to settle claims against Spain to the amount of $5,000,000.

The treaty for Florida was concluded in 1819, but was not ratified by Spain till the second year thereafter; a territorial government was established on March 30, 1822, the President in the mean time governing the Territory twenty years, the State being admitted on March 3, 1845. During the territorial period the army was needed there most of the time to suppress disorders in which the Indians were almost always mixed; and in 1835 the war with the Seminoles began. Andrew Jackson was President during the first two years of this war; it continued all through Van Buren's term, and extended a year or more into that of Harrison and Tyler. To suppress this rebellion of Osceola and his allies, the army, consisting of regulars, militia, and volunteers, was employed seven years.

President McKinley is doing in the Philippines just what was done by President Jackson and his successors in Florida, and he is doing it more humanely. Were they imperialists?

* American Supreme Court, in the case of the American Insurance Company vs. Canter, 1 Peters, 511, referring to the territory held by a conqueror, awaiting the conclusion of a treaty, says:

"If it be ceded by the treaty, the acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed. . . . On such a transfer of territory, the relations of the inhabitants with their former sovereign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired their territory. The same act which transfers their country transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it."

As to matters of government, Americanism means American rule in American territory. Americans govern by majorities—majorities of those who, by previous constitutional and statutory provisions, are authorized to govern, and whose administration of public affairs has been, as far as practicable, determined in advance by properly constituted authorities.

Beginning with the Pilgrims' compact, we have grown a republic, removing or surmounting all obstacles in the way of our development, until now we are in the forefront of nations. We have liberated the negro and given him the ballot. The Indians, of whom there are about as many in the country as ever, have to their credit in the national treasury a trust fund amounting to about $25,000,000; they are dissolving their tribal relations; the adults, under government supervision, are learning to work at farming and other useful callings, their children are in government schools, and all are in process of citizenization. Government Indian schools now number about 150, with nearly as many contract schools. Indian education is costing the government about $2,000,000 a year.

The trouble in the Philippines has been occasioned by Aguinaldo and his associates. Americans are there of right, and they ask nothing of the natives but to be peaceable, to obey the laws, and to go ahead with their business; they will not only be protected in every right, but will be aided by all the powerful influences of an advanced and aggressive civilization. See ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY; ANNEXED TERRITORY, STATUS OF; ANTI-EXPANSIONISTS.

Imports. See COMMERCE.

Impost Duties. The first impost duties laid on the English-American colonies were in 1672, when the British Parliament, regarding colonial commerce as a proper source of public revenue and taxation, passed a law imposing a duty on sugar, tobacco, ginger, cocoanut, indigo, logwood, fustic, wool, and cotton, under certain conditions. It was enacted that the whole business should be managed and the imposts levied by officers appointed by the commissioners of customs in England, under the authority of

the lords of the treasury. This was the first attempt at taxation of the colonies without their consent.

The first of such duties established by the United States was for the purpose of restoring the public credit. On April 18, 1782, the Congress voted "that it be recommended to the several States as indispensably necessary to the restoration of public credit, and to the punctual and honorable discharge of the public debts, to invest the United States, in Congress assembled, with power to levy for the use of the United States" certain duties named upon certain goods imported from any foreign port. Under the provisions of the Articles of Confederation, the unanimous consent of the States was necessary to confer this power upon the Congress. This was the first attempt to lay such duties for revenue. The necessity was obvious, and all the States except Rhode Island and Georgia agreed to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. upon all goods excepting spirituous liquors, wines, teas, pepper, sugars, molasses, cocoa, and coffee, on which specific duties were laid. The Assembly gave, as a reason for its refusal, the inequality of such a tax, bearing harder on the commercial States, and the inexpediency and danger of intrusting its collection to federal officers, unknown and not accountable to the State governments. A committee of the Congress, with Alexander Hamilton as chairman, was appointed to lay the proposition before the several States and to urge their acquiescence. They sent it forth with an eloquent address, which appealed to the patriotism of the people. The measure was approved by the leading men of the country, and all the States but two were willing to give Congress the desired power. "It is *money*, not *power*, that ought to be the object," they said. "The former will pay our *debts*, the latter may destroy our *liberties*." See Commerce; Internal Revenue.

Impressment. In 1707 the British Parliament, by act, forbade the impressment of seamen in American ports and waters for privateering service, unless of such sailors as had previously deserted from ships-of-war. The custom had been a source of annoyance and complaint for several years, and was continued despite the action of Parliament. In November, 1747, Commodore Knowles, while in Boston Harbor, finding himself short of men, sent a press-gang into the town one morning, which seized and carried to the vessels several of the citizens. This violence aroused the populace. Several of the naval officers on shore were seized by a mob and held as hostages for their kidnapped countrymen. They also surrounded the town house, where the legislature was in session, and demanded the release of the impressed men. The governor called out the militia, who reluctantly obeyed. Then, alarmed, he withdrew to the castle. Knowles offered a company of marines to sustain his authority, and threatened to bombard the town if his officers were not released. The populace declared that the governor's flight was abdication. Matters became so serious that the influential citizens, who had favored the populace, tried to suppress the tumult. The Assembly ordered the release of the officers, and Knowles sent back most of the impressed men. The authorities attributed the outbreak to "negroes and persons of vile condition." This was the first of a series of impressments of American citizens by British officers which finally led to the War of 1812–15.

Proofs of the sufferings of American seamen from the operations of the British impress system were continually received, and so frequent and flagrant were these outrages, towards the close of 1805, that Congress took action on the subject. It was felt that a crisis was reached when the independence of the United States must be vindicated, or the national honor would be imperilled. There was ample cause not only for retaliatory measures against Great Britain, but even for war. A non-importation act was passed. It was resolved to try negotiations once more. William Pinkney, of Maryland, was appointed (May, 1806) minister extraordinary to England, to become associated with Monroe, the resident minister, in negotiating a treaty that should settle all disputes between the two governments. He sailed for England, and negotiations were commenced Aug. 7. As the American commissioners were instructed to make no treaty which did not secure the vessels of their countrymen on the high

seas against press-gangs, that topic received the earliest attention. The Americans contended that the right of impressment, existing by municipal law, could not be exercised out of the jurisdiction of Great Britain, and, consequently, upon the high seas. The British replied that no subject of the King could expatriate himself—"once an Englishman, always an Englishman"—and argued that to give up that right would make every American vessel an asylum for British seamen wishing to evade their country's service. Finally, the British commissioners stated in writing that it was not intended by their government to exercise this claimed right on board any American vessel, unless it was known it contained British deserters. In that shape this portion of a treaty then concluded remained, and was unsatisfactory because it was based upon contingencies and provisions, and not upon positive treaty stipulations. The American commissioners then, on their own responsibility, proceeded to treat upon other points in dispute, and an agreement was made, based principally upon Jay's treaty of 1794. The British made some concessions as to the rights of neutrals. The treaty was more favorable to the Americans, on the whole, than Jay's, and, for the reasons which induced him, the American commissioners signed it. It was satisfactory to the merchants and most of the people; yet the President, consulting only his Secretary of State, and without referring it to the Senate, rejected it.

A Cause of War.—The British government claimed the right for commanders of British ships-of-war to make up any deficiency in their crews by pressing into their service British-born seamen found anywhere not within the immediate jurisdiction of some foreign state. As many British seamen were employed on board of American merchant-vessels, the exercise of this claimed right might (and often did) seriously cripple American vessels at sea. To distinguish between British and American seamen was not an easy matter, and many British captains, eager to fill up their crews, frequently impressed native-born Americans. These were sometimes dragged by violence from on board their own vessels and condemned to a life of slavery as seamen in British ships-of-war. When Jonathan Russell, minister at the British Court, attempted to negotiate with that government (August, 1812) for a settlement of disputes between the Americans and British, and proposed the withdrawal of the claims of the latter to the right of impressment and the release of impressed seamen, Lord Castlereagh, the British minister for foreign affairs, refused to listen to such a proposition. He even expressed surprise that, "as a condition preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the government of the United States should have thought fit to demand that the British government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant-ships of a foreign state, simply on the assurance that a law was hereafter to be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that state." The United States had proposed to pass a law making such a prohibition in case the British government should relinquish the practice of impressment and release all impressed seamen. Castlereagh acknowledged that there might have been, at the beginning of the year 1811, 1,600 *bona fide* American citizens serving by compulsion in the British navy. Several hundreds of them had been discharged, and all would be, Castlereagh said, upon proof made of their American birth; but the British government, he continued, could not consent "to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depended, unless assured that the object might be attained in some other way." There were then upward of 6,000 cases of alleged impressment of American seamen recorded in the Department of State, and it was estimated that at least as many more might have occurred, of which no information had been received. Castlereagh had admitted on the floor of the House of Commons that an official inquiry had revealed the fact that there were, in 1811, 3,500 men claiming to be American citizens. Whatever may have been the various causes combined which produced the war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812–15, when it was declared, the capital question,

and that around which gathered in agreement a larger portion of the people of the republic, was that of impressment. The contest was, by this consideration, resolved into a noble struggle of a free people against insolence and oppression, undertaken on behalf of the poor, the helpless, and the stranger. It was this conception of the essential nature of the conflict that gave vigor to every blow of the American soldier and seamen, and the watch-words "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights" prevailed on land as well as on the sea. See MADISON, JAMES.

Imprisonment for Debt. See DEBTORS.

Income-tax. The first income-tax was enacted by Congress July 1, 1862, to take effect in 1863. It taxed all incomes over $600 and under $10,000 3 per cent., and over $10,000 5 per cent. By the act of March 3, 1865, the rate was increased to 5 and to 10 per cent. on the excess over $5,000, the exemption of $600 remaining the same. On March 2, 1867, the exemption was increased to $1,000, and the rate fixed at 5 per cent. on all excess above $1,000; the tax to be levied only until 1870. After a contest in Congress the tax was renewed for one year only by act of July 14, 1870, at the reduced rate of 2½ per cent. on the excess of income above $2,000. A bill to repeal it passed the Senate Jan. 26, 1871, by 26 to 25. The House refused to take up the Senate bill Feb. 9, 1871, by a vote of 104 to 105, but on March 3, 1871, concurred in the report of a committee which endorsed the Senate bill and repealed the tax. The last tax levied under the law was in 1871. Income-taxes assessed and due in 1871 and for preceding years, however, continued to be collected, 1872–74, as seen by the subjoined table:

AMOUNT OF REVENUE FROM INCOME-TAX EACH YEAR.

1863	$ 2,741,857
1864	20,294,733
1865	32,050,017
1866	72,982,160
1867	66,014,429
1868	41,455,599
1869	34,791,857
1870	37,775,872
1871	19,162,652
1872	14,436,861
1873	5,062,312
1874	140,391
Total	$346,908,740

The Wilson tariff bill of 1894 contained provisions for an income-tax, which the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional on May 20, 1895.

Independence Day, LESSONS OF. See GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD.

Independents. See CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Indian Corn. When the English settlers first went to Virginia, they found the Indians cultivating maize, and the Europeans called it "Indian corn." It proved to be a great blessing to the immigrants to our shores, from Maine to Florida. Indian corn appears among the earliest exports from America. As early as 1748 the two Carolinas exported about 100,000 bushels a year. For several years previous to the Revolution, Virginia exported 600,000 bushels annually. The total amount of this grain exported annually from all the English-American colonies at the beginning of the Revolution was between 560,000 and 580,000 bushels. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the annual export was 2,000,000 bushels. But its annual product was not included in the census reports until 1840, when the aggregate yield was nearly 400,000,000 bushels. In the calendar year 1903 the aggregate production was 2,244,176,925 bushels, from 88,091,993 acres, and the total value was $952,868,801. The banner States, in their order and with their production, were: Illinois, 264,087,043 bushels. Iowa, 229,218,220 bushels; Missouri, 202,839,584 bushels; Nebraska, 172,379,532 bushels; Kansas, 171,687,014 bushels; Indiana, 142,580,886 bushels; and Texas, 140,750,733 bushels—all other States and Territories being below the 100,000,000 mark. See AGRICULTURE.

Legend of the Grain.—While Capt. Miles Standish and others of the Pilgrims were seeking a place to land, they found some maize in one of the deserted huts of the Indians. Afterwards Samoset, the friendly Indian, and others, taught the Pilgrims how to cultivate the grain, for it was unknown in Europe, and this supply, serving them for seed, saved the little colony from starvation the following year. The grain now first received the name of "Indian corn." Mr. Schoolcraft tells us that Indian corn entered into the

mythology of the Indians of the region of the Upper Lakes. In legend the Indians tell us that a youth, on the verge of manhood, went into the forest to fast, where he built himself a lodge and painted his face in sombre colors; and then he asked the Master of Life for some precious gift that should benefit his race. Being weak from fasting, he lay down in his lodge and gazed through its opening into the blue depths of the heavens, from which descended a visible spirit in the form of a beautiful young man dressed in green, and having green plumes on his head. This embodied spirit bade the young Indian to rise and wrestle with him as the only way to obtain the coveted blessing. Four days the wrestlings were repeated, the youth feeling each time an increasing moral and supernatural energy, while his bodily strength declined. This mysterious energy promised him the final victory. On the third day his celestial visitor said to him: "To-morrow will be the seventh day of your fast, and the last time I shall wrestle with you. You will triumph over me and gain your wishes. As soon as you have thrown me down, strip off my clothes and bury me in the spot of soft, fresh earth. When you have done this, leave me, but come occasionally to visit the place to keep the weeds from growing. Once or twice cover me with fresh earth." The spirit then departed, but returned the next day; and, as he had predicted, the youth threw him on the ground. The young man obeyed his visitor's instructions faithfully, and very soon was delighted to see the green plumes of the heavenly stranger shooting up through the mould. He carefully weeded the ground around them, and kept it fresh and soft, and in due time his eyes were charmed at beholding a full-grown plant bending with fruit that soon became golden just as the frost touched it. It gracefully waved its long leaves and its yellow tassels in the autumn wind. The young man called his parents to behold the new plant. "It is *Men-du-min*," said his father; "it is the grain of the Great Spirit." They invited their friends to a feast on the excellent grain, and there were great rejoicings. Such is the legend of the origin of Indian corn, or maize.

Indian Industrial Schools. In addition to a large number of day, boarding, and other schools maintained by the federal government, various religious organizations, and each of the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory, there were in 1900 a total of twenty-four schools for Indian youth, in which in addition to the ordinary branches special attention was paid to industrial education on lines that would render the youth self-supporting in the future. These special schools combined had a total of 262 instructors in industrial work, and 3,076 male and 2,288 female pupils, and the total expenditure for the school year 1898–99 was $198,834. The most noted of these schools is the United States Indian Industrial School, established in Carlisle, Pa. It had in the above year twenty-nine instructors and 1,090 pupils, of whom 487 were girls. In addition to the foregoing schools the federal government was hav-

INDIAN APPRENTICES MAKING HARNESS.

ing Indian youth educated in the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in Virginia, which was originally established for the education of colored youth only. The success of the institution in its original purpose induced the government to undertake the experiment of having Indian youth educated there also, and such encouraging results followed that the government has since kept a large class of Indian boys and girls in the institution.

INDIAN PROBLEM, THE

Indian Problem, The. The following is a consideration of this subject from the pen of the Rev. Lyman Abbott:

Helen Jackson has written the history of 100 years of our nation's dealing with the Indians, under the title of *A Century of Dishonor*. Her specifications seem to make the indictment of her title good. Yet I am persuaded that the dishonor which justly attaches to the history of our dealings with the North American Indians is due rather to a lack of prophetic vision, quite pardonable, in the nation's leaders, and an ignorance and indifference, not pardonable, in the nation at large, rather than to any deliberate policy of injustice adopted by the nation. Bad as has been our treatment of the Indians, it is luminous by the side of Russia's treatment of the Jews, Turkey's treatment of the Armenians, Spain's treatment of the Moors, and, if we include the war of Cromwell against the Irish, the English legislation against Irish industry, Irish education, and the Church of Ireland's choice, it compares favorably with England's treatment of Ireland.

When thirteen States—a fringe of civilization on the eastern edge of an unknown wilderness—constituted the American Republic, there was no prophet to foresee the time when the republic would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and would include 70,000,000 people. If there were any such prophet he was as a voice crying in the wilderness; no one heard or heeded. The politician is almost invariably an opportunist, perhaps necessarily so, since no great prevision is granted to the children of men. The infant republic did not know and took little pains to ascertain the extent of the domain which stretched to the west, or the number or character of the people who roamed over it. Each decade was satisfied to provide for its necessities and leave the next decade to take care of itself. As the boundary-line was pushed steadily westward, new treaties were made, by which all territory west of a given boundary was reserved for the Indians forever. I think it was in 1800 that such a treaty was made, securing to them for all future time the land west of the Mississippi River. All future time is a long while, and each new treaty was made only to be broken, as increase of population and incoming immigration made new demands on the continent for support. Thus gradually grew up without design the so-called reservation system. Less and less land was reserved to the Indians; more and more was taken up by the whites; until at last certain relatively small sections were deeded to separate Indian tribes. In these, according to the treaties made, the several tribes were at liberty to remain forever hunters and trappers, freed from the obligations and without the advantages and perils of civilization.

These reservations have been practically prison yards, within which the tribes have been confined. If any member passed beyond the boundaries of the reservation without leave he was liable to arrest. If he raised crops or manufactured goods he could not carry them for sale to the open market; if he wished to buy he could not go to the open market to purchase. The land was owned by the tribe in common, and the idle and industrious shared alike its advantages and disadvantages. Industry received no reward; idleness involved no penalty. Money due the tribe under the treaty was paid with more or less regularity, generally in rations, sometimes in guns and ammunition to fight the white man with, or scalping-knives to take from his head a trophy of the battle. The forms of industry to which

SCENE ON AN INDIAN RESERVATION

the men were accustomed—hunting and trapping — gradually disappeared; little or nothing was done to teach new forms of industry or to inspire the men to undertake them. From the reservation all the currents of civilization were excluded by federal law. The railroad, the telegraph, the newspaper, the open market, free competition—all halted at its walls. By favor of the government, generally freely granted, the missionary was allowed to establish a church, or Christian philanthropy to plant a school. But as an educated Indian was rather impeded than aided in the tribal community by education, neither the church nor the school could do more than save individuals from a population shut up by law to the general conditions of barbarism. No courts sat in these reservations; no law was administered by those judicial methods familiar to the Anglo-Saxon; no warrants from local courts outside could be executed; no Indian, if wronged, could appeal to any court for redress. Such law as existed was administered by an Indian agent, a person of ill-defined, and to the Indian mind, of illimitable power. He was as nearly an absolute despot as can be conceived existing on American soil. He was sometimes an intelligent and beneficent despot, sometimes an ignorant and incompetent one; but in either case a despot.

Thus there has grown up in America, by no deliberate design but by a natural though mischievous opportunism which has rarely looked more than ten years ahead, a system as inconsistent with American principles and the American spirit as could easily be devised by the ingenuity or conceived by the imagination of a man. It has denied to the Indian, often under the generous desire to do more for him than mere justice, those rights and prerogatives which the Declaration of Independence truly declares to belong inalienably to all men. It has made a prisoner of him that it might civilize him, under the illusion that it is possible to

civilize a race without subjecting them to the perils of civilization. It has endeavored to conduct him from the relative innocence of barbarism to the larger and more perilous life of a free and civilized community, and to guard him from the dangers of temptation and the consequences of his own ignorance *en route*. The reservation system is absolutely, hopelessly, incurably bad, "evil and wholly evil and that continually." It was never framed by any one. It has grown up under the commingled influence of careless indifference, popular ignorance, local prejudice, and unthinking sentimentalism. The Indian problem is, in a sentence, how to get rid of it in the easiest and quickest way possible, and bring the Indian and every Indian into the same individual relation to the State and federal governments that other men in this country are, with the least possible violence of rupture with the past and the greatest possible regard for the right and the welfare of those who are the least responsible for the present conditions—the Indians themselves.

The reservation system, I say, is wholly bad. The indictment against it is fourfold.

In the first place, the Indian Bureau is, and always has been, a political machine, whose offices are among the spoils which belong to the victors. In the twenty years during which I have had some familiarity with Indian affairs, not a single commissioner of Indian affairs has been appointed because he was familiar with the Indians, or an expert in the Indian problem, and only one who was an expert in that work of education which is, of course, one of the chief elements in the Indian problem. They have been, I think, all of them, men of excellent character—honest, able, ambitious to do the best that could be done for the Indian. Some of them have made notable contributions towards the solution of the problem. But each one of them has come into office with little or no familiarity with the problem, has had to acquaint himself with it, and has hardly had more than enough time to do so before his term of office has expired, and he has been replaced by a successor who has had to take up the work subject to the same disadvantages. The same policy of political removal and political appointment has characterized the whole Indian administration. Sometimes the appointments have been made by the commissioner of Indian affairs, sometimes by the Secretary of the Interior, sometimes practically by local politicians; but in all cases alike, not for expert knowledge of Indians, but for political service rendered or to be rendered, or from reasons of personal friendship. The notion that there is a continuous and consistent policy to be pursued towards the Indians, and that this requires continuity of service and expertness of knowledge in the administration, has not entered the head of our public men; or, if so, has not been allowed to obtain lodgment there. That so bad a system has secured so many good Indian agents and subordinate officials is a matter for surprise. It is not surprising that it has in more than one instance sent a drunken official to keep the Indians sober, an ignorant official to superintend their education, and a lazy official to inspire them with industry. One illustration of the result of this method of administration is to be seen in the removal of Dr. Hailman, the superintendent of Indian education, an expert educator, whose retention in his office was urged upon the administration by substantially all those familiar with the work which he had done. An even more striking object-lesson is afforded by the outbreak among the Pillager Indians, largely due to three successive appraisals of their timber lands, two of which appraisals have been set aside as inadequate, through the incompetence of the appraisers, the enormous cost of each appraisal having been charged to the Indians.

But even if the Indian Bureau could be taken out of politics and kept out of politics, the reservation system would still be incurably bad. It assumed that the federal executive can administer a paternal government over widely scattered local communities. For such a function it is peculiarly unfitted. The attempt to engraft a Russian bureaucracy on American democracy is a fore-doomed failure. The federal government does exercise paternal authority over the Dis-

trict of Columbia. But on the decent government of the District the well-being, the health, and, perhaps, the lives of the members of Congress depend; the relation between the government and the governed is thus direct, close, intimate. Local communities in the United States exercise some paternal functions, as in the case of the insane, the sick, and the paupers. But here, again, those directly interested have an opportunity of exercising an immediate supervision over the work and calling the public officials to account. But it is in the nature of the case impossible that a President, a Secretary of the Interior, or even a commissioner of Indian affairs, can personally supervise the innumerable details involved in the paternal administration of communities scattered from Minnesota to New Mexico, and from Michigan to California.

An aristocratic government, composed of men who have inherited political ability from a long line of governing ancestry, and who have been especially trained for that work from boyhood, so that both by inheritance and training they are experts, may be supposed fitted to take care of people weaker, more ignorant, or less competent than themselves, though the history of oligarchic governments does not render that supposition free from doubt. But there is nothing in either philosophy or history to justify the surmise that 70,000,000 average men and women, most of whom are busy in attending to their own affairs, can be expected to take care of a people scattered through a widely extended territory—a people of social habits and social characteristics entirely different from their care-takers; nor is it much more rational to expect that public servants, elected on different issues for a different purpose, can render this service efficiently. Our government is founded on the principle of local self-government; that is, on the principle that each locality is better able to take care of its own affairs than any central and paternal authority is to take care of them. The moment we depart from this principle we introduce a method wholly unworkable by a democratic nation. It may be wide of the present purpose, yet perhaps not as an illustration, to say that if the United States assumes political responsibility for Cuba and the Philippines, as I personally think it is bound to do, it must fulfil that responsibility not by governing them as conquered territory from Washington, but by protecting and guiding, but not controlling them, while they attempt the experiment of local self-government for themselves. We have tried the first method with our Indians, and it has been a continuous and unbroken failure. We have tried the second method with the territory west of the Mississippi River, ours by conquest or by purchase, and it has been an unexampled success. If the Indian is the "ward of the nation," the executive should not be his guardian. How that guardianship should be exercised I shall indicate presently.

This political and undemocratic paternalism is thoroughly bad for the Indian, whose interests it is supposed to serve. It assumes that civilization can be taught by a primer in a school, and Christianity by a sermon in a church. This is not true. Free competition teaches the need of industry, free commerce the value of honesty; a savings-bank the value of thrift; a railroad the importance of punctuality, better than either preacher or pedagogue can teach them. To those, and there are still some, who think we must keep the Indian on the reservation until he is prepared for liberty, I reply that he will never be prepared for liberty on a reservation. When a boy can learn to ride without getting on a horse's back, or to swim without going into the water, or to skate without going on the ice—then, and not before, can man learn to live without living. The Indian must take his chance with the rest of us. His rights must be protected by law; his welfare looked after by philanthropy; but protected by law and befriended by philanthropy, he must plunge into the current of modern life and learn to live by living. The tepee will never fit him for the house, nor the canoe for the steamboat, nor the trail for highways and railroads, nor trapping and hunting for manufactures and husbandry. Imagine—the illustration is Edward Everett Hale's, not mine—imagine that we had pursued towards our immigrants the policy we have pursued towards the Indians; had shut the Poles,

the Hungarians, the Italians, the Germans, the Scandinavians, each in a reservation allotted to them, and forbidden them to go out into the free life of America until they had Americanized themselves—how long would the process have taken?

But the capital objection to the reservation system is that it is one impossible to maintain; and it is impossible to maintain because it ought not to be maintained. The tide of civilization, surging westward, comes some day to a fair and wealthy but unused and idle territory. There are forests which no woodman's axe has ever touched; rivers where water-falls turn no mill-wheels; mountains whose treasures of gold and silver, iron or copper or coal no pickaxe has uncovered; prairies whose fertile soil is prolific only in weeds. "Come," cries the pioneer, eager to develop this useless territory, "let us go in and make those acres rich by our industry." "No!" replies the law; "you cannot." "Why not?" "It belongs to the Indians." "Where are they?" "Hunting, trapping, sleeping, idling, and fed on rations." "When are they going to use this land; to convert this timber into boards; these rivers into mill-streams; when are they going to excavate these minerals, and turn these weedy prairies into fruitful farms?" "Never! This land in the heart of a civilized community is forever consecrated to barbarism." The pioneer's impatience with such a policy is fully justified, though his manner of manifesting it is not. Barbarism has no rights which civilization is bound to respect. The question on what basis the right to land rests is one of the most difficult which political economy has to answer. Many scholars who do not accept Henry George's conclusions accept his premise, that the soil belongs to the community, and that individual ownership rests not on any indefeasible right, but on the express or implied agreement of the community. Certain it is that the 500,000, more or less, of Indians who roamed over this continent in the seventeenth century, had no right by reason of that fact to exclude from it the several hundred million industrious men and women whom eventually it will support. As little have a tribe of a few hundred Indians a right to keep in unproductive idleness a territory which, if cultivated, would provide homes for as many thousands of industrious workers. No treaty can give them that right. It is not in the power of the federal government to consecrate any portion of its territory thus to ignorance and idleness. It has tried, again and again, to do so; it has always failed; it always ought to fail; it always will fail. English parks kept untilled, yet ministering to taste and refinement, have always been regarded by political economists as difficult to justify; nothing can be said to justify American reservations, kept untilled only that they may minister to idleness and barbarism.

The editor, in asking me to write this article, indicated his desire that I should write "on the probable future of the Indians in their relation with the government, and the reforms necessary in the administration of their affairs." It may seem that I have been a long time coming to any definite answer to this question; but in order to set forth succinctly a reform it is first necessary to set forth as clearly and forcibly as possible the evil to be reformed. That evil, I believe, is the reservation system. The reform is all summed up in the words, abolish it. Cease to treat the Indian as a red man and treat him as a man. Treat him as we have treated the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Scandinavians. Many of them are no better able to take care of themselves than the Indians; but we have thrown on them the responsibility of their own custody, and they have learned to live by living. Treat them as we have treated the negro. As a race the African is less competent than the Indian; but we do not shut the negroes up in reservations and put them in charge of politically appointed parents called agents. The lazy grow hungry; the criminal are punished; the industrious get on. And though sporadic cases of injustice are frequent and often tragic, they are the gradually disappearing relics of a slavery that is past, and the negro is finding his place in American life gradually, both as a race and as an individual. The reform necessary in the administration of Indian affairs is: Let the Indian administer his own affairs and take his chances. The future relations of the Indians with

the government should be precisely the same as the relations of any other individual, the readers of this article or the writer of it, for example. This should be the objective point, and the sooner we can get there the better. But this will bring hardship and even injustice on some individuals! Doubtless. The world has not yet found any way in which all hardship and all injustice to individuals can be avoided. Turn the Indian loose on the continent and the race will disappear! Certainly. The sooner the better. There is no more reason why we should endeavor to preserve intact the Indian race than the Hungarians, the Poles, or the Italians. Americans all, from ocean to ocean, should be the aim of all American statesmanship. Let us understand once for all that an inferior race must either adapt and conform itself to the higher civilization, wherever the two come in conflict, or else die. This is the law of God, from which there is no appeal. Let Christian philanthropy do all it can to help the Indian to conform to American civilization; but let not sentimentalism fondly imagine that it can save any race or any community from this inexorable law.

This general and radical reform involves certain specific cures. For example:

1. The Indian Bureau ought to be taken at once and forever out of politics. The government should find the man most expert in dealing with the Indians—he may be the present commissioner of Indian affairs—and instruct him to bring the Indian Bureau to a close at the earliest possible moment. Once appointed to office for that purpose he should stay there till the work is completed. I believe that in one respect an army officer would be the best fitted for such a post, because he would be eager to bring the work to a close, while the civilian would see 100 reasons why it should be continued from year to year. His subordinates should be Indian experts and removed only for cause, never for political reasons.

2. There are, it is said, ten or a dozen reservations in which the land has already been allotted in severalty and the reservations broken up. The agents in such cases should be dismissed. If the Indian still needs a guardian, if there is danger that his land will be taxed away from him, or that he will be induced to sell it for a song, the courts, not the executive, should be his guardian. Guardianship is a function the courts are accustomed to exercise. It ought not to be difficult to frame a law such that an Indian could always appeal to a federal judge to have his tax appraisal revised, and always be required to submit to a federal judge any proposed sale of real estate.

3. The Indian and every Indian should be amenable to the law and entitled to its protection. I believe that, despite occasional injustice from local prejudice, it would be quite safe to leave their interests to be protected by the courts of any State or Territory in which they live; for I believe that the American people, and certainly the American judiciary, can be trusted. The policy of distrust has intensified the local prejudice against the Indian. But it would be easy, if it be necessary, to provide that any Indian might sue in a United States court, or if sued or prosecuted might transfer the suit to a United States court. I assume there is no constitutional provision against such a law.

4. All reservations in which the land is capable of allotment in severalty should be allotted as rapidly as the work of surveying and making out the warrants can be carried on. The unallotted land should be sold and the proceeds held by the United States in trust for the Indians. How to be expended is a difficult question. Not in food and clothing, which only pauperize. The first lesson to be taught the Indian is, if he will not work, neither shall he eat. Perhaps in agricultural implements; perhaps in schools; perhaps in public improvements; perhaps in all three. When the land is of a kind that cannot be allotted in severalty, as in the case of extended grazing lands, for example, it would seem as though a skilful lawyer should be able to devise some way in which the tribe could be incorporated and the land given to the corporation in fee simple; in which case the shares of stock possibly for a time should be inalienable, except by approval of the court; or pos-

sibly the property might even be administered for a time by a receiver appointed by and answerable to the court.

5. Every Indian should be at once free to come and go as he pleases, subject as every other man is to the law of the locality and the processes of the courts where he is, and under their protection. The Indian with his blanket should have the privilege of travelling where he will, as much as the Italian with her shawl.

6. Finally, as fast and as far as the tribal organization is dissolved and the reservation is broken up, the Indian should have a ballot, on the same terms as other citizens; not so much because his vote will add to the aggregate wisdom of the community as because the ballot is the American's protection from injustice.

The reform is very simple, if it is very radical. It is: Apply to the solution of the Indian problem the American method; treat the Indian as other men are treated; set him free from his trammels; cease to coddle him; in a word, in lieu of paternal protection, which does not protect, and free rations, which keep him in beggary, give him justice and liberty and let him take care of himself.

Indian Reservations. See RESERVATIONS, INDIAN.

Indian Territory. By act of Congress, June 30, 1834, "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi River, and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana, or the Territory [now the State] of Arkansas, shall be considered the Indian country." It has been reduced in area by the successive formation of States and Territories, until now it is bounded north by Kansas, east by Missouri and Arkansas, south by Texas, and west by Texas and Oklahoma, and contains an area of 31,000 square miles. The population in 1890 was 180,182; in 1900, 391,960. This aggregate population, however, is only partially Indian, as many "squawmen," other whites, and negroes are included therein. In 1900 there were seven reservations in the Territory, and five civilized nations, the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, and over 97 per cent. of the entire population was in the first four nations. It was estimated that the population of the five nations included 84,750 Indians. The reservation Indians include Quapaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Ottawas, Wyandottes, Miamis, Shawnees, Modocs, Senecas, Cayugas, Sacs and Foxes, Pottawattomies, Osages, Kaws, Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Piankeshaws, and Weas, and the affiliated bands of Wichitas, Keechies, Wacoes, Tawacanies, Caddoes, Ioneis, Delawares, and Penetethka Comanches. In the latter part of 1873 the Modocs (a remnant of Captain Jack's band) and about 400 Kickapoos and Pottawattomies, from the borders of Texas and Mexico, were removed to the Indian Territory. The Territory is well watered and wooded, and has much fertile land suitable for raising cereals and cotton, while the climate is mild and salubrious, but dry. Previous to the Civil War the five civilized tribes were well-to-do, even wealthy, possessing large farms and many slaves, and having an extensive trade with the Southern cities. Many of them enlisted—some with the Nationals, some with the Confederates—and at the close of the war the tribes were reduced to poverty. Since then, however, they have made remarkable progress, and have regained much of their former wealth. In 1891 the Indian population cultivated over 400,000 acres of land, and raised fully 4,500,000 bushels of wheat, corn, and oats, 400,000 bushels of vegetables, 60,000 bales of cotton, and 175,000 tons of hay, amounting in value to nearly $6,000,000. A portion of the Territory is fine grass-land, well fitted for grazing, and the several tribes owned 800,000 head of live-stock. Besides these there were produced large quantities of maple sugar, wild rice, cord-wood, hemlock bark, and wool. More than 8,000,000 feet of lumber was sawed, and many thousands of woollen blankets, shawls, willow baskets, and other small articles of manufacture were produced. The Territory also produces iron, coal, marble, sandstone, and brick-clay. Wild turkeys and other varieties of small game are abundant. In certain instances, where white men are concerned, the jurisdiction of the United States courts extends over the Territory. The subject of a territorial government for the Indian country has long been discussed, but no decision has yet been reached. It was the policy of the United States to settle the various tribes in this

region upon separate reservations, as far as possible, where they might be free from the encroachment of the white people, and under the general superintendence and protection of the government; but nearly 3,000 "pale-faces" had intruded and seated themselves in the Territory, when, in 1889, a portion of it was made a Territory of the United States by purchase from the Indians, under the name of Oklahoma.

In 1893 Congress created the commission to the five civilized tribes, with instructions to enter into negotiations with the several nations for the allotment of land in severalty or to procure the cession to the United States of the lands belonging to the five tribes at such price and terms as might be agreed upon, it being the express determination of Congress to bring about such changes as would enable the ultimate creation of a Territory, with the view to the admission of the same as a State of the Union. The work of the commission was still in progress in 1901, a principal difficulty being the taking of a census that would show the number of people in the several nations that would be entitled to consideration in the execution of the intentions of Congress. An encouraging advance had been made in carrying out the other duties of the commission.

Each of the five nations constitutes a separate organism, independent of any central authority; having its own executive and legislative officers; and being sovereign excepting as to an observance of certain provisions of Congress. Each nation, in a word, practically stands towards the other nations and to the national government in the same relation as any one of the States. Hence, the labor of gathering information concerning the material, financial, educational, social, and other interests of the Indian Territory, and of carrying out the duties imposed on the commission, may be likened to the application of the same effort to any five adjoining States, although the actual area of investigation is here more restricted.

Indiana, State of, was first explored by French missionaries and traders, and Vincennes was a missionary station as early as 1700. Indiana constituted a part of New France, and afterwards of the Northwest Territory. In 1702 some French Canadians discovered the Wabash, and established several trading-posts on its banks, among others, Vincennes. Little is known of the early settlers until the country was ceded to the English, in 1763. The treaty of 1783 included Indiana in the United States. A distressing Indian war broke out in 1788, but by victories by General Wilkinson (1791) and General Wayne (1794), a dangerous confederacy of the tribes was broken up. Another was afterwards attempted by Tecumseh, but was defeated by the result of the battle of Tippecanoe.

In 1800 the "Connecticut Reserve," in the northwestern portion of Ohio, having

STATE SEAL OF INDIANA.

been sold to a company of speculators, measures were taken to extinguish certain claims on the part of the United States and the State of Connecticut. The speculators found their bargain to be pecuniarily unprofitable, and likely to prove a serious embarrassment. Fully 1,000 settlers were already on the "Reserve." Hitherto a confirmation of the Connecticut title to these lands by the United States had been inferentially acknowledged, and Connecticut had given no quit-claim deeds; therefore, it was to the interest of the speculators to obtain from the United States a direct confirmation. On the other hand, it was an object for the United States to extinguish Connecticut's claim of jurisdiction. Con-

gress passed an act (April 28, 1800) authorizing the issue of letters-patent conveying the title of these lands to the governor of Connecticut, for the benefit of those claiming under her, and similar letters-patent were used by Connecticut, relinquishing all claim to jurisdiction. So the "Reserve" was annexed to the Northwest Territory, which was presently divided, by act of Congress (May 7), into two separate jurisdictions, the western one being called the Territory of Indiana, after one of the old ante-Revolutionary land companies. St. Vincent, or Vincennes, was made the capital, and William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of the Territory. It then included Michigan and Illinois.

In 1803 a movement was made in Congress for suspending for a limited term, in the case of Indiana Territory, the provision of the ORDINANCE OF 1787 (*q. v.*) prohibiting slavery northward of the Ohio River. A committee, of which John Randolph, of Virginia, was chairman, reported strongly against the proposition, believing that "in the salutary operation of this salutary and sagacious restraint the inhabitants of Indiana would, at no distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and immigration." At the next session (1804) it was proposed to admit, for ten years, the introduction of slaves born within the United States, their descendants to be free, masculine at the age of twenty-five years, and feminine at twenty-one years. No action was ever taken.

When war with Great Britain broke out, in 1812, a fresh impulse was given to Indian depredations, which had never fairly ceased, but the hostiles were beaten, and were quiet after the close of that contest. On June 29, 1816, a convention adopted a State constitution for Indiana, and on Dec. 11 it was admitted into the Union. Rapid and continued immigration ensued. This was greatly increased by the opening of the Erie Canal. During the Civil War Indiana furnished to the National army 195,147 soldiers. In 1899 the assessed valuation of taxable property was $1,342,831,161; total tax rate, $2.96 per $1,000; and total debt, $5,004,615. The population in 1890 was 2,192,404; in 1900, 2,516,462. See CLARK, GEORGE ROGERS; UNITED STATES—INDIANA, in vol. ix.

GOVERNORS OF TERRITORY.

William H. Harrison		1800 to 1812
John Gibson	acting	1800 " 1801
Thomas Posey	appointed	March 3, 1813

GOVERNORS OF STATE.

Jonathan Jennings	elected to Congress	1816
Ratliff Boon	acting	Sept. 12 to Dec. 5, 1822
William Hendricks	elected U. S. Senator	1822
James B. Ray	acting	Feb. 12 to Dec. 11, 1825
" " "		1825
Noah Noble		1831
David Wallace		1837
Samuel Bigger		1840
James Whitcomb	elected U. S. Senator	1843
Paris C. Dunning	acting	1848 to 1849
Joseph A. Wright		1849
Ashbel P. Willard	(died Oct. 4, 1860)	1857
Abram A. Hammond	acting	1860 to 1861
Henry S. Lane	elected U. S. Senator	1861
Oliver P. Morton	acting	1861 to 1865
" " "	elected U. S. Senator	1865
Conrad Baker	acting	1867 to 1869
" "		1869
Thomas A. Hendricks		1873
James D. Williams	(died Nov. 20, 1880)	1877
Isaac P. Gray	acting	1880 to 1881
Albert G. Porter		1881
Isaac P. Gray		1885
Alvin P. Hovey	(died Nov. 23, 1891)	1889
Ira J. Chase	acting	1891 to 1893
Claude Matthews		1893
James A. Mount		1897
Winfield T. Durbin		1901
J. Frank Hanly		1905

UNITED STATES SENATORS

Name.	No. of Congress.	Date.
James Noble	14th to 22d	1816 to 1831
Waller Taylor	14th " 19th	1816 " 1825
William Hendricks	19th " 24th	1825 " 1837
Robert Hanna	22d	1831 " 1832
John Tipton	22d to 25th	1832 " 1837
Oliver H. Smith	25th " 27th	1837 " 1843
Albert S. White	26th " 28th	1839 " 1844
Edward A. Hannegan	28th " 30th	1843 " 1849
Jesse D. Bright	29th " 37th	1845 " 1861
James Whitcomb	31st " 32d	1849 " 1852
Charles W. Cathcart	32d	1852 " 1853
John Petit	32d to 33d	1853 " 1856
Graham N. Fitch	34th " 36th	1857 " 1860
Henry S. Lane	37th " 39th	1861 " 1867
Joseph A. Wright	37th	1861 " 1862
David Turpie	"	1863
Thomas A. Hendricks	38th to 40th	1863 to 1869
Oliver P. Morton	40th " 45th	1867 " 1877
Daniel D. Pratt	41st " 43d	1869 " 1875
Joseph E. McDonald	44th " 46th	1875 " 1881
Daniel W. Voorhees	45th " 55th	1877 " 1897
Benjamin Harrison	47th " 49th	1881 " 1888
David Turpie	50th " 56th	1888 " 1899
Charles W. Fairbanks	55th " ——	1897 " ——
Albert J. Beveridge	56th " ——	1899 " ——

Indians, the name commonly applied to the people found by Columbus in America; by many authorities believed to have been the aboriginal inhabitants. The

following remarks and tables refer to Indians within the present area of the United States. In manners, customs, and general features the difference between the Indians of the Gulf States and those of the shores of the Northern Lakes is scarcely perceptible; it is only by languages that they can be grouped into great families. East of the Mississippi there were not more than eight radically distinct languages, four of which are still in existence, while the others have disappeared.

NAMES AND LOCATION OF THE PRINCIPAL TRIBES OF THE EIGHT GREAT FAMILIES AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

Name.	Location.
I. *Algonquian tribes:*	
Micmacs	East of the State of Maine.
Etchemins or Canoe men	Maine.
Abenakis	New Hampshire and Maine.
Narragansets, Pokanokets or Wampanoags	Eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island.
Pequots	Central Massachusetts and Rhode Island.
Mohegans	Western Massachusetts and Connecticut.
Delawares or Lenni Lenape	New Jersey, the valley of the Delaware and Schuylkill.
Nanticokes	Eastern shores of Chesapeake Bay.
Powhatan Confederacy	E. Virginia and Maryland.
Corees	E. North Carolina.
Shawnees	South of the Ohio, W. Kentucky, and Tennessee.
Miamis	S. Michigan, N. Indiana, and N. W. Ohio.
Illinois	S. Illinois and Indiana.
Kickapoos	N. and central Illinois.
Pottawattomies	Northern Illinois.
Ottawas	Michigan.
Sacs and Foxes	Northern Wisconsin.
Menomonees	Southern shore of Lake Superior.
Chippewas or Ojibways	Southern shore of Lake Superior.
II. *Wyandotte or Huron Iroquois tribes:*	
Eries (Huron or Wyandotte-Iroquois)	Southern shore of Lake Erie.
Andastes (Huron or Wyandotte-Iroquois)	Head-waters of the Ohio.
Wyandottes (Huron or Wyandotte-Iroquois)	Territory north of Lakes Erie and Ontario.
Senecas (Iroquois proper)	Western New York.
Cayugas (Iroquois proper)	Central New York.
Onondagas (Iroquois proper)	" " "
Oneidas (Iroquois proper)	Eastern New York.
Mohawks (Iroquois proper)	" " "
Tuscaroras (Iroquois proper)	S. W. Virginia and North Carolina. Joined the Iroquois of New York, 1713.

NAMES AND LOCATION OF THE PRINCIPAL TRIBES OF THE EIGHT GREAT FAMILIES AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	Location.
Chowans (Huron or Wyandotte-Iroquois)	Southern Virginia.
Meherrins (Huron or Wyandotte-Iroquois)	" "
Nottaways (Huron or Wyandotte-Iroquois)	" "
III. *Catawbas*	W. North and South Carolina.
IV. *Cherokees*	Mountainous regions of Tennessee, Georgia, North and South Carolina.
V. *Uchees*	About Augusta, Ga.
VI. *Natchez*	N. W. Mississippi.
VII. *Mobilian or Muscogees:*	
Chickasaws	Western Tennessee and Northern Mississippi.
Choctaws	Eastern Mississippi and Western Alabama.
Creeks	Alabama and Georgia.
Seminoles	Florida.
VIII. *Winnebagoes*	About Green Bay, Wis.

PRINCIPAL TRIBES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1800–30.

Name.	Location.
Dakotas (Sioux)	Wisconsin, west to Rocky Mountains.
Arapahoes	Wyoming, head-waters of Platte.
Cheyennes	Wyoming and Nebraska.
Kansas	Kansas, west.
Poncas	Dakotas.
Omahas	Nebraska.
Mandans	Montana.
Assiniboins	Montana and Dakotas.
Minnetaries (Gros Ventres)	Montana.
Missouris	Lower Missouri.
Iowas	Iowa.
Osages	Kansas, west.
Crows	Dakotas.
Kaws	Kansas.
Pawnees	Kansas and Nebraska.
Caddos	Red River and Arkansas.
Shoshones or Snakes	Kansas to Oregon.
Kiowas	Kansas, west.
Utes	Utah and Colorado.
Comanches	Texas and New Mexico.
Apaches	New Mexico and Arizona.
Navajos and Moquis	Arizona.
Yumas	Arizona and California.
Pueblos	Nevada and New Mexico.
Pimas	Arizona.
Bannocks	Idaho and Oregon.
Modocs	Nevada and Oregon.
Nez Percés	" "
Flatheads	California, Oregon, and Nevada.
Klamaths	Oregon and N. California

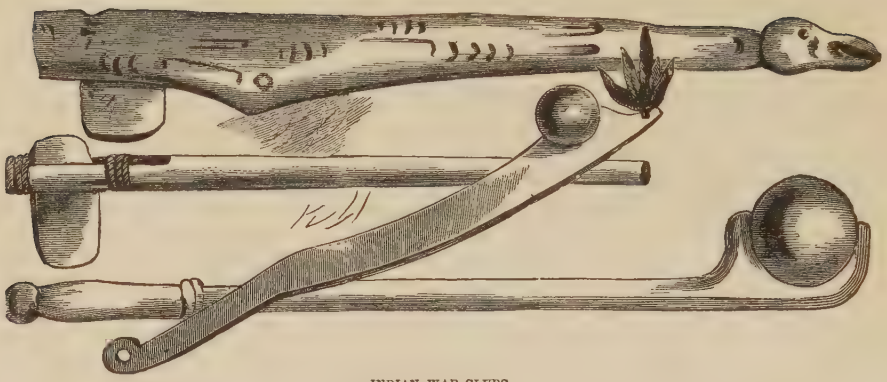
For other details concerning the various tribes, see their respective titles; also RESERVATIONS, INDIAN.

Indians, AMERICAN. Believing the earth to be a globe, Columbus expected to find India or Eastern Asia by sailing westward from Spain. The first land discovered by him—one of the Bahama

A MODERN COMANCHE.

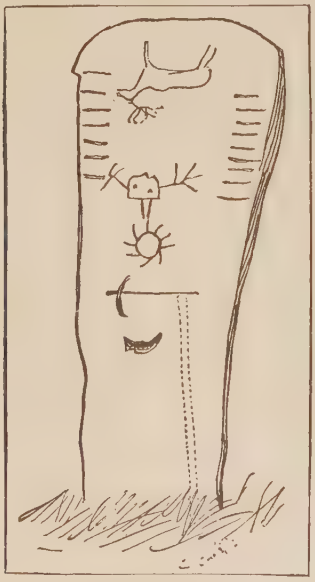
Islands—he supposed to be a part of India, and he called the inhabitants *Indians*. This name was afterwards applied to all the nations of the adjacent islands and the continent.

Origin.—There is no positive knowledge concerning the origin of the aborigines of America; their own traditions widely vary, and conjecture is unsatisfying. Recent investigations favor a theory that, if they be not indigenous, they came from two great Asiatic families: the more northern tribes of our continent from the lighter Mongolians, who crossed at Bering Strait, and the more southerly ones, in California, Central and South America, from the darker Malays, who first peopled Polynesia, in



INDIAN WAR-CLUBS.

the southern Pacific Ocean and finally made their way to our continent, gradually spreading over it from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Language fails to connect any of them with the Asiatic families, but their traditions, implements, and modes of life point to such a relationship. It has been suggested



INDIAN GRAVE-POST.

that the Mandans and Chinooks, who are almost white, are descendants of a Welsh colony said to have been lost in the wilds of North America 700 years ago.

Unity.—There seems to be a physical identity of race throughout most of the continent. Their skin is generally of a dark reddish-brown, or cinnamon, color; they have long, black, and straight hair, prominent cheek-bones, and broad faces; eyes deep-set, full and rounded lips, broad and prominent noses, scanty beard; their heads are generally square, and their stature about the same as that of other races of the same latitude. Their muscular development is not great, and their hands and feet are small; their skin is thinner, softer, and smoother than that of Europeans; the expression of the men is often noble, and many of the women are handsome. Haughty in deportment, taciturn, stoical, cunning, persevering, revengeful, brave and ferocious in war; cruel towards enemies and faithful towards friends; grateful for favors, hospitable and kind, the Indians of North America are undoubtedly capable of great and rapid development under the genial influence of civilization. Their mental temperament is poetic and imaginative in a high degree, and it is often expressed in great beauty and eloquence of language; but in their present social condition their animal propensities greatly preponderate over the intellectual. The tribes south of California have always been noted for mental development much superior to those of more northern latitudes.

Pursuits.—War, hunting, and fishing

are the chief pursuits of the men of the more barbarous tribes; agriculture of the semi-civilized. Among the savages found in North America by Europeans, the women performed almost all the manual labor and burden-bearing. They carried on their limited agriculture, which consisted in the production of maize or Indian corn, beans, squashes, potatoes, and tobacco. They manufactured the implements of war, and for hunting and fishing; made mats, and skin and feather clothing, canoes, ornaments of the teeth and claws of beasts, and of shells and porcupine-quills; performed all domestic drudgery, and constructed the lodges of the bark of trees or the hides of beasts. Rude figures of animate and inanimate objects carved in wood or stone, or moulded in clay, and picture-writing on the inner bark of trees or the skins of beasts, or cut upon rocks, with rude ornamented pottery, were the extent of their accomplishments in the arts of design and of literature. The picture-writing was sometimes used in musical notation, and contained the burden of their songs.

Religion.—They believed in a good and Supreme Being, and in an Evil Spirit, and recognized the existence of inferior good and evil spirits. They believed in a future state of existence, and there were no infidels among them. Superstition swayed them powerfully, and charlatans, called "medicine-men," were their physicians, priests, and prophets, who, on all occasions, used incantations. Christian missionaries have labored among them in many places, from the time the Spaniards and Frenchmen settled in America until now, and have done much to enlighten them.

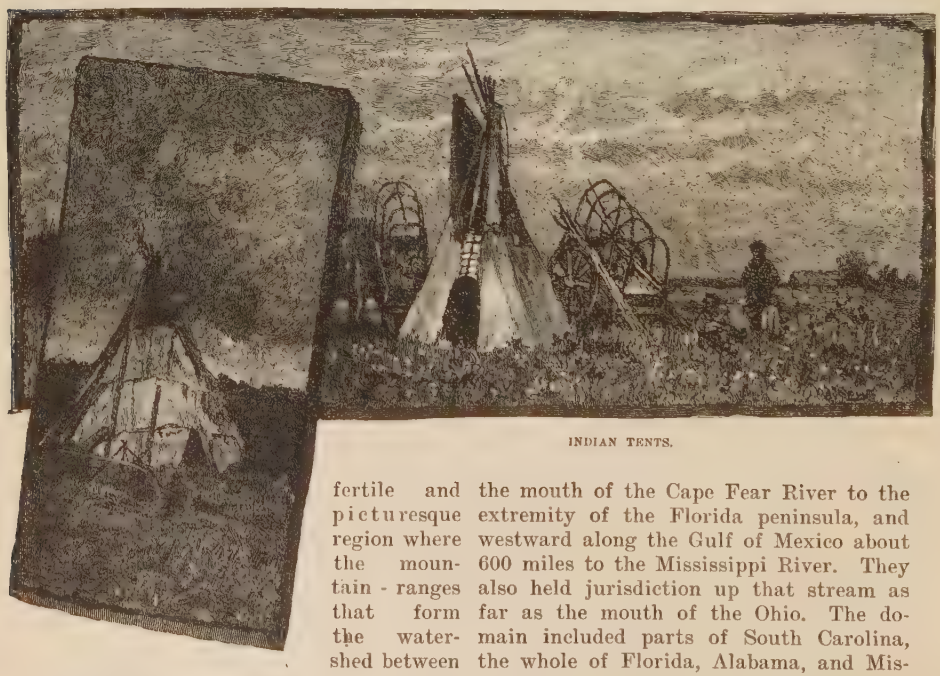
Government. — There was not a semblance of a national government among the aborigines when the Europeans came, except that of the IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY (*q. v.*). Their language was varied by more than a hundred dialects, and they were divided into many distinct families or tribes, under a kind of patriarchal rule. Each family had its armorial sign, called a *totem*, such as an eagle, a bear, or a deer, by which it was designated. The civil head of a tribe was called a sachem, and the military leader a chief. Those official honors were gained sometimes by inheritance, but more frequently by personal merit. Such was the simple

INDIAN ARROW-HEADS.

government, seldom disobeyed, that controlled about 1,000,000 dusky inhabitants of the present domain of the United States, which extends over nearly twenty-five degrees of latitude and about sixty degrees of longitude.

Geographical Distribution.—There seem to have been only eight radically distinct nations known to the earlier settlers—namely, the Algonquian, Huron-Iroquois, Cherokee, Catawba, Uchee, Natchez, Mobilian or Floridian, and Dakota or Sioux. More recently, other distinct nations have been discovered—namely, the Athabascas, Sahaptins, Chinooks, Shoshones, and Attakapas. Others will doubtless be found. The Algonquians were a large family occupying all Canada, New England, a part of New York and Pennsylvania; all New

Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; eastern North Carolina above Cape Fear, a large part of Kentucky and Tennessee, and all north and west of those States east of the Mississippi. Within the folds of this nation were the Huron-Iroquois, occupying a greater portion of Canada south of the Ottawa River, and the region between Lake Ontario and Lakes Erie and Huron, nearly all of the State of New York, and a part of Pennsylvania and Ohio along the southern shores of Lake Erie. Detached from the main body were the Tuscaroras and a few smaller families dwelling in southern Virginia and the upper part of North Carolina. Five families of the Huron-Iroquois, dwelling within the limits of the State of New York, formed the famous Iroquois Confederacy of Five Nations. The Cherokees inhabited the small family in the pleasant land along the Oconee and the head-waters of the Ogeechee and Chattahoochee, in Georgia, and touched the Cherokees. They were only a remnant of a once powerful tribe, when the Europeans came, and they claimed to be more ancient than the surrounding people. The Natchez occupied a territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, extending northeastward from the site of the city of Natchez along the Pearl River to the head-waters of the Chickasaw. They claimed to be older than the Uchees, and, like others of the Gulf region, they worshipped the sun and fire, and made sacrifices to the source of terrestrial light. The Mobilians or Floridians occupied a domain next in extent to that of the Algonquians. It stretched along the Atlantic coast from

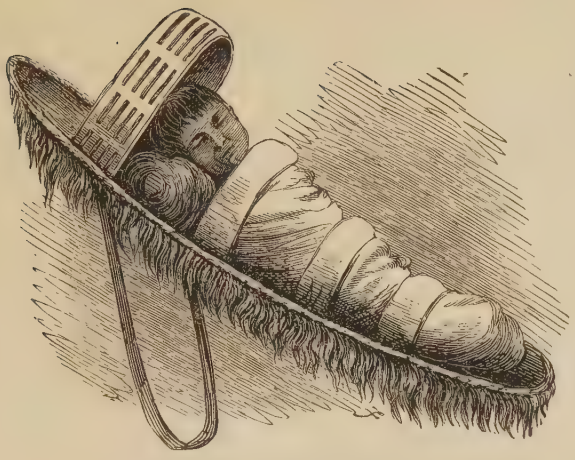


INDIAN TENTS.

fertile and picturesque region where the mountain-ranges that form the watershed between the Atlantic and Mississippi melt in the lowlands that border the Gulf of Mexico.

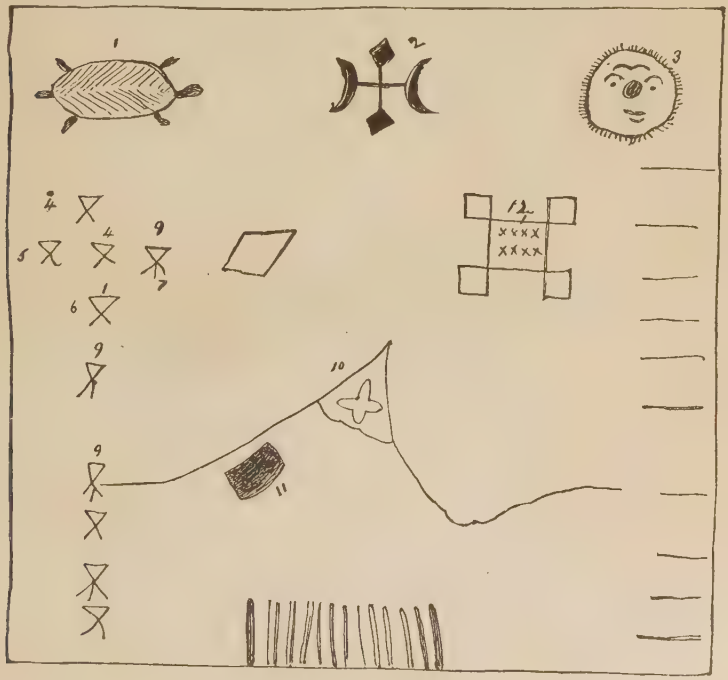
The Catawbas were their neighbors on the east, and dwelt upon the borders of the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, on both sides of the boundary-line between North and South Carolina. The Uchees were a

the mouth of the Cape Fear River to the extremity of the Florida peninsula, and westward along the Gulf of Mexico about 600 miles to the Mississippi River. They also held jurisdiction up that stream as far as the mouth of the Ohio. The domain included parts of South Carolina, the whole of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, all of Georgia not occupied by the Cherokees and Uchees, and portions of Tennessee and Kentucky. The nation was divided into three confederacies, each powerful and independent, like our separate States. They were known respectively as the Muscogee or Creek (the most



INDIAN PAPPOOSE AND CRADLE.

large number of tribes west of the Great Lakes and Mississippi, with whom the earlier French explorers came in contact. These, speaking dialects of the same language, apparently, were regarded as parts of one nation. They inhabited the domain stretching northward from the Arkansas River to the western tributary of Lake Winnipeg, and westward along all that line to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. They have been arranged into four classes: 1. The Winnebagoes, situated between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, within the domain of the Algonquians. 2. The Assiniboins, or Sioux proper, who formed the more powerful), the Choitan, and the Chickasaw. The heart of the Creek family was



INDIAN PICTURE WRITING.

in Alabama. Under the general title of northerly part of the nation. 3. The Dakotas or Sioux have been grouped a Southern Sioux, who were seated in the

country between the Platte and Arkansas rivers. The Sahaptins include the Nez Percés and Walla Wallas, extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, in Oregon and Washington. Beyond these are the more powerful Chinooks, now rapidly melting away. They embraced numerous tribes, from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Grand Dalles. The Shoshones comprise tribes inhabiting the territory around the head-waters of the Columbia and Missouri rivers; the Comanches, extending from the head-waters of the Brazos to those of the Arkansas; families in Utah and Texas, and several tribes in California. The Attakapas and Chitemachas, in Texas, have languages that enter into no known group.

A GROUP OF EDUCATED INDIANS.

Condition of the Indians.—According to official reports, the Indian population in 1904 was, approximately, about 270,000, nearly all of whom were partially or absolutely under the control of the national government. There were 180,000 Indians on reservations, or at schools under control of the Indian Bureau, leaving about 90,000 in the five civilized tribes of Indian Territory and in New York State, the former numbering about 84,500, and the latter, 5,232. Besides these, there were 32,567 taxable and self-sustaining Indians who had become citizens of the United States. The expensive and complicated machinery for the management of Indian affairs has been much in the way of the elevation of the race in the scale of civilization, and has produced much evil by creating irritation, jealousy, and universal lack of faith in the white race. These irritations for a long time kept a large portion of the Indians in a state of chronic hostility, and whole tribes utterly refused all overtures of the government to accept its protection and fostering care. In 1880 it was estimated that the number of potentially hostile Indians was fully 60,000. In 1891 the condition of affairs had been

much improved. Among many tribes the introduction of agriculture, schools, and churches had been attended with the happiest results. There were 24,357 pupils enrolled in the reservation, non-reservation, and day schools, besides 3,506 in institutes and public schools, and these schools were supported at an expense of $3,522,950. There is a tendency in most of the tribes to engage in settled pursuits and accept citizenship. See also names of various tribes.

Indirect Claims. See ALABAMA CLAIMS.

Industrial Education. See TECHNOLOGY, SCHOOLS OF.

Industrial Exhibitions. See EXPOSITIONS.

Inflation Legislation. In order to fully comprehend the financial situation of the United States which led up to the inflation legislation, it is necessary to go back to the State and national finances just after the Civil War opened. The demand-note issue of July 17, 1861, was the first attempt to use the government notes as currency. These were redeemable at sight in coin, and were used in the payment of salaries due employés in the departments. The act of Feb. 25, 1862, authorized the issue of $150,000,000 in legal-tender United States notes, $50,000,000 of which were to take up the issue of demand notes. July 11, 1862, an additional issue of $150,000,000 in legal-tender notes was authorized by Congress, $35,000,000 of this to be in sums of less than five dollars. July 17, 1862, an act authorized the issue of notes of the fractional part of one dollar, receivable in payment of all dues, except customs, less than five dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes in sums not less than five dollars. The amount of this issue was not specified. On Jan. 17, 1863, a resolution authorized the issue of $100,000,000 in United States notes for the immediate payment of the army and navy. The amount of this issue was subsequently included in the act of March 3, 1863, which authorized an issue of legal-tender United States notes, in all respects similar to those already issued, to the amount of $150,000,000, and also an amount, not to exceed $400,000,000, of treasury notes, payable at any time within three years, bearing interest not to exceed 6 per cent., and issued in denominations of not less than ten dollars, which should be legal tender for their face value, the same as the United States notes. Under the authority of this latter clause, there were issued of one-year notes, bearing interest at 5 per cent., $44,520,000, and of two-year notes, bearing interest at 6 per cent., $166,480,000. Authority was given on the same day for the issue of enough fractional currency to bring the amount of circulation up to $50,000,000.

Authority having been given by law to reissue indefinitely any of the United States notes, no care was taken, in reissuing them, to maintain any distinction in the character of the notes. The amount outstanding at one time, however, never exceeded the aggregate amount authorized to be issued by the three acts, and its highest amount was reached Jan. 30, 1864, when it was $449,338,902. The total amount of legal-tender paper issued by the government, exclusive of fractional currency, having a limited legal-tender quality, may be thus summed up:

United States notes.....	$449,338,902
One year 5 per cent. notes..	44,520,000
Two year 6 per cent. notes....	166,480,000
Total	$660,338,902

In July, 1865, the government had outstanding $433,000,000 of United States notes, $43,000,000 of one and two year notes, and $25,000,000 of fractional notes. In his report at the opening of Congress in that year Secretary McCulloch advocated a contraction of the currency, and to carry out this policy Congress, by an act approved April 12, 1866, directed "that of United States notes not more than $10,000,000 may be retired and cancelled within six months of the passage of this act, and thereafter not more than $4,000,000 per month." Under this act the notes were retired and cancelled as provided by law, and reduced to ashes, as provided by treasury regulations, until threatened stringency in the money market made Congress eager to ward off, if possible, the inevitable result of contraction.

By an act of Feb. 4, 1868, the authority to further retire United States notes was suspended, then leaving outstanding $356,000,000. Now the maximum limit of United States notes had been fixed, by the act of June 30, 1864, as $400,000,000, and during the year 1870 some financial genius discovered that this was meant to indicate the minimum also, and that $44,000,000 in notes, though they had been burned according to regulations, still remained as a reserve, which the Secretary of the Treasury could issue or retire at his discretion. By virtue of this newly discovered discretionary power, Secretary Boutwell, in October, 1871, issued $1,500,000 of this to relieve a stringency on Wall Street. By the following year he had issued $4,637,256 of this reserve, but the outcry against his policy was so strong that he retired nearly all of it, and early in 1873 Secretary Richardson retired the rest. In the latter part of the year, however, on the occasion of the panic, Secretary Richardson reissued $25,000,000 of it to relieve the embarrassed banks.

A bill fixing the legal-tender United States currency at $400,000,000, and making some important stipulations about bank issues, was passed by both Houses early in 1874, but was vetoed by the President. A part of the veto message is here given to show the grounds of his action:

"Practically it is a question whether the measure under discussion would give an additional dollar to the irredeemable paper currency of the country or not, and whether, by requiring three-fourths of the reserve to be returned by the banks and prohibiting interest to be received on the balance, it might not prove a contraction. But the fact cannot be concealed that theoretically the bill increases the paper circulation $100,000,000, less only the amount of reserves restrained from circulation by the provision of the second section. The measure has been supported on the theory that it would give increased circulation. It is a fair inference, therefore, that if in practice the measures should fail to create the abundance of circulation expected of it, the friends of the measure—particularly those out of Congress—would clamor for such inflation as would give the expected relief. This theory, in my belief, is a departure from true principles of finance, national interest, national obligations to creditors, congressional promises, party pledges on the part of both political parties, and of personal views and promises made by me in every annual message sent to Congress, and in each inaugural address." After quoting passages to verify this last assertion, the President said: "I am not a believer in any artificial method of making paper money equal to coin, when the coin is not owned or held ready to redeem the promises to pay, for paper money is nothing more than promises to pay, and is valuable exactly in proportion to the amount of coin that it can be converted into. While coin is not used as a circulating medium, or the currency of the country is not convertible into it at par, it becomes an article of commerce as much as any other product. The surplus will seek a foreign market, as will any other surplus. The balance of trade has nothing to do with the question. Duties on exports being required in coin creates a limited demand for gold. About enough to satisfy that demand remains in the country. To increase this supply I see no way open but by the government hoarding, through the means above given, and possibly by requiring the national banks to aid. It is claimed by the advocates of the measure herewith returned that there is an unequal distribution of the banking capital of the country. I was disposed to give great weight to this view of the question at first, but on reflection it will be remembered that there still remains $4,000,000 of authorized bank-note circulation, assigned to States having less than their quota, not yet taken. In addition to this the States having less than their quota of bank circulation have the option of $25,000,000 more to be taken from those States having more than their proportion. When this is all taken up, or when specie payments are fully restored, or are in rapid process of restoration, will be the time to consider the question of more currency."

An act fixing the issue of United States notes at $383,000,000, the amount then outstanding, was approved June 20, 1874. Between 1868 and 1874 the amount of

fractional notes had also been increased from $25,000,000 to $46,000,000. In January, 1875, the resumption act was passed, and under its provisions the retirement of United States notes was again begun. The redemption of the fractional currency with silver was also begun, and went on so rapidly that by the end of 1877 only $16,000,000 of it remained. Congress passed an act, May 31, 1878, forbidding the further retirement of United States notes under the resumption act. But the increase in the commerce of the country had by this time so far readjusted credits that the value of legal tender and coin had become nearly equal. On Jan. 1, 1879, therefore, resumption took place according to law, without any serious derangement of the business of the country.

Ingalls, JAMES MONROE, military officer; born in Sutton, Vt., Jan. 25, 1837; was educated at Evansville (Wis.) Seminary; graduated at the United States Artillery School in 1872; entered the regular army, Jan. 2, 1864; promoted 1st lieutenant, May 3, 1863; captain, July 1, 1880; major, June 1, 1897; lieutenant-colonel, Oct. 5, 1900; and was retired, Jan. 25, 1901. He founded the department of ballistics in the United States Artillery School in 1882, and was the principal instructor there till the outbreak of the war with Spain, when the school suspended operations. He was the author of *Exterior Ballistics; Ballistic Machines; Ballistic Tables; Ballistics for the Instruction of Artillery Gunners;* etc.

Ingalls, JOHN JAMES, lawyer; born in Middleton, Mass., Dec. 29, 1833; graduated at Williams College in 1855, and was admitted to the bar in 1857. He went to Atchison, Kan., in 1858, and became a member of the Wyandotte Convention in 1859, secretary of the territorial council in 1869, and secretary of the State Senate in 1861. He was State Senator in 1862, and in the same year was defeated as Republican candidate for lieutenant-governor. In 1863–65 he was editor of the *Atchison Champion;* in 1864 was again defeated for lieutenant-governor; in 1873–91 was a United States Senator, and in 1887–91 was president *pro tem.* of the Senate. He was forced to retire to private life in 1891 by the ascendancy in Kansas of the Farmers' Alliance, which he had severely criticised. On retiring from the Senate he engaged in journalism and lecturing till his death, in Las Vegas, N. M., Aug. 16, 1900.

Eulogy on Senator Hill.—On Jan. 23, 1882, he delivered the following eulogy on the occasion of the death of Senator Benjamin Harvey Hill, of Georgia:

Mr. President,—Ben. Hill has gone to the undiscovered country. Whether his journey thither was but one step across an imperceptible frontier, or whether an interminable ocean, black, unfluctuating, and voiceless, stretches between these earthly coasts and those invisible shores —we do not know.

Whether on that August morning after death, he saw a more glorious sun rise with unimaginable splendor above a celestial horizon, or whether his apathetic and unconscious ashes still sleep in cold obstruction and insensible oblivion—we do not know.

Whether his strong and subtle energies found instant exercise in another forum, whether his dexterous and undisciplined faculties are now contending in a higher Senate than ours for supremacy, or whether his powers were dissipated and dispersed with his parting breath—we do not know.

Whether his passions, ambitions, and affections still sway, attract, and impel, whether he yet remembers us as we remember him—we do not know.

These are the unsolved, the insolvable problems of mortal life and human destiny, which prompted the troubled patriarch to ask that momentous question, for which the centuries have given no answer: "If a man die, shall he live again?"

Every man is the centre of a circle, whose fatal circumference he cannot pass. Within its narrow confines he is potential, beyond it he perishes; and if immortality is a splendid, but delusive dream, if the incompleteness of every career, even the longest and most fortunate, be not supplemented and perfected after its termination here, then he who dreads to die should fear to live, for life is a tragedy more desolate and inexplicable than death.

Of all the dead whose obsequies we have paused to solemnize in this chamber, I recall no one whose untimely fate seems so lamentable, and yet so rich in prophecy, as that of Senator Hill. He had reached the meridian of his years. He stood upon the high plateau of middle life, in that serene atmosphere where temptation no longer assails, where the clamorous passions and contention, such as infrequently fall to the lot of men, no longer find exercise. Though not without the tendency to meditation, reverie, and introspection which accompanies genius, his temperament was palestric. He was competitive and unpeaceful. He was born a polemic and controversialist, intellectually pugnacious and combative, so that he was impelled to defend any position that might be assailed, or to attack any position that might be intrenched, not because the defence or assault was essential, but because the positions were maintained, and those who held them became, by that fact alone, his adversaries. This tendency of his nature made his orbit erratic. He was meteoric, rather than planetary, and flashed with irregular splendor, rather than shone with steady and penetrating rays. His advocacy of any cause was fearless to the verge of temerity. He appeared to be indifferent to applause or censure, for their own sake. He accepted intrepidly any conclusion that he reached, without inquiring whether it was politic or expedient.

To such a spirit partisanship was unavoidable, but with Senator Hill it did not degenerate into bigotry. He was capable of broad generosity, and extended to his opponents the same unreserved candor which he demanded for himself. His oratory was impetuous, and devoid of artifice. He was not a posturer or phrase-monger. He was too intense, too earnest, to employ the cheap and paltry decorations of discourse. He never reconnoitred a hostile position, nor approached it by stealthy parallels. He could not lay siege to an enemy, nor beleaguer him, nor open trenches, and sap and mine. His method was the charge and the onset. He was the Murat of senatorial debate. Not many men of this generation have been better equipped for parliamentary warfare than he, with his commanding presence, his sinewy diction, his confidence, and imperturbable self-control.

But in the maturity of his powers and his fame, with unmeasured opportunities for achievement apparently before him, with great designs unaccomplished, surrounded by the proud and affectionate solicitude of a great constituency, the pallid messenger with the inverted torch beckoned him to depart. There are few scenes in history more tragic than that protracted combat with death. No man had greater inducements to live. But in the long struggle against the inexorable advances of an insidious and mortal malady, he did not falter or repine. He retreated with the aspect of a victor, and though he succumbed, he seemed to conquer. His sun went down at noon, but it sank amid the prophetic splendors of an eternal dawn.

With more than a hero's courage, with more than a martyr's fortitude, he waited the approach of the inevitable hour, and went to the undiscovered country.

Ingalls, RUFUS, military officer; born in Denmark, Me., Aug. 23, 1820; graduated at West Point in 1843, entering the rifles, but was transferred to the dragoons in 1845. He served in the war with Mexico, and was on the staff of General Harney on the Pacific coast. In April, 1861, he went with Colonel Brown to reinforce Fort Pickens; and in July was ordered to the Army of the Potomac, where he was upon the staff of General McClellan, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was chief quartermaster of that army from 1862 to 1865; was made brigadier-general of volunteers in May, 1863, and was brevetted major-general, U. S. A. and U. S. V., March 13, 1865. He was in most of the battles of the Army of the Potomac from that of South Mountain to the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. He died in New York City, Jan. 16, 1893.

Ingersoll, CHARLES JARED, statesman; born in Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1782; became a lawyer, and was attached to the legation of Rufus King when he was minister to France. After travelling in Europe, he returned, and published a poem in 1800, and a tragedy in 1801. In 1810 he pub-

lished a political satire, called *Inchiquin the Jesuit's Letters.* In 1813 he was in Congress, and from 1815 to 1829 he was United States district-attorney. He was again in Congress from 1841 to 1847, when he was a Democratic leader. President Polk nominated him minister to France, but the Senate did not confirm the nomination. He wrote a history of the second war between the United States and Great Britain. He died in Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1862.

Ingersoll, EDWARD, author; born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 2, 1817; son of Charles Jared Ingersoll; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1835. His publications include *History and Law of Habeas Corpus and Grand Juries;* and *Personal Liberty and Martial Law.* He was also the editor of *Hale's Pleas of the Crown; Addison on Contracts;* and *Saunders on Uses and Trusts.* He died in Germantown, Pa., Feb. 19, 1893.

Ingersoll, ERNEST, naturalist; born in Monroe, Mich., March 13, 1852; was educated at Oberlin College and the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology. He became connected with the Hayden Survey in 1873, and later was made a member of the United States Fish Commission. In 1880 he was a special agent of the census to report on the oyster industry. He went to California in 1883 to write special articles for *Harper's Magazine.* Later he was editor of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's publications in Montreal. He is author of *Nests and Eggs of American Birds; the Oyster Industries of the United States; Friends Worth Knowing; Knocking Round the Rockies; The Crest of the Continent; Western Canada; The Book of the Ocean,* etc. He is also editor and part author of a series of guide-books to the Eastern States and cities.

Ingersoll, JARED; born in Milford, Conn., in 1722; graduated at Yale in 1742; was stamp agent in 1765. He was obliged to reship the stamps he had received and to resign his office. He is the author of *The Stamp Act.* He died in New Haven, Conn., in August, 1781.

Ingersoll, JARED, jurist; born in Connecticut in 1749; graduated at Yale in 1766; studied law in London; returned to Philadelphia in 1771; was a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1780; a member of the Constitutional convention in 1787; and was the Federal candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1812, but was defeated, receiving 86 electoral votes. He died in Philadelphia, Oct. 31, 1822.

Ingersoll, JOSEPH REED, legislator; born in Philadelphia, Pa., June 14, 1786; graduated in Princeton in 1804; practised law in Philadelphia; served in Congress as Whig in 1835–37 and 1842–49; and was an ardent supporter of Henry Clay; and was United States minister to Great Britain in 1852. He published *Secession, a Folly and a Crime; Life of Samuel Breck,* etc.

INGERSOLL, ROBERT GREEN

Ingersoll, ROBERT GREEN, lawyer; born in Dresden, N. Y., Aug. 11, 1833; began the study of law when eighteen years old, and three years later was admitted to the bar. His gift of oratory soon made him a distinguished man, both in the courts and in Democratic politics. In 1857 he removed from Shawneetown, Ill., to Peoria, and in 1860 was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress. In 1862 he organized the 11th Illinois Cavalry and went to the front as its colonel. He spent most of his military career in raiding and scouting. On Nov. 28, 1862, while endeavoring to intercept a Confederate raiding body with 600 men, he was attacked by a force of 10,000, and captured. He was almost immediately paroled, and placed in command of a camp at St. Louis. After a few months in this capacity, fearing that he would not be returned to active service, he resigned his commission. Returning home, he became a strong Republican, and in 1866 was appointed attorney-general of Illinois. In 1876, at the Republican National Convention, he nominated James G. Blaine for the Presidency in a speech which contained the following memorable sentence: "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched

down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lances full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor." He was conspicuously active in the Presidential campaigns of 1876 and 1880, and had it not been for his pro-

ROBERT GREEN INGERSOLL.

nounced agnostic views he would have been honored with high official preferment. In 1882 he settled in New York City, and engaged in law practice till his death, July 21, 1899. He was a man of rare personal attractions; an orator of exceptional brilliancy. His generosity was unbounded. Among his lectures, which had gained him wide popularity, the most characteristic were: *Some Mistakes of Moses; The Family; The Liberty of Man, Woman, and Child; The Gods;* and *Ghosts.* His publications included: *Lectures Complete;* and *Great Speeches.*

Thomas Paine.—The following is Colonel Ingersoll's noted review of the life and works of THOMAS PAINE (*q. v.*):

———

Eighty-three years ago Thomas Paine ceased to defend himself. The moment he became dumb all his enemies found a tongue. He was attacked on every hand. The Tories of England had been waiting for their revenge. The believers in kings, in hereditary government, the nobility of every land, execrated his memory. Their greatest enemy was dead. The believers in human slavery, and all who clamored for the rights of the States as against the sovereignty of a nation, joined in the chorus of denunciation. In addition to this, the believers in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the occupants of orthodox pulpits, the professors in Christian colleges, and the religious historians, were his sworn and implacable foes.

This man had gratified no ambition at the expense of his fellow-men; he had desolated no country with the flame and sword of war; he had not wrung millions from the poor and unfortunate; he had betrayed no trust, and yet he was almost universally despised. He gave his life for the benefit of mankind. Day and night, for many, many weary years, he labored for the good of others, and gave himself body and soul to the great cause of human liberty. And yet he won the hatred of the people for whose benefit, for whose emancipation, for whose civilization, for whose exaltation he gave his life.

Against him every slander that malignity could coin and hypocrisy pass was gladly and joyously taken as genuine, and every truth with regard to his career was believed to be counterfeit. He was attacked by thousands where he was defended by one, and the one who defended him was instantly attacked, silenced, or destroyed.

At last his life has been written by Moncure D. Conway, and the real history of Thomas Paine, of what he attempted and accomplished, of what he taught and suffered, has been intelligently, truthfully, and candidly given to the world. Henceforth the slanderer will be without excuse.

He who reads Mr. Conway's pages will find that Thomas Paine was more than a patriot; that he was a philanthropist—a lover not only of his country, but of all mankind. He will find that his sympathies were with those who suffered, without regard to religion or race, country or complexion. He will find that this great man did not hesitate to attack the governing class of his native land, to commit what was called treason against the King, that he might do battle for the rights of men; that, in spite of the prejudices of birth, he took the side of the American colonies; that he gladly attacked the political abuses and absurdities that had been fostered by altars and

thrones for many centuries; that he was for the people against nobles and kings; and that he put his life in pawn for the good of others.

In the winter of 1774 Thomas Paine came to America. After a time he was employed as one of the writers on *The Pennsylvania Magazine.*

Let us see what he did, calculated to excite the hatred of his fellow-men.

The first article he ever wrote in America, and the first ever published by him anywhere, appeared in that magazine on March 8, 1775. It was an attack on American slavery—a plea for the rights of the negro. In that article will be found substantially all the arguments that can be urged against that most infamous of all institutions. Every line is full of humanity, pity, tenderness, and love of justice. Five days after this article appeared the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. Certainly this should not excite our hatred. To-day the civilized world agrees with the essay written by Thomas Paine in 1775.

At that time great interests were against him. The owners of slaves became his enemies, and the pulpits, supported by slave-labor, denounced this abolitionist.

The next article published by Thomas Paine, in the same magazine, and for the next month, was an attack on the practice of duelling, showing that it was barbarous, that it did not even tend to settle the right or wrong of a dispute, that it could not be defended on any just grounds, and that its influence was degrading and cruel. The civilized world now agrees with the opinions of Thomas Paine upon that barbarous practice.

In May, 1775, appeared in the same magazine another article written by Thomas Paine, a *Protest Against Cruelty to Animals.* He began the work that was so successfully and gloriously carried out by Henry Bergh, one of the noblest, one of the grandest, men that this continent has produced.

The good people of this world agree with Thomas Paine.

In August of the same year he wrote a plea for the *Rights of Woman,* the first ever published in the New World. Certainly he should not be hated for that.

He was the first to suggest a union of the colonies. Before the Declaration of Independence was issued, Paine had written of and about the *Free and Independent States of America.* He had also spoken of the United States colonies as the "Glorious Union," and he was the first to write these words: "The United States of America."

In May, 1775, Washington said: "If you ever hear of me joining in any such measure (as separation from Great Britain) you have my leave to set me down for everything wicked." He had also said: "It is not the wish or interest of the government (meaning Massachusetts), or of any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence." And in the same year Benjamin Franklin assured Chatham that no one in America was in favor of separation. As a matter of fact, the people of the colonies wanted a redress of their grievances—they were not dreaming of separation, of independence.

In 1775 Paine wrote the pamphlet known as *Common Sense.* This was published on Jan. 10, 1776. It was the first appeal for independence, the first cry for national life, for absolute separation. No pamphlet, no book, ever kindled such a sudden conflagration—a purifying flame, in which the prejudices and fears of millions were consumed. To read it now, after the lapse of more than 100 years, hastens the blood. It is but the meagre truth to say that Thomas Paine did more for the cause of separation, to sow the seeds of independence, than any other man of his time. Certainly we should not despise him for this. The Declaration of Independence followed, and in that declaration will be found not only the thoughts, but some of the expressions, of Thomas Paine.

During the war, and in the very darkest hours, Paine wrote what is called *The Crisis,* a series of pamphlets giving from time to time his opinion of events, and his prophecies. These marvellous publications produced an effect nearly as great as the pamphlet *Common Sense.* These strophes, written by the bivouac fires, had in them the soul of battle.

In all he wrote, Paine was direct and natural. He touched the very heart of

the subject. He was not awed by names or titles, by place or power. He never lost his regard for truth, for principle—never wavered in his allegiance to reason, to what he believed to be right. His arguments were so lucid, so unanswerable, his comparisons and analogies so apt, so unexpected, that they excited the passionate admiration of friends and the unquenchable hatred of enemies. So great were these appeals to patriotism, to the love of liberty, the pride of independence, the glory of success, that it was said by some of the best and greatest of that time that the American cause owed as much to the pen of Paine as to the sword of Washington.

On Nov. 2, 1779, there was introduced into the Assembly of Pennsylvania an act for the abolition of slavery. The preamble was written by Thomas Paine. To him belongs the honor and glory of having written the first proclamation of emancipation in America—Paine the first, Lincoln the last.

Paine, of all others, succeeded in getting aid for the struggling colonies from France. "According to Lamartine, the King, Louis XVI., loaded Paine with favors, and a gift of six millions was confided into the hands of Franklin and Paine. On Aug. 25, 1781, Paine reached Boston, bringing 2,500,000 livres in silver, and in convoy a ship laden with clothing and military stores."

In November, 1779, Paine was elected clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. In 1780, the Assembly received a letter from General Washington in the field, saying that he feared the distresses in the army would lead to mutiny in the ranks. This letter was read by Paine to the Assembly. He immediately wrote to Blair McClenaghan, a Philadelphia merchant, explaining the urgency, and enclosing $500, the amount of salary due him as clerk, as his contribution towards a relief fund. The merchant called a meeting the next day, and read Paine's letter. A subscription list was immediately circulated, and in a short time about $1,500,000 was raised. With this capital the Pennsylvania Bank — afterwards the Bank of North America—was established for the relief of the army.

In 1783 Paine wrote a memorial to Chancellor Livingston, secretary of foreign affairs; Robert Morris, minister of finance, and his assistant, urging the necessity of adding a continental legislature to Congress, to be elected by the several States. Robert Morris invited the chancellor and a number of eminent men to meet Paine at dinner, where his plea for a stronger Union was discussed and approved. This was probably the earliest of a series of consultations preliminary to the constitutional convention.

On April 19, 1783, it being the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, Paine printed a little pamphlet entitled, *Thoughts on Peace and the Probable Advantages Thereof.* In this pamphlet he pleads for "a supreme nationality absorbing all cherished sovereignties." Mr. Conway calls this pamphlet Paine's *Farewell Address,* and gives the following extract:

> "It was the cause of America that made me an author. The force with which it struck my mind, and the dangerous condition which the country was in, by courting an impossible and an unnatural reconciliation with those who were determined to reduce her, instead of striking out into the only line that could save her—a Declaration of Independence—made it impossible for me, feeling as I did, to be silent; and if, in the course of more than seven years, I have rendered her any service, I have likewise added something to the reputation of literature, by freely and disinterestedly employing it in the great cause of mankind. . . . But as the scenes of war are closed, and every man preparing for home and happier times, I therefore take leave of the subject. I have most sincerely followed it from beginning to end, and through all its turns and windings; and whatever country I may hereafter be in, I shall always feel an honest pride at the part I have taken and acted, and a gratitude to nature and providence for putting it in my power to be of some use to mankind."

Paine had made some enemies, first, by attacking African slavery, and, second, by insisting upon the sovereignty of the nation.

During the Revolution our forefathers, in order to justify making war on Great Britain, were compelled to take the ground that all men are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In no other way could they justify their action. After the war, the meaner instincts began to take possession of the mind, and those who had fought for their own lib-

erty were perfectly willing to enslave others. We must also remember that the Revolution was begun and carried on by a noble minority—that the majority were really in favor of Great Britain and did what they dared to prevent the success of the American cause. The minority, however, had control of affairs. They were active, energetic, enthusiastic, and courageous, and the majority were overawed, shamed, and suppressed. But when peace came, the majority asserted themselves and the interests of trade and commerce were consulted. Enthusiasm slowly died, and patriotism was mingled with the selfishness of traffic.

But, after all, the enemies of Paine were few, the friends were many. He had the respect and admiration of the greatest and the best, and was enjoying the fruits of his labor.

The Revolution was ended, the colonies were free. They had been united, they formed a nation, and the United States of America had a place on the map of the world.

Paine was not a politician. He had not labored for seven years to get an office. His services were no longer needed in America. He concluded to educate the English people, to inform them of their rights, to expose the pretences, follies and fallacies, the crimes and cruelties of nobles, kings, and parliaments. In the brain and heart of this man were the dream and hope of the universal republic. He had confidence in the people. He hated tyranny and war, despised the senseless pomp and vain show of crowned robbers, laughed at titles, and the "honorable" badges worn by the obsequious and servile, by fawners and followers; loved liberty with all his heart, and bravely fought against those who could give the rewards of place and gold, and for those who could pay only with thanks.

Hoping to hasten the day of freedom, he wrote the *Rights of Man*—a book that laid the foundation for all the real liberty that the English now enjoy—a book that made known to Englishmen the Declaration of Nature, and convinced millions that all are children of the same mother, entitled to share equally in her gifts. Every Englishman who has outgrown the ideas of 1688 should remember Paine with love and reverence. Every Englishman who has sought to destroy abuses, to lessen or limit the prerogatives of the crown, to extend the suffrage, to do away with "rotten boroughs," to take taxes from knowledge, to increase and protect the freedom of speech and the press, to do away with bribes under the name of pensions, and to make England a government of principles rather than of persons, has been compelled to adopt the creed and use the arguments of Thomas Paine. In England every step towards freedom has been a triumph of Paine over Burke and Pitt. No man ever rendered a greater service to his native land.

The book called the *Rights of Man* was the greatest contribution that literature had given to liberty. It rests on the bedrock. No attention is paid to precedents except to show that they are wrong. Paine was not misled by the proverbs that wolves had written for sheep. He had the intelligence to examine for himself, and the courage to publish his conclusions. As soon as the *Rights of Man* was published the government was alarmed. Every effort was made to suppress it. The author was indicted; those who published, and those who sold, were arrested and imprisoned. But the new gospel had been preached—a great man had shed light—a new force had been born, and it was beyond the power of nobles and kings to undo what the author-hero had done.

To avoid arrest and probable death, Paine left England. He had sown with brave hand the seeds of thought, and he knew that he had lighted a fire that nothing could extinguish until England should be free.

The fame of Thomas Paine had reached France in many ways—principally through Lafayette. His services in America were well known. The pamphlet *Common Sense* had been published in French, and its effect had been immense. The *Rights of Man* that had created, and was then creating, such a stir in England was also known to the French. The lovers of liberty everywhere were the friends and admirers of Thomas Paine. In America, England, Scotland, Ireland, and France he was known as the defender of popular rights. He had preach-

ed a new gospel. He had given a new Magna Charta to the people.

So popular was Paine in France that he was elected by three constituencies to the national convention. He chose to represent Calais. From the moment he entered French territory he was received with almost royal honors. He at once stood with the foremost, and was welcomed by all enlightened patriots. As in America, so in France, he knew no idleness—he was an organizer and worker. The first thing he did was to found the first republican society, and the next to write its *Manifesto*, in which the ground was taken that France did not need a king; that the people should govern themselves. In this *Manifesto* was this argument:

"What kind of office must that be in a government which requires neither experience nor ability to execute; that may be abandoned to the desperate chance of birth; that may be filled with an idiot, a madman, a tyrant, with equal effect as with the good, the virtuous, the wise? An office of this nature is a mere nonentity; it is a place of show, not of use."

He said:

"I am not the personal enemy of kings. Quite the contrary. No man wishes more heartily than myself to see them all in the happy and honorable state of private individuals; but I am the avowed, open and intrepid enemy of what is called monarchy; and I am such by principles which nothing can either alter or corrupt, by my attachment to humanity, by the anxiety which I feel within myself for the dignity and honor of the human race."

One of the grandest things done by Thomas Paine was his effort to save the life of Louis XVI. The convention was in favor of death. Paine was a foreigner. His career had caused some jealousies. He knew the danger he was in; that the tiger was already crouching for a spring; but he was true to his principles. He was opposed to the death penalty. He remembered that Louis XVI. had been the friend of America, and he very cheerfully risked his life, not only for the good of France, not only to save the King, but to pay a debt of gratitude. He asked the convention to exile the King to the United States. He asked this as a member of the convention and as a citizen of the United States. As an American he felt grateful not only to the King, but to every Frenchman. He, the adversary of all kings, asked the convention to remember that kings were men, and subject to human frailties. He took still another step, and said: "As France has been the first of European nations to abolish royalty, let us also be the first to abolish the punishment of death."

Even after the death of Louis had been voted, Paine made another appeal. With a courage born of the highest possible sense of duty, he said:

"France has but one ally—the United States of America. That is the only nation that can furnish France with naval provisions, for the kingdoms of northern Europe are, or soon will be, at war with her. It happens that the person now under discussion is regarded in America as a deliverer of their country. I can assure you that his execution will there spread universal sorrow, and it is in your power not thus to wound the feelings of your ally. Could I speak the French language I would descend to your bar, and in their name become your petitioner to respite the execution of your sentence on Louis. . . . Ah, citizens, give not the tyrant of England the triumph of seeing the man perish on the scaffold who helped my dear brothers of America to break his chains."

This was worthy of the man who said: "Where liberty is *not*, there is my country."

Paine was second on the committee to prepare the draft of a constitution for France to be submitted to the convention. He was the real author, not only of the draft of the constitution, but of the *Declaration of Rights*.

In France, as in America, he took the lead. His first thoughts seemed to be first principles. He was clear because he was profound. People without ideas experience great difficulty in finding words to express them.

From the moment that Paine cast his vote in favor of mercy, in favor of life, the shadow of the guillotine was upon him. He knew that when he voted for the King's life he voted for his own death. Paine remembered that the King had been the friend of America, and to him ingratitude seemed the worst of crimes. He worked to destroy the monarch, not the man; the King, not the friend. He discharged his duty and accepted death. This was the heroism of goodness, the sublimity of devotion.

Believing that his life was near its close, he made up his mind to give to the world his thoughts concerning "revealed religion." This he had for some time intended to do, but other matters had claimed his attention. Feeling that there was no time to be lost, he wrote the first part of the *Age of Reason,* and gave the manuscript to Joel Barlow. Six hours after, he was arrested. The second part was written in prison while he was waiting for death.

Paine clearly saw that men could not be really free, or defend the freedom they had, unless they were free to think and speak. He knew that the Church was the enemy of liberty; that the altar and throne were in partnership; that they helped each other and divided the spoils.

He felt that, being a man, he had the right to examine the creeds and the Scriptures for himself, and that, being an honest man, it was his duty and his privilege to tell his fellow-men the conclusions at which he arrived.

He found that the creeds of all orthodox churches were absurd and cruel, and that the Bible was no better. Of course he found that there were some good things in the creeds and in the Bible. These he defended, but the infamous, the inhuman, he attacked.

In matters of religion he pursued the same course that he had in things political. He depended upon experience, and above all on reason. He refused to extinguish the light in his own soul. He was true to himself, and gave to others his honest thoughts. He did not seek wealth, or place, or fame. He sought the truth.

He had felt it to be his duty to attack the institution of slavery in America, to raise his voice against duelling, to plead for the rights of woman, to excite pity for the sufferings of domestic animals, the speechless friends of man; to plead the cause of separation, of independence, of American nationality, to attack the abuses and crimes of monarchs, to do what he could to give freedom to the world.

He thought it his duty to take another step. Kings asserted that they derived their power, their right to govern, from God. To this assertion Paine replied with the *Rights of Man.* Priests pretended that they were the authorized agents of God. Paine replied with the *Age of Reason.*

This book is still a power, and will be as long as the absurdities and cruelties of the creeds and the Bible have defenders. The *Age of Reason* affected the priests just as the *Rights of Man* affected nobles and kings. The kings answered the arguments of Paine with laws, the priests with lies. Kings appealed to force, priests to fraud. Mr. Conway has written in regard to the *Age of Reason* the most impressive and the most interesting chapter in his book. Paine contended for the rights of the individual, for the jurisdiction of the soul. Above all religions he placed Reason, above all kings, Men, and above all men, Law.

The first part of the *Age of Reason* was written in the shadow of a prison, the second part in the gloom of death. From that shadow, from that gloom, came a flood of light. This testament, by which the wealth of a marvellous brain, the love of a great and heroic heart were given to the world, was written in the presence of the scaffold, when the writer believed he was giving his last message to his fellow-men.

The *Age of Reason* was his crime.

Franklin, Jefferson, Sumner and Lincoln, the four greatest statesmen that America has produced, were believers in the creed of Thomas Paine.

The Universalists and Unitarians have found their best weapons, their best arguments, in the *Age of Reason.*

Slowly, but surely, the churches are adopting not only the arguments, but the opinions, of the great Reformer. Theodore Parker attacked the Old Testament and Calvinistic theology with the same weapons and with a bitterness excelled by no man who has expressed his thoughts in our language.

Paine was a century in advance of his time. If he were living now his sympathy would be with Savage, Chadwick, Professor Briggs and the "advanced theologians." He, too, would talk about the "higher criticism" and the latest definition of "inspiration." These advanced thinkers substantially are repeating the *Age of Reason.* They still wear the old uniform—clinging to the toggery of the-

ology—but inside of their religious rags they agree with Thomas Paine.

Not one argument that Paine urged against the inspiration of the Bible, against the truth of miracles, against the barbarities and infamies of the Old Testament, against the pretensions of priests and the claims of kings, has ever been answered.

His arguments in favor of the existence of what he was pleased to call the God of Nature were as weak as those of all theists have been. But in all the affairs of this world, his clearness of vision, lucidity of expression, cogency of argument, aptness of comparison, power of statement and comprehension of the subject in hand, with all its bearings and consequences, have rarely, if ever, been excelled.

He had no reverence for mistakes because they were old. He did not admire the castles of feudalism even when they were covered with ivy. He not only said that the Bible was not inspired, but he demonstrated that it could not all be true. This was "brutal." He presented arguments so strong, so clear, so convincing, that they could not be answered. This was "vulgar."

He stood for liberty against kings, for humanity against creeds and gods. This was "cowardly and low." He gave his life to free and civilize his fellow-men. This was "infamous."

Paine was arrested and imprisoned in December, 1793. He was, to say the least, neglected by Gouverneur Morris and Washington. He was released through the efforts of James Monroe in November, 1794. He was called back to the convention, but too late to be of use. As most of the actors had suffered death, the tragedy was about over and the curtain was falling. Paine remained in Paris until the "reign of terror" was ended and that of the Corsican tyrant had commenced.

Paine came back to America hoping to spend the remainder of his life surrounded by those for whose happiness and freedom he had labored so many years. He expected to be rewarded with the love and reverence of the American people.

In 1794 James Monroe had written to Paine these words:

"It is unnecessary for me to tell you how much all your countrymen—I speak of the great mass of the people—are interested in your welfare. They have not forgot the history of their own Revolution and the difficult scenes through which they passed; nor do they review its several stages without reviving in their bosoms a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and I hope never will stain, our national character. You are considered by them as not only having rendered important services in our own Revolution, but as being on a more extensive scale the friend of human rights and a distinguished and able advocate of public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine we are not and cannot be indifferent."

In the same year Mr. Monroe wrote a letter to the committee of general safety, asking for the release of Mr. Paine, in which, among other things, he said:

"The services Thomas Paine rendered to his country in its struggle for freedom have implanted in the hearts of his countrymen a sense of gratitude never to be effaced *as long as they shall deserve the title of a just and generous people.*"

On reaching America Paine found that the sense of gratitude had been effaced. He found that the Federalists hated him with all their hearts because he believed in the rights of the people and was still true to the splendid principle advocated during the darkest days of the Revolution. In almost every pulpit he found a malignant and implacable foe, and the pews were filled with his enemies. The slaveholders hated him. He was held responsible even for the crimes of the French Revolution. He was regarded as a blasphemer, an atheist, an enemy of God and man. The ignorant citizens of Bordentown, as cowardly as orthodox, longed to mob the author of *Common Sense* and *The Crisis.* They thought he had sold himself to the devil because he had defended God against the slanderous charges that he had inspired the writers of the Bible—because he had said that a being of infinite goodness and purity did not establish slavery and polygamy.

Paine had insisted that men had the right to think for themselves. This so enraged the average American citizen that he longed for revenge.

In 1802 the people of the United States had exceedingly crude ideas about the

liberty of thought and expression. Neither had they any conception of religious freedom. Their highest thought on that subject was expressed by the word "toleration," and even this toleration extended only to the various Christian sects. Even the vaunted religious liberty of colonial Maryland was only to the effect that one kind of Christian should not fine, imprison and kill another kind of Christian, but all kinds of Christians had the right, and it was their duty, to brand, imprison and kill infidels of every kind.

Paine had been guilty of thinking for himself and giving his conclusions to the world without having asked the consent of a priest—just as he had published his political opinions without leave of the king. He had published his thoughts on religion and had appealed to reason—to the light in every mind, to the humanity, the pity, the goodness which he believed to be in every heart. He denied the right of kings to make laws and of priests to make creeds. He insisted that the people should make laws, and that every human being should think for himself. While some believed in the freedom of religion, he believed in the religion of freedom.

If Paine had been a hypocrite, if he had concealed his opinions, if he had defended slavery with quotations from the "sacred scriptures"—if he had cared nothing for the liberties of men in other lands—if he had said that the state could not live without the Church—if he had sought for place instead of truth, he would have won wealth and power, and his brow would have been crowned with the laurel of fame.

He made what the pious call the "mistake" of being true to himself—of living with an unstained soul. He had lived and labored for the people. The people were untrue to him. They returned evil for good, hatred for benefits received, and yet this great chivalric soul remembered their ignorance and loved them with all his heart, and fought their oppressors with all his strength.

We must remember what the churches and creeds were in that day, what the theologians really taught, and what the people believed. To save a few in spite of their vices, and to damn the many without regard to their virtues, and all for the glory of the Damner—*this was Calvinism.* "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," but he that hath a brain to think must not think. He that believeth without evidence is good, and he that believeth in spite of evidence is a saint. Only the wicked doubt, only the blasphemer denies. *This was orthodox Christianity.*

Thomas Paine had the courage, the sense, the heart, to denounce these horrors, these absurdities, these infinite infamies. He did what he could to drive these theological vipers, these Calvinistic cobras, these fanged and hissing serpents of superstition from the heart of man.

A few civilized men agreed with him then, and the world has progressed since 1809. Intellectual wealth has accumulated; vast mental estates have been left to the world. Geologists have forced secrets from the rocks, astronomers from the stars, historians from old records and lost languages. In every direction the thinker and the investigator have ventured and explored, and even the pews have begun to ask questions of the pulpits. Humboldt has lived, and Darwin and Haeckel and Huxley, and the armies led by them, have changed the thought of the world.

The churches of 1809 could not be the friends of Thomas Paine. No church asserting that belief is necessary to salvation ever was, or ever will be, the champion of true liberty. A church founded on slavery—that is to say, on blind obedience, worshipping irresponsible and arbitrary power—must of necessity be the enemy of human freedom.

The orthodox churches are now anxious to save the little that Paine left of their creed. If one now believes in God, and lends a little financial aid, he is considered a good and desirable member. He need not define God after the manner of the catechism. He may talk about a "Power that works for righteousness"; or the tortoise Truth that beats the rabbit Lie in the long run; or the "Unknowable"; or the "Unconditioned"; or the "Cosmic Force"; or the "Ultimate Atom"; or "Protoplasm," or the "What"—provided he begins this word with a capital.

We must also remember that there is a

difference between independence and liberty. Millions have fought for independence—to throw off some foreign yoke—and yet were at heart the enemies of true liberty. A man in jail, sighing to be free, may be said to be in favor of liberty, but not from principle; but a man who, being free, risks or gives his life to free the enslaved, is a true soldier of liberty.

Thomas Paine had passed the legendary limit of life. One by one most of his old friends and acquaintances had deserted him. Maligned on every side, execrated, shunned, and abhorred — his virtues denounced as vices—his services forgotten—his character blackened, he preserved the poise and balance of his soul. He was a victim of the people, but his convictions remained unshaken. He was still a soldier in the army of freedom, and still tried to enlighten and civilize those who were impatiently waiting for his death. Even those who loved their enemies hated him, their friend — the friend of the whole world—with all their hearts.

On June 8, 1809, death came—death, almost his only friend.

At his funeral no pomp, no pageantry, no civic procession, no military display. In a carriage, a woman and her son who had lived on the bounty of the dead—on horseback, a Quaker, the humanity of whose heart dominated the creed of his head—and, following on foot, two negroes, filled with gratitude — constituted the funeral cortege of Thomas Paine.

He who had received the gratitude of many millions, the thanks of generals and statesmen—he who had been the friend and companion of the wisest and best—he who had taught a people to be free, and whose words had inspired armies and enlightened nations, was thus given back to Nature, the mother of us all.

If the people of the great republic knew the life of this generous, this chivalric man, the real story of his services, his sufferings and his triumphs—of what he did to compel the robed and crowned, the priests and kings, to give back to the people liberty, the jewel of the soul; if they knew that he was the first to write *The Religion of Humanity;* if they knew that he, above all others, planted and watered the seeds of independence, of union, of nationality, in the hearts of our forefathers—that his words were gladly repeated by the best and bravest in many lands; if they knew that he attempted, by the purest means, to attain the noblest and loftiest ends—that he was original, sincere, intrepid, and that he could truthfully say: "The world is my country, to do good my religion"—if the people only knew all this—the truth—they would repeat the words of Andrew Jackson: "Thomas Paine needs no monument made with hands; he has erected a monument in the hearts of all lovers of liberty."

Ingham, SAMUEL DELUCENNA, legislator; born in Pennsylvania, Sept. 16, 1779; served several years in the Pennsylvania legislature; served in Congress in 1813–18 and 1822–29. President Jackson appointed him Secretary of the Treasury, but he resigned on account of the Kitchen Cabinet. He died in Trenton, N. J., June 5, 1860.

Ingle, EDWARD, author; born in Baltimore, Md., May 17, 1861; graduated at Johns Hopkins University in 1882. Among his publications are *Local Institutions of Virginia; Local Institutions of Maryland; Southern Sidelights; The Negro in the District of Columbia,* etc.

Ingle, RICHARD, mariner; born in London, England, about 1610. During the civil war in England the royalist governor of Maryland seized Ingle's ship. On his return to England, Ingle applied to Parliament for redress, and received a commission authorizing him to act against the royalists. Ingle returned to America in 1645, and, taking advantage of local troubles, expelled Leonard Calvert, and himself took charge of the government for six months, at the end of which period Calvert regained control.

Inglis, CHARLES, clergyman; born in Ireland, in 1734. From 1764 to the Revolution he was assistant rector of Trinity Church, New York; and was rector from 1777 to 1783. He adhered to the royal cause, and departed for Nova Scotia with the loyalists who fled from New York City in 1783. His letters evinced considerable harsh feeling towards the American patriots as "fomenters of rebellion." Dr. Inglis was consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia in 1788, and in 1809 became a member of the governor's council. He published an answer to Paine's *Common*

Sense, which made him obnoxious to the patriots, and they confiscated his estate. He died in Halifax, N. S., Feb. 24, 1816. His son JOHN was made bishop of Nova Scotia in 1825, and died in 1850; and his grandson, Gen. Sir JOHN EARDLEY WILMOT INGLIS, born in Halifax in 1814, was the brave defender of Lucknow.

Inglis, MARY, pioneer; born in 1729. She, with her two children, was captured by the Shawnee Indians, who had made a successful attack upon the small settlement. The Indians carried their captives down the Kanawha River to the Scioto. She was thus the first white woman in Kentucky. She made her escape in company with another white woman, and succeeded in reaching a settlement on the Kanawha. She died in 1813.

Ingraham, DUNCAN N. See NATURALIZATION (*Koszta Case*).

Ingraham, JOSEPH HOLT, author; born in Portland, Me., 1809; became a professor in Jefferson College, Miss.; subsequently took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He wrote many novels, some of which were very popular, but he is best known through his three books, entitled *The Prince of the House of David; The Pillar of Fire;* and *The Throne of David.* He died in Holly Springs, Miss., in December, 1866.

Ingram, DAVID. See HORTOP, JOB.

Ingulf, RUDOLF, traveller; born in Cologne in 1727; emigrated to Mexico in 1751, where he became a merchant. After securing a competence he travelled through Central America, Mexico, and California. He published, in the German language, *Travels in New Spain; The Geologic Formation of California,* in which he proved that California was a rich gold-field; *Cosmography of America,* etc. He died in Vienna in 1785.

Initiative and Referendum, a political system which originated in Switzerland, designed to test the feeling of the people concerning proposed legislation. In the several cantons of the Swiss Confederation the councils merely formulate the laws, while the people pass them. Similar to the law of all other nations that of Switzerland concedes the people a certain right of initiative in the way of petition; but in many of the cantons this right goes much further and an additional or imperative initiative is allowed. Any petition containing a certain number of signatures (generally from 5,000 to 6,000), demanding action upon any matter whatever, must be given attention by the council, which, after passing upon it, must submit it to the popular vote. This course must be taken even if a proposed measure is unfavorable to the council. Again, in a number of the cantons, the people have the right of veto power. In about a month's time after any measure has been adopted by the cantonal council it may be brought before the people by a petition, and according to their vote made to stand or fall. This veto power, however, may be said to be included in the referendum. In all the cantons, except Freiburg, the right of the people to have every important act of legislation referred back to them for adoption or rejection is now established by law.

In recent years the principle of the initiative and referendum has met with much favor in the United States, and in several States there has been an influential movement to bring about its adoption.

Injunction, an order of a court, which commands the party or parties against whom it is issued (1) not to commit a certain act; or (2) to desist from the commission of a certain act; or (3) to restore to its former condition something which has been altered or interfered with by the person or persons to whom the injunction is directed.

Inman, GEORGE, military officer; born in Boston, Mass., Dec. 3, 1755; graduated at Harvard College in 1772. During the Revolutionary War he was a royalist, entering the army as a private, but soon receiving a commission; took part in the battles of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, in the first of which he was wounded. He was the author of *Narrative of the Revolutionary War, 1776–1779.* He died in the West Indies in 1789.

Inman, HENRY, painter; born in Utica, N. Y., Oct. 20, 1801; was a pupil of John Wesley Jarvis, the portrait-painter, to whom he was apprenticed for seven years. He painted landscapes and historical pictures, but portraits were his chief subjects, and he introduced lithography into the United States. In 1844 he went to Eng-

land, where, becoming the guest of Wordsworth, the poet, he painted his portrait. He also painted the portraits of other distinguished men while in England. He had begun painting an historical picture for the national Capitol, representing Daniel Boone in the wilds of Kentucky, at the time of his death, in New York City, Jan. 17, 1846.

Inman, HENRY, author; born in New York, July 30, 1837; educated at the Brooklyn public schools and Athenian Academy, and is the author of *The Old Santa Fé Trail; Great Salt Lake Trail; Tales of the Trail; The Ranch on the Oxhide; Pioneer from Kentucky,* etc. He died in Topeka, Kan., Nov. 13, 1899.

Inman, WILLIAM, naval officer; born in Utica, N. Y., in 1797; appointed midshipman, United States navy, in 1812; promoted to lieutenant, April 1, 1818; commander in 1838; and captain in 1850. In 1859–61 he commanded the West African squadron, during which time he succeeded in recapturing and liberating nearly 4,000 slaves; and was promoted commodore, and was retired, April 4, 1867. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 23, 1874.

Inness, GEORGE, artist; born in Newburg, N. Y., May 1, 1825; removed to New York in 1845; studied art; and was chosen a member of the National Academy in 1868. He was one of the greatest landscape-painters America has produced. His pictures include *American Sunset; Delaware Water-Gap; View near Medfield, Mass.; An Old Roadway, Long Island;* and *Under the Green Wood.* He died in Scotland Aug. 3, 1894.

Inness, HARRY, jurist; born in Caroline county, Va., in 1752; was an ardent patriot during the Revolutionary War; superintendent of the mines from which the Americans obtained their lead; appointed judge of the Supreme Court of Virginia in 1783, and United States district judge for Kentucky in 1787. His enemies caused charges to be brought against him in Congress in 1808, but that body refused to take any action looking to his impeachment. He died in Frankfort, Ky., Sept. 20, 1816.

Insanity. Until 1840 the insane poor in the United States were cared for almost exclusively by the township and county authorities. It was estimated that in 1833 there were 2,500 lunatics in jails and other prisons, besides hundreds in the county poor-houses and private families. One of the very earliest asylums for the insane was that opened in 1797 at Bloomingdale, in the suburbs of New York City, by the New York Hospital Society. To the labors of MISS DOROTHEA L. DIX (*q. v.*) is largely due the establishment of State asylums. Miss Dix devoted herself after 1837 to the investigation of the subject, and visited every State east of the Rocky Mountains, appealing to the State legislatures to provide for the care of the insane. In April, 1854, a bill appropriating 10,000,000 acres of public lands to the several States for the relief of the pauper insane, passed by Congress under her appeals, was vetoed by President Pierce. Her efforts, however, led to the establishment of State insane asylums, and it is now recognized as the duty of each State to care for its insane. New York State alone has fifteen corporate institutions of this class. The following statistics show the number of insane, etc., in the United States. Until 1850 there were no reliable statistics:

Year.	Population of U. S.	No. of Insane.	To each million of inhabitants.
1850.....	21,191,876	15,610	673
1860.....	31,443,321	24,642	783
1870.....	38,558,371	37,432	971
1880.....	50,155,783	91,997	1,834
1890.....	62,622,250	106,252	1,697
1900.....	76,303,387	106,485	1,396

Insolvency. See BANKRUPTCY LAWS.

Inspection, COMMITTEES OF. In many of the present American States the class known as Tories, or adherents of the crown, were in a minority at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and in many places suffered indignities, such as, if offensively active, receiving a covering of tar and feathers, being carted around as a public spectacle, and other abuses which personal and political malignity could inflict. To prevent such disgraceful scenes, which would lead to retaliation and the rule of mob law, the Continental Congress specially committed the oversight of Tories and suspected persons to regularly appointed committees of inspection and observation for the several counties and districts. The Tories were also exposed to the dangers from the law, for the Whigs

had taken all power into their hands, and required allegiance to State governments from all the inhabitants. The consequence was that many left the States and became refugees in Great Britain or in its American provinces.

Instrument of Government. See GOVERNMENT, INSTRUMENT OF.

Insurance. The following is a brief summary of the insurance business in the United States in its principal forms: The first fire insurance in the colonies was written in Boston by the Sun Company (English) in 1728. Some insurance was done in Philadelphia in 1752. The first fire insurance policy issued in the United States was in Hartford, Conn., in 1794, under the unofficial title of "Hartford Fire Insurance Co." Sixteen years after, in 1810, the Hartford Fire Insurance Company was organized. From 1801–10 there were 60 charters issued; 1811–20, 43; 1821–30, 149; 1831–40, 467; 1841–50, 401; 1851–60, 896; 1861–70, 1,041.

From Jan. 1, 1880, to Dec. 31, 1889, property of the citizens of the United States was insured against fire and accident on ocean, lake, and river, and by tornado, to the amount of over $120,000,000,000, for premiums of $1,156,675,391, and losses were paid of $647,726,051, being 56 per cent. of the premiums.

The condition and transactions of fire companies doing business in the United States on Jan. 1, 1903, were as follows:

Number of Companies.	Capital.	Assets Exclusive of Premium Notes.	Net Surplus.	Cash Premiums Received during Year.	Total Cash Income during Year.
313 Stock 178 Mutual	$70,537,743	$451,010,545	$171,390,162	$224,076,129	$242,819,167

Number of Companies.	Paid for Losses during Year.	Paid for Dividends during Year.	Expenses other than Losses and Dividends during Year.	Total Disbursements during Year.	Risks Written during Year
313 Stock 178 Mutual	$113,147,727	$17,737,444	$74,499,597	$205,384,768	* $26,000,000,000

* Approximation. The statistics of fire insurance business in the United States are, with the exception of the estimate of risks written during the year, compiled from *The Insurance Year-Book*, published by The Spectator Company. They do not include the returns of a few stock companies and some 600 mutuals and town and county mutuals, whose transactions are purely local and individually of small volume.

In 1903 the aggregate property loss by fires was estimated at $135,000,000, and the aggregate insurance loss at $75,000,000.

Life insurance was not known before the sixteenth century. The first life insurance company, "The Amicable," was established in London, England, in 1706, and insured at uniform rates persons between twelve and forty-five years of age. In 1734 it guaranteed a dividend for each deceased member not less than £100. This was the first insurance for a definite sum at death, whenever that might occur. In 1762 the Equitable Assurance Society of London began to rate members according to age. At the close of the eighteenth century there were eight companies transacting, in a more or less complete form, the business of life insurance in Great Britain and Ireland. The Presbyterian Annuity and Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia, the first life insurance company in the United States, received its charter from Thomas Penn in 1759. The Penn Company for Insurance on Lives was chartered in 1812, and the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, Boston, in 1818.

The assessment system of life insurance is based on the plan of collecting assessments on living members to pay death losses as they occur. In this plan the assessments during early years are less than the premiums of regular companies; but they increase rapidly, and often become impossible to collect in later years. Since its appearance (about 1865) as an insurance business, aside from fraternal organizations, this system has rapidly extended.

The first accident insurance company established in the United States was the Traveler's, of Hartford, Conn., in 1863; the first steam-boiler insurance company, Hartford, Conn., was chartered in 1866; and plate-glass was first insured in 1870.

Most of the States have established departments or bureaus of insurance, for the supervision of the companies and the enforcement of the laws requiring their solvency to be maintained. The mainten-

THE CONDITION OF THE REGULAR LEVEL PREMIUM COMPANIES ON JAN. 1, 1903, AND THE BUSINESS OF THE PRECEDING YEAR WERE AS FOLLOWS*:

No. of Cos.	Assets.	Premiums Received.	Total Income.	Payments to Policy-holders (Losses, Dividends, Surrenders, etc.)	Total Expenditures.	New Policies Issued.		Policies in Force.	
						No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.
80	$2,091,822,851	$406,946,597	$504,527,705	$199,883,721	$321,966,272	5,209,288	$2 338,734,463	17,620,435	$10,505,299,385

* Including industrial policies.

THE FOLLOWING SHOWS THE CONDITION AND BUSINESS OF ASSESSMENT COMPANIES AND ORDERS*:

No. of Cos.	Assets.	Assessments Collected.	Total Income.	Payments to Policy-holders.	Total Expenditures.	Membership.	Insurance in Force.	
						Admitted During the Year.	No. of Members.	Amount.
770	$45,591,473	$90,040,589	$97,114,065	$72,793,886	$83,193,861	706,200	5,270,207	$6,530,360,368

* These figures are from the Illinois Life Insurance Report for 1900, and represent the combined business of the assessment companies and fraternal orders. The assessment business having declined since 1896, these aggregates are nearly half those of that year.

The returns of life insurance in the first and third tables are from *The Insurance Year-Book*, published by The Spectator Company.

LIFE INSURANCE TABLE OF MORTALITY, AMERICAN EXPERIENCE.

Age.	Number Living.	Deaths Each Year.	Death Rate per 1,000.	Expectation of Life Years.	Age.	Number Living.	Deaths Each Year.	Death Rate per 1,000.	Expectation of Life Years.	Age.	Number Living.	Deaths Each Year.	Death Rate per 1,000.	Expectation of Life Years.
10	100,000	749	7.49	48.72	39	78,862	756	9.59	28.90	68	43,133	2,243	52.00	9.47
11	99,251	746	7.52	48.08	40	78,106	765	9.79	28.18	69	40,890	2,321	56.76	8.97
12	98,505	743	7.54	47.45	41	77,341	774	10.01	27.45	70	38,569	2,391	61.99	8.48
13	97,762	740	7.57	46.80	42	76,567	785	10.25	26.72	71	36,178	2,448	67.67	8.00
14	97,022	737	7.60	46.16	43	75,782	797	10.52	26.00	72	33,730	2,487	73.73	7.55
15	96,285	735	7.63	45.50	44	74,985	812	10.83	25.27	73	31,243	2,505	80.18	7.11
16	95,550	732	7.66	44.85	45	74,173	828	11.16	24.54	74	28,738	2,501	87.03	6.68
17	94,818	729	7.69	44.19	46	73,345	848	11.56	23.81	75	26,237	2,476	94.37	6.27
18	94,089	727	7.73	43.53	47	72,497	870	12.00	23.08	76	23,761	2,431	102.31	5.88
19	93,362	725	7.77	42.87	48	71,627	896	12.51	22.36	77	21,330	2,369	111.06	5.49
20	92,637	723	7.81	42.20	49	70,731	927	13.11	21.63	78	18,961	2,291	120.83	5.11
21	91,914	722	7.86	41.53	50	69,804	962	13.78	20.91	79	16,670	2,196	131.73	4.74
22	91,192	721	7.91	40.85	51	68,842	1,001	14.54	20.20	80	14,474	2,091	144.47	4.39
23	90,471	720	7.96	40.17	52	67,841	1,044	15.39	19.49	81	12,383	1,964	158.61	4.05
24	89,751	719	8.01	39.49	53	66,797	1,091	16.33	18.79	82	10,419	1,816	174.30	3.71
25	89,032	718	8.07	38.81	54	65,706	1,143	17.40	18.09	83	8,603	1,648	191.56	3.39
26	88,314	718	8.13	38.12	55	64,563	1,199	18.57	17.40	84	8,955	1,470	211.36	3.08
27	87,569	718	8.20	37.43	56	63,364	1,260	19.89	16.72	85	5,485	1,292	235.55	2.77
28	86,878	718	8.26	36.73	57	62,104	1,325	21.34	16.05	86	4,193	1,114	265.68	2.47
29	86,160	719	8.35	36.03	58	60,779	1,394	22.94	15.39	87	3,079	933	303.02	2.18
30	85,441	720	8.43	35.33	59	59,385	1,468	24.72	14.74	88	2,146	744	346.69	1.91
31	84,721	721	8.51	34.63	60	57,917	1,546	26.69	14.10	89	1,402	555	395.86	1.66
32	84,000	723	8.61	33.92	61	56,371	1,628	28.88	13.47	90	847	385	454.55	1.42
33	83,277	726	8.72	33.21	62	54,743	1,713	31.29	12.86	91	462	246	532.47	1.19
34	82,551	729	8.83	32.50	63	53,030	1,800	33.94	12.26	92	216	137	634.26	.98
35	81,822	732	8.95	31.78	64	51,230	1,889	36.87	11.67	93	79	58	734.18	.80
36	81,090	737	9.09	31.07	65	49,341	1,980	40.13	11.10	94	21	18	857.14	.64
37	80,353	742	9.23	30.35	66	47,361	2,070	43.71	10.54	95	3	3	1,000.00	.50
38	79,611	749	9.41	29.62	67	45,291	2,158	47.65	10.00					

ance of these departments, and all expenses of supervision are charged to the companies, and sometimes amount to a serious burden, increasing the cost of insurance to the people. The belief of most insurance experts and of political economists is that the effort to regulate the business by law has been carried too far, and has done more harm than good.

Insurrections. See REBELLIONS; RIOTS.

Interest. The table on opposite page shows interest laws and statutes of limitations of the various States in the Union.

Interior, DEPARTMENT OF THE. See CABINET, PRESIDENT'S.

Internal Improvements. Millions of acres of the public lands of the United States have been granted to aid in the construction of roads, canals, and railways; and also for educational and other purposes. The first acts of Congress for the purpose of internal improvements were two for the new State of Ohio, which became laws on April 30, 1802, and March 3, 1803, respectively. Previous to that there had been donations of land in favor

TABLE SHOWING INTEREST LAWS AND STATUTES OF LIMITATIONS.

States and Territories.	Interest Laws.		Statutes of Limitations.			States and Territories.	Interest Laws.		Statutes of Limitations.		
	Legal Rate.	Rate Allowed by Contract.	Judgments, Years.	Notes, Years.	Open Accounts, Years.		Legal Rate.	Rate Allowed by Contract.	Judgments, Years.	Notes, Years.	Open Accounts, Years.
	Per ct.	Per ct.					Per ct.	Per ct.			
Alabama	8	8	20	6*	3	Nebraska	7	10	5‡‡	5	4
Arkansas	6	10	10	5	3	Nevada	7	Any rate.	6	6	4
Arizona	7	Any rate.	5	5	3	New Hampshire	6	6	20	6	6
California	7	Any rate.	5	4†	2	New Jersey	6	6	20	6	6
Colorado	8	Any rate.	10‡‡	6	6	New Mexico	6	12	7	6	4
Connecticut	6	(*j*)	‡	(*e*)	6	New York	6	6††	20(*i*)	6	6§§
Delaware	6	6	20	6‖	3	North Carolina	6	6	10	3*	3
Dist. of Columbia	6	10	12	3	3	North Dakota	7	12	10	6	6§§
Florida	8	10	20	5	2	Ohio	6	8	5‡‡	15	6
Georgia	7	8	7	6	4	Oklahoma	7	12	5(*h*)	5	3
Idaho	7	12	6	5	4	Oregon	6	10	10	6	6
Illinois	5	7	20	10	5	Pennsylvania	6	6	5(*f*)	6‖	6
Indiana	6	8	20	10	6	Rhode Island	6§	Any rate.	20	6	6
Iowa	6	8	20(*d*)	10	5	South Carolina	7	8	10	6	6
Kansas	6	10	5	5	3	South Dakota	7	12	10(*l*)	6	6
Kentucky	6	6	15	15	5(*a*)	Tennessee	6	Any rate.	10	6	6
Louisiana	5	8	10	5	3	Texas	6	10	10‡‡	4	2
Maine	6	Any rate.	20	6‖	6§§	Utah	8	Any rate.	8	6	4
Maryland	6	6	12	3	3	Vermont	6	6	8	6	6§§
Massachusetts	6	Any rate.	20	6	6	Virginia	6	6	20	5*	2¶
Michigan	5	7	6*	6	6§§	Washington	7	12	6	6	3
Minnesota	6	10	10	6	6	West Virginia	6	6	10	10	3
Mississippi	6	10	7	6	3	Wisconsin	6	10	20(*i*)	6	6
Missouri	6	8	10	10	5	Wyoming	8	12	5(*k*)	5	8
Montana	10	Any rate.	10(*b*)	8	3						

* Under seal, 10 years. † If made in State; if outside, 2 years. ‡ No law and no decision regarding judgments. § Unless a different rate is expressly stipulated. ‖ Under seal, 20 years.. ¶ Store accounts; other accounts, 3 years. †† New York has by a recent law legalized any rate of interest on call loans of $5,000 or upward, on collateral security. ‡‡ Becomes dormant, but may be revived. §§ Six years from last item. (*a*) Accounts between merchants, 2 years. (*b*) In courts not of record, 5 years. (*d*) Twenty years in courts of record; in justice's court, 10 years. (*e*) Negotiable notes, 6 years; non-negotiable, 17 years. (*f*) Ceases to be a lien after that period. (*h*) On foreign judgments, 1 year. (*i*) Is a lien on real estate for only 10 years. (*j*) Any rate, but only 6 per cent. can be collected at law. (*k*) And indefinitely by having execution issue every 5 years. (*l*) Ten years foreign, 20 years domestic.

of various deserving persons. The grants to the inhabitants of Ohio were for the purpose of laying out public roads leading to the Ohio River. Other grants were made from time to time for improvements in the Northwest until 1824, when (May 26) Congress authorized the State of Indiana to construct a canal, giving the right of way, with 90 feet of land on each side thereof. Nothing was done under the act; but in 1827 (March 2) two acts were passed, giving to Indiana and Illinois, respectively, certain lands in aid of the construction of canals, the first to connect the navigation of the Wabash River with the waters of Lake Erie, and the second to connect the waters of the Illinois River with those of Lake Michigan. A quantity of land equal to one-half of five sections in width, on each side of the canals, was granted, reserving to the United States each alternate section. It was not an absolute grant of land in fee, for, under certain restrictions, the States had a right to sell the awards, and from the proceeds they were to repay the government. On the same day (March, 1827) there was granted to Indiana a certain strip of land formerly held by the Pottawattomie Indians, the proceeds of the sale thereof to be applied to building a road from Lake Michigan, *via* Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio River. March 3, 1827, a grant was made to Ohio of two sections of land along the entire line of a road to be constructed from Sandusky to Columbus.

May 23, 1828, a grant of 400,000 acres of the "relinquished lands" in certain counties in Alabama was made in aid of the improvement of the Tennessee and other rivers in that State. In this grant was the first provision for indemnity in case the grant was not full by reason of prior sales or disposals by the government. Similar grants were made from time to time for like purposes. March 2, 1833, the State of Illinois was authorized to apply the lands granted by the act of March 2, 1827, for canal purposes to the construction of a railway instead. This

was the first act looking to the construction of a railway through the assistance of land donations. The railroad system was then in its infancy. The State did not avail itself of the privilege, but subsequently built a canal. March 2, 1835, a grant was made to aid the construction of a railway in Florida. Sufficient was given for the way—30 feet of land on each side—and the right to take

GOVERNMENT TOLL-GATE ON THE CUMBERLAND ROAD.

and use the timber for 100 yards on each side for the construction and repairs of the road. This was the first grant of the right of way for a railroad, the previous grant having been for a canal. July 2, 1836, an act granted the right of way through such portions of the public lands as remained unsold—not to exceed 80 feet in width—to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company. This road was never completed. Next came a grant to East Florida and other railroads which were never constructed. March 3, 1837, a grant was made to the Atchafalaya Railroad and Banking Company, in Louisiana, similar to that to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad. Aug. 8, 1846, an act granted lands in aid of improvements of the Des Moines River, in Iowa, and the Fox and Wisconsin

rivers, in Wisconsin. These rivers, when improved, were to remain highways for the United States government forever, free from toll.

The grant to the then Territory of Iowa for the improvement of the Des Moines River led to long discussions as to the extent of the grant, and to many legal decisions. Finally, on March 22, 1858, the consent of Congress was given to apply a portion of the grant to the construction of a railway. The rivers were not improved, but the railway was constructed—the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines, and Minnesota Railroad. Sept. 20, 1850, a grant was made to the State of Illinois of every alternate section of land, designated by even numbers, for six sections in width, on each side of a railroad and branches thereof. This road, which was built, is known as the Illinois Central. Although this was not the first concession of land to a railway corporation, it granted specific sections instead of one-half of a certain number of sections, and may be considered the initiatory measure of the system since adopted in making grants in favor of railways. On June 10, 1852, a donation was made to the State of Missouri for the construction of certain railroads therein, afterwards known as the Hannibal and St. Joseph, and the Misouri Pacific, south branch. This grant was similar in character and extent to that of the Illinois Central. In this, as in the case of the Illinois Central, there was a provision for the reimbursement of the United States for all the land sold. Feb. 9, 1853, an act made a similar grant to Arkansas. June 29, 1854, an act granted aid to Minnesota for constructing a railroad from the southern line of that then Territory, *via* St. Paul, to its eastern line, in the direction of Lake Superior. For this purpose there were given each alternate section of land, designated by odd numbers, for six sections in width on each side of said road. This act was repealed in August following.

At various times in 1856 grants of land for similar purposes were made to the States of Iowa, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Mississippi. On March 3, 1856, a grant was made to Minnesota. All of these grants made in 1856 and 1857 were similar to that given to Missouri in 1852. July 1, 1862, the Union Pacific Railroad Company was created for the purpose of constructing and maintaining a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. They were granted the right of way through the public lands to the extent of 200 feet in width on each side of the line of the road, together with the necessary ground for stations, buildings, etc. They were also granted in aid of the construction of the road every alternate section of public land to the amount of five alternate sections a mile on each side of the road, excepting mineral lands and all lands already disposed of or reserved. Several other roads were provided for on the same conditions, which became known as the Central Pacific, Central Branch of the Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific, and Sioux City and Pacific. It was a grant of 10 miles of land on each side of the road. By an act approved July 2, 1864, instead of five, ten sections were granted, making the area 20 miles on each side of these roads. The term mineral land was construed not to mean coal or iron. By the same act a grant of 20 miles of land was made to the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company for the construction of a road from the Missouri River to some point not farther west than the one hundredth meridian west longitude, to connect with the Union Pacific road.

March 3, 1864, a grant of land was made to the State of Kansas to assist in constructing railroads within its borders, afterwards known as the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé; Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston; and Missouri, Kansas, and Texas railroads. In May, 1864, similar grants were made to the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and others soon followed to Arkansas, Missouri, Alabama, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Kansas. The North Pacific Railroad Company was created July 1, 1864, with grants similar to those of the Union Pacific, excepting double the extent of land, through the Territories. July 27, 1866, grants were made to the Atlantic and Pacific, and the Southern Pacific, on terms similar to those of the Union Pacific. March 3, 1869, land grants were made to the Denver Pacific Railway; and by act of March 3, 1871,

similar grants were made to the Southern Pacific (branch line) and Texas and Pacific. Many of the grants made in the earlier years of the system were enlarged. The aggregate amount of land granted is more than 215,000,000 acres, but the amount made available is not more than 187,000,000 acres. By the aid of these grants over 15,000 miles of railroad have been built. Their benefits have extended to all parts of the country, and cannot be estimated by values. See CANALS; PUBLIC DOMAIN; RAILROADS.

Internal Revenue. The following table shows the total collections of internal revenue in the United States in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, by States and Territories:

States and Territories.	Aggregate Collections.
Alabama	$323,135.62
Arkansas	109,322.32
California and Nevada	3,069,990.31
Colorado and Wyoming	568,713.37
Connecticut and Rhode Island	1,865,550.10
Florida	719,400.39
Georgia	425,591.16
Hawaii	40,090.52
Illinois	50,562,455.25
Indiana	28,183,610.08
Iowa	835,487.90
Kansas, Indian Territory, and Oklahoma	311,403.23
Kentucky	21,115,626.21
Louisiana and Mississippi	2,890,648.17
Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, and two Virginia districts	5,612,791.16
Massachusetts	3,567,075.54
Michigan	4,044,317.94
Minnesota	1,465,570.62
Missouri	8,948,547.13
Montana, Idaho, and Utah	436,378.93
Nebraska, and North and South Dakota	2,471,381.68
New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont	591,025.13
New Jersey	5,998,058.98
New Mexico and Arizona	78,971.41
New York	26,749,648.18
North Carolina	4,248,341.07
Ohio	20,979,333.19
Oregon, Washington, and Alaska	812,766.75
Pennsylvania	18,890,389.88
South Carolina	616,800.33
Tennessee	1,661,300.15
Texas	667,670.22
Virginia	3,433,249.51
West Virginia	1,114,230.78
Wisconsin	7,332,052.01
Total	$230,740,925.22

The table on opposite page gives a summary of such receipts in the period 1880–1903, both inclusive, with principal sources.

The re-imposition of adhesive stamps in 1898 was provided for in the War Revenue Act of that year. The war revenue and the receipts of the national treasury from other sources having been much larger than was anticipated, and having produced a surplus largely in excess of the actual financial needs of the country, Congress adopted a conference report on a bill to reduce the war revenue on Feb. 28, 1901, to go into effect on July 1 next ensuing. The revenue reduction was expected to amount to $42,165,000 per annum, the repeal of various stamp taxes and a few changes in the existing law concerning specified articles being estimated to make the following itemized reductions:

Commercial brokers, $138,000; certificates of deposits, $200,000; promissory notes, $3,500,000; bills of lading for export, $100,000; telegraphic despatches, $800,000; telephone messages, $315,000; bonds other than indemnity, $25,000; certificates not otherwise specified, $200,000; charter party, $100,000; conveyances, $1,750,000; insurance, $3,000,000; leases, $200,000; mortgages, $500,000; passage tickets, $100,000; power of attorney, $100,000; protests, $25,000; warehouse receipts, $250,000; express receipts, $800,000; proprietary medicines, cosmetics, and chewing-gum, $3,950,000; legacies, $500,000; cigars, $3,100,000; tobacco, $7,000,000; small cigars and cigarettes, $500,000; beer, $9,800,000; bank checks, $7,000,000; foreign bills of exchange, $50,000; money orders, $602,000; manifest for Custom House, $60,000.

International Arbitration. See ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL.

International Law, the name now given to what was formerly known as the Law of Nations. It is believed to have originated in the Middle Ages, and to have been first applied for the purpose of regulating commercial transactions. From this fact it took the name of "commercial law," and subsequently was extended to transactions other than commercial of an international character. Today the aim of international law is to prevent war. The distinctive features of

SUMMARY OF INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS IN 1880-1903

Fiscal Years.	Spirits.	Tobacco.	Fermented Liquors.	Banks and Bankers.	Miscellaneous.	Adhesive Stamps.	Collections Under Repealed Laws.
1880	$61,185,509	$38,870,149	$12,829,803	$3,350,985	$383,755	$7,668,394	....
1881	67,153,975	42,854,991	13,700,241	3,762,208	231,078	7,924,708	$152,163
1882	69,873,408	47,391,989	16,153,920	5,253,458	199,830	7,570,109	78,559
1883	74,368,775	42,104,250	16,900,616	3,748,995	305,803	7,053,053	71,852
1884	76,905,385	26,062,400	18,084,954	....	289,144	....	265,068
1885	67,511,209	26,407,088	18,230,782	....	222,681	....	49,361
1886	69,092,266	27,907,363	19,676,731	....	194,422	....	32,087
1887	65,766,076	30,083,710	21,918,213	4,288	219,058	....	29,283
1888	69,287,431	30,636,076	23,324,218	4,203	154,970	....	9,548
1889	74,302,887	31,862,195	23,723,835	6,179	83,893	....	....
1890	81,682,970	33,949,998	26,008,535	69	135,555	....	....
1891	83,335,964	32,796,271	28,565,130	....	256,214	....	....
1892	91,309,984	31,000,493	30,037,453	....	239,532	....	....
1893	94,712,938	31,843,556	32,527,424	....	166,915	....	....
1894	85,259,252	28,617,899	31,414,788	2	1,876,509	....	....
1895	79,862,627	29,707,908	31,640,618	....	1,960,794	....	....
1896	80,670,071	30,711,629	33,784,235	135	1,664,545	....	....
1897	82,008,543	30,710,297	32,472,162	85	1,426,506	....	....
1898	92,547,000	36,230,522	39,515,421	1,180	2,572,696	794,418	....
1899	99,283,534	52,493,208	68,644,558	....	9,225,453	43,837,819	....
1900	109,368,817	59,365,084	73,550,764	1,461	11,575,626	40,964,365	....
1903	131,953,472	43,514,810	47,547,856	899	6,827,303	....	....

Of the receipts in 1900 classed as "Miscellaneous," $2,884,492 was from legacies; $4,515,641 from special taxes on bankers, billiard-rooms, brokers, and exhibitions; and $1,079,405 from excise tax on gross receipts, under the War Revenue law of 1898; $2,543,785 from oleomargarine; $331,011 from playing cards; $193,721 from penalties; and $17,064 from filled cheese.

international law may be summarized in brief as follows: First, that every nation possesses an exclusive sovereignty and jurisdiction in its own territory; second, that no State or nation can by its law directly affect or bind property out of its own territory, or persons not resident therein, natural born subjects or others; third, that whatever force the laws of one country have in another depends solely on the municipal laws of the latter.

There have been numerous congresses of international law experts for the purpose of simplifying and making more definite the obligations which one country owes to another, and in these congresses the United States has occupied a conspicuous place. The Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations held its first session in Brussels, Oct. 10, 1873, and subsequent ones were held in Geneva, The Hague, Bremen, Antwerp, Frankfort, London, Berne, Cologne, Turin, and Milan. An Institute of International Law was organized in Ghent in 1873, and has since held numerous sessions in various cities of Europe, The most conspicuous action of the nations concerning the abolition of international hostilities was taken in the Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1899, to which the United States was also a party. See CODES; FIELD, DAVID DUDLEY.

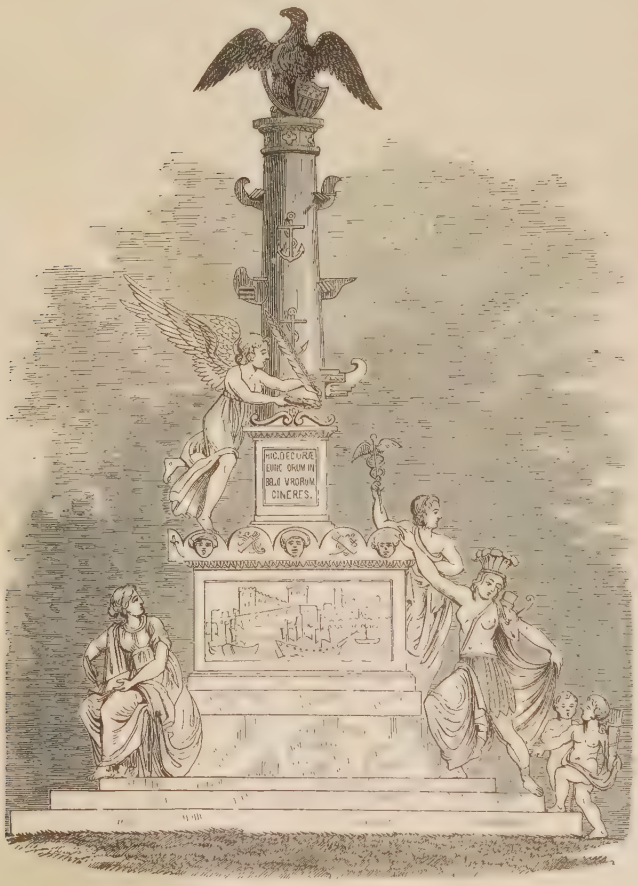
International Monetary Conference. See BIMETALLISM; EVARTS, WILLIAM MAXWELL.

International Order of the King's Daughters and Sons, a religious order consisting of small circles of men, women, and children. It is non-sectarian, and its members may be found in nearly all churches and in nearly every country. It was established in New York City in 1886 by a circle of ten women. Its aim is to help the needy and suffering, to consider the poor, and to engage in all good works. The members wear a small silver badge in the shape of a cross, bearing the letters I. H. N. on one side, and the date 1886 on the other. In 1900 it was estimated that the society numbered more than 500,000 members. It ranks among the strongest and most useful societies in the world. The headquarters are at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. In 1900 the officers were: President, Mrs. F. Bottome; vice-president, Miss Kate Bond; general secretary, Mrs. Mary L. Dickinson; treasurer, Mrs. J. C. Davis; recording secretary, Mrs. Robert Sturgis; and corresponding secretary, Mrs. Isabella Charles Davis.

Interoceanic Ship Canal. See NICARAGUA CANAL; PANAMA CANAL.

Intrepid, THE. The ketch *Intrepid*, used in the destruction of the PHILADELPHIA (*q. v.*), had been converted into a floating mine for the purpose of destroying the piratical cruisers in the harbor

of Tripoli. In a room below deck 100 barrels of gunpowder were placed, and immediately above them a large quantity of shot, shell, and irregular pieces of iron were deposited. Combustibles were placed in other parts of the vessel. On the night of Sept. 3, 1804, the *Intrepid* was towed into the harbor by two boats, the whole under the command of Captain Somers, attended by Lieutenant Wadsworth, of the *Constitution*, and Mr. Israel, an ardent young man who got on board the *Intrepid* by stealth. These, with a few men to work the torpedo-vessel, and the crews of the boats, constituted the company engaged in the perilous enterprise. The *Intrepid* entered the harbor at nine o'clock in the evening. The night was very dark. Many eager eyes were turned towards the spot where her shadowy form was last seen. Suddenly a fierce and lurid light streamed up from the dark waters like volcanic fires and illuminated the surrounding objects with its lurid glare—rocks, flotilla, castle, town, and the broad bosom of the harbor. This was followed by an instant explosion, and for a few moments flaming masts and sails and fiery bomb-shells rained upon the waters, when suddenly all was again dark. Anxiously the companions of the intrepid men who went into the harbor awaited their return. They never came back. What was the cause of the premature explosion that destroyed vessels and men will never be known. The belief was that the ketch was captured by the Tripolitans on the watch, and that Somers, preferring death to miserable captivity, had himself applied a lighted match to the powder. A fine monument, erected to the memory of the slain men and the event, formerly stood at the western front of the national Capitol, but is now in front of the Naval Academy at Annapolis.



INTREPID MEMENTO AT ANNAPOLIS.

Inundations. For a long period of time the principal inundations in the United States were caused by the overflowing of the banks of the Mississippi River. The record of these disasters, al-

DEVASTATION CAUSED BY FLOOD IN JOHNSTOWN, PA.

though not containing many individual cases, is a distressing one because of the vast amount of property destroyed and the large number of lives lost. The following briefly summarizes the most notable inundations in the United States:

1816.—The White Mountain region in New Hampshire was flooded by a deluge of rain after a drought of two years. Several valleys were completely under water, and large tracts of forests were torn from the ground and washed down the mountain sides.

1849, May 12.—A flood in New Orleans spread over 160 squares and submerged 1,600 buildings.

1874, May 16.—The bursting of a reservoir on Mill River, near Northampton, Mass., caused the destruction of several villages in the valley and the loss of 144 lives.

1874, July 24.—A waterspout burst in Eureka, Nev., and with the attendant heavy rains caused a loss of between twenty and thirty lives.

1874, July 26.—An unusual fall of rain caused the overflow of the rivers in western Pennsylvania and the loss of 220 lives.

1881, June 12.—Disastrous floods began in Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, and Missouri, lasting several days, and causing the destruction of much property.

1882, Feb. 22.—The valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were flooded, and the loss of life and property was so great that the governor of Mississippi made a public appeal for help.

1883, February.—Portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky were visited by a disastrous flood, which was most severe at Cincinnati, lasting several days.

1884, February.—The Ohio River overflowed its banks, causing the loss of fifteen lives and rendering 5,000 people homeless.

1886, Jan. 5.—Pennsylvania, New York, and several of the New England States were visited by floods, and great damage was done to property.

1886, Aug. 20.—A storm in Texas was followed by a flood, which was particular-

ly disastrous in Galveston, where twenty-eight lives were lost and property damaged to the extent of more than $5,000,000.

1889, May 31.—The rising of the Conemaugh River, in Pennsylvania, under incessant rain, caused the breaking of the dam about 18 miles above Johnstown. The great mass of water rushed down to the city in seven minutes, and at the Pennsylvania Railroad bridge, near the city, it became dammed up, greatly increasing the loss of life and collecting a large mass of débris, which afterwards took fire and added further to the destruction. Official reports after the disaster placed the total number of lives lost at 2,142, and the value of property destroyed at $9,674,105. Nearly $3,000,000 was raised for the relief of the sufferers, contributions being sent from nearly every State and large city in the United States, and from several cities in Europe. In the distribution of the relief, the sum of $1,500 was given to each of 124 women made widows, and $50 annually till they should reach the age of sixteen was assigned to each of 965 children made orphans or half-orphans.

1890, March and April.—The levees of the Mississippi River gave way in many places and the waters flooded large areas of land in Mississippi and Louisiana. The worst crevasse was caused by the giving way of the Morgansea, near Bayou Sara, which had been built by the federal and State governments at a cost of about $250,000.

1900, Sept. 6–9.—A tropical hurricane visiting the Southern coast spent its fury at and near Galveston, Tex., on Sept. 9. The loss of life and property here was the largest ever reported in the history of the United States from this cause, the loss of life being officially estimated at about 7,000, and the value of property destroyed about $30,000,000. The latter included the United States military post. The relief contributions from various sources in the United States and Europe amounted to over $1,500,000.

1901, June 22.—A cloudburst occurred near the headwaters of the Elkhorn and Dry Fork rivers, whose confluence form the main Tug River in the Flat Top coal region of West Virginia. A disastrous flood ensued, causing the loss of many lives and the destruction of a large amount of property. The consequent distress was such that Governor White appealed to the citizens of the State for relief for the sufferers.

Investigating Committees. The first investigating committee appointed by Congress was in the case of the defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair (*q. v.*). It was a special committee, empowered to send for persons and papers. Their call upon the War Department for all papers relating to the affair first raised the question of the extent of the authority of the House in such matters. The cabinet unanimously agreed that the House had no power to call on the head of any department for any public paper except through the President, in whose discretion it rested to furnish such papers as the public good might seem to require and admit, and that all such calls must be made by a special resolution of the House, the power to make them being an authority which could not be delegated to any committee. This decision of the cabinet established the method ever since practised of calling upon the President for public papers.

Iowa was originally a part of the vast Territory of Louisiana, ceded to the United States in 1803. The first settlement by Europeans was made by Julian Du Buque, who, in 1788, obtained a grant of a large tract, including the site of the city of Dubuque and the mineral lands around it. There he built a fort, and manufactured lead and traded with Indians until his death, in 1810. The Territory was placed under the jurisdiction of Michigan in 1834, and in 1836 under that of Wisconsin. It was erected into a separate Territory June 12, 1838, and included all the country north of Missouri between the Mississippi and the Missouri and the British line. This comprised a greater part of Minnesota and the whole of the present Dakotas, with an area of 94,000 square miles. The government was established at Iowa City, in 1839. In 1844 a State constitution was formed, but an application for admission into the Union was denied. The admission was effected Dec. 28, 1846, and in 1857 the capital was established at Des Moines. This State,

lying westward of the Mississippi River, with a population of nearly 700,000 and a loyal governor (Samuel J. Kirkwood), was quick to perceive the needs of the national government in its struggle with its enemies, and was lavish in its aid. When the President called for troops (April, 1861) the governor said, "In this emergency Iowa must not and does not occupy

STATE SEAL OF IOWA.

a doubtful position. For the Union as our fathers formed it, and for the government they framed so wisely and so well, the people of Iowa are ready to pledge every fighting-man in the State and every dollar of her money and credit." That pledge was redeemed by sending over 75,000 men to the front. The present constitution of Iowa was framed by a convention at Iowa City early in 1857, and was ratified Aug. 3. The clause confining the privilege of the elective franchise to white citizens was stricken out by act of the legislature, and was ratified by the people in 1868.

In 1903 Iowa ranked as the second corn-producing State in the country, with an output of 229,218,220 bushels, valued at $87,102,924; the second in hay; and the second in oats. The equalized valuation of all taxable property was $637,937,386; and the State had no bonded debt. In 1900 the State had 14,819 manufacturing establishments, with $102,733,103 capital; 58,553 wage-earners; paying $23,931,680 for wages, $101,170,357 for materials, products valued at $164,617,877.

The population in 1890 was 1,911,896; in 1900, 2,231,853. See U. S., Iowa, vol. ix.

GOVERNORS—TERRITORIAL.

Robert Lucas	assumes office	July,	1838
John Chambers	" "		1841
James Clark	" "		1845

GOVERNORS—STATE.

Ansel Briggs	assumes office		1846
Stephen Hempstead	" "	Dec.,	1850
James W. Grimes	" "	"	1854
Ralph P. Lowe	" "	"	1858
Samuel J. Kirkwood	" "	Jan.,	1860
William M. Stone	" "	"	1864
Samuel Merrill	" "	"	1868
C. C. Carpenter	" "	"	1872
Samuel J. Kirkwood	" "	"	1876
Joshua G. Newbold	acting	"	"
John H. Gear	assumes office	"	1878
Buren R. Sherman	" "	"	1882
William Larrabee	" "	"	1886
Frank D. Jackson	" "	"	1894
Francis M. Drake	" "	"	1896
Leslie M. Shaw	" "	"	1898
Albert B. Cummins	" "	"	1902

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Date.
Augustus C. Dodge	30th to 33d	1848 to 1855
George W. Jones	30th " 36th	1848 " 1859
James Harlan	34th " 38th	1855 " 1865
James W. Grimes	36th " 40th	1859 " 1869
Samuel J. Kirkwood	39th	1865 " 1867
James Harlan	40th to 43d	1867 " 1873
James B. Howell	41st	1869 " 1871
George G. Wright	42d to 44th	1871 " 1877
William B. Allison	43d ——	1873 " ——
Samuel J. Kirkwood	45th to 46th	1877 " 1881
James W. McDill	47th	1881 " 1883
James F. Wilson	48th to 54th	1883 " 1895
John H. Gear	53d " 56th	1895 " 1900
Jonathan P. Dolliver	56th " ——	1900 " ——

Iredell, James, jurist; born in Lewes, England, Oct. 5, 1750; emigrated to North Carolina in 1767; admitted to the bar in 1775; was elected judge of the Superior Court in 1777; appointed attorney-general in 1779; and judge of the Supreme Court in 1790. He died in Edenton, N. C., Oct. 20, 1799.

Iredell, James, lawyer; born in Edenton, N. C., Nov. 2, 1788; son of James Iredell; graduated at Princeton College in 1806; served in the War of 1812; aided in the defence of Craney Island; elected governor of North Carolina in 1827, and served out an unexpired term in the United States Senate in 1828–31. His publications include a *Treatise on the Law of Executors and Administrators;* and a *Digest of all the Reported Cases in the Courts of North Carolina, 1778 to 1845.* He died in Edenton, N. C., April 13, 1853.

Ireland. The bold stand taken by the Americans early in 1775 made the British ministry afraid of like movements in Ireland, where the Protestant minority had hitherto been employed to keep the majority, who were Roman Catholics, in subjection. That majority, amounting to seven-eighths of the entire population, were not only deprived of all political privileges, but were subjected to a great many rigorous and cruel restraints, designed to keep them ignorant, poor, and helpless. Even the Protestants in Ireland were not allowed an equality with their fellow-subjects in England. Their Parliament did not possess the rights enjoyed by the American colonial assemblies; and Ireland, in matters of trade, was treated very much like a foreign country. The idea of political liberty aroused in the colonies was already sowing the seeds of revolution in Ireland, and it was judged expedient to conciliate the Irish by just legislation that should relax the harsh commercial restrictions. This, however, was done so sparingly that it fell far short of accomplishing permanent good. Indeed, it was regarded as a delusive, temporizing policy, and the attitude of the Irish people, encouraged by that of the Americans, even became more threatening than ever. The Catholic Relief Bill of 1778 had made the Irish, for the first time in their history, one people; "all sects, all ranks, all races—the nobleman and the merchant, the Catholic and the Protestant, the Churchman and the Dissenter, he who boasted of his pure native lineage and he who was as proud of the Saxon or Norman blood that flowed in his veins—rushed together to the vindication of the liberties of their common country;" and, at the beginning of the year, beheld them embodied to the number of 80,000 volunteers. The British government dared not refuse the arms which they demanded to repel a threatened invasion from France. The fiery Grattan was then leader in the Irish Parliament. "I never will be satisfied," he exclaimed in debate, "so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked—he shall not be in irons." The Irish Parliament acted in accordance with this spirit, and adopted a resolution which made the country virtually free.

Ireland, which had been more oppressed by British rule than the American colonies, had, at the beginning of the contest between the latter and Great Britain, shown peculiar subserviency to its political master. When news of the affairs at Lexington and Bunker Hill reached that country, the Irish Parliament voted that they "heard of the rebellion with abhorrence, and were ready to show to the world their attachment to the sacred person of the King." Taking advantage of this expressed loyalty, Lord North obtained leave to send 4,000 able-bodied men to America as a part of the British army. The strongest and best of the Irish army were selected, and eight regiments were shipped for America. This left Ireland almost defenceless. Its Parliament offered to organize a national militia, which Lord North refused to accept, and, instead of a militia, organized and controlled by the British government, self-formed bands of volunteers sprang up all over Ireland. North saw his blunder, and had a militia bill enacted. But it was too late; the Irish Parliament preferred the volunteers, supported by the Irish themselves. Meanwhile the eloquent, patriotic, and incorruptible Henry Grattan had become a member of the Irish Parliament, and he was principally the agent that kindled the fire of patriotic zeal in Ireland that was burning so brightly in America. In 1779, though only thirty-three years of age, he led the Irish Parliament in demanding reforms. He moved an amendment to the address to the King that the nation could be saved only by free-trade, and it was adopted by unanimous vote. New taxes were refused. The ordinary supplies usually granted for two years were granted for six months. Throughout the little kingdom an inextinguishable sentiment of nationality was aroused. Alarmed by the threatening attitude, the British Parliament, in 1781, conceded to the dependent kingdom its claims to commercial equality.

The volunteer army of Ireland, commanded by officers of their own choice, amounted to about 50,000 at the close of the war with America (1782). They were united under one general-in-chief.

Feeling strong in the right and in its material and moral vitality at the moment, and encouraged by the success of the Americans, Ireland demanded reforms for herself. The viceroy reported that unless it was determined that the knot which bound the two countries should be severed forever, the points required by the Irish Parliament must be conceded. It was a critical moment. Eden, who was secretary for Ireland, proposed the repeal of the act of George I. which asserted the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to make laws to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland—the right claimed for Parliament which drove the Americans to war—and the Rockingham ministry adopted and carried the important measure. Appeals from the courts of Ireland to the British House of Peers were abolished; the restraints on independent legislation were done away with, and Ireland, still owing allegiance to Great Britain, obtained the independence of its Parliament. This was the fruit of the war for independence in America. The people of Ireland owed the vindication of their rights to the patriots of the United States; but their gratitude took the direction of their complained-of oppressor, and their legislature voted $500,000 for the levy of 20,000 seamen to strengthen the royal navy, whose ships had not yet been withdrawn from American waters, and which, with an army, were still menacing the liberties of the Americans.

Ireland, John, clergyman; born in Burnchurch, County Kilkenny, Ireland, Sept. 11, 1838. When nine years old he came to the United States and received a primary education in the Catholic schools of St. Paul, Minn. In 1853 he went to France and took a preparatory course in the Meximieux Seminary, after which he received his theological training in the seminary of Hyères. On Dec. 21, 1861, he was ordained a priest, and for a while served in the Civil War as chaplain of the 5th Minnesota Regiment. Later he was made rector of the St. Paul Cathedral. In 1870–71 he represented Bishop Grace of St. Paul in the Vatican Council in Rome. Subsequently the Pope named him Bishop of Maronea and coadjutor to Bishop Grace, and he was consecrated Dec. 21, 1875. He succeeded to the see of St. Paul on July 31, 1884, and was made archbishop on May 15, 1888. From early youth he was a strong advocate of temperance. In 1869 he established the first total abstinence society in Minnesota. He also became active in colonizing the Northwest with Roman Catholics. In 1887 he went to Rome with Bishop Keane, of Richmond, for the purpose of placing before the Pope the need of a Roman Catholic University at Washington, D. C., which has since been established under the name of the Catholic

ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND.

University of America. In 1891 a memorable controversy arose over the action of a Roman Catholic priest in Faribault, Minn., in transferring the parochial school to the control of the public school board. The transfer and the conditions were approved by Archbishop Ireland, and the experiment became known as the "Faribault Plan." The conditions in brief were that the city should bear all the expenses of the school; that the text-books and general management should be the same as in the public schools; that the priest should have the right of nominating

teachers for the school of his own religious denomination, who would be subject to the required examination; and that no religious exercises, instruction, nor emblems should be permitted in the school. This plan was also adopted in Stillwater, Minn. Soon, however, bishops in other parts of the country, who disapproved of the scheme, complained at Rome that Archbishop Ireland was disregarding the ecclesiastical law as expressed by the plenary councils of Baltimore. Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, was one of the leaders of this opposition. Archbishop Ireland was summoned to Rome, and after a long examination of the plan it was approved by the Congregation of the Propaganda in its decree of April 30, 1892.

Lafayette and America.—On July 4, 1900, a statue of Lafayette, the cost of which had been raised by the school children of the United States, was unveiled in Paris and formally presented to the French people. Archbishop Ireland was selected to deliver the oration on the occasion, and on being informed of this President McKinley addressed him the following letter:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, *June* 11.

"DEAR SIR,—Within a few days I have approved a resolution of Congress which voices in fitting terms the profound sympathy with which our people regard the presentation to France by the youth of America of a statue of General Lafayette. It has given me much pleasure to learn that you have been selected to deliver the address on this most interesting occasion.

"No more eminent representative of American eloquence and patriotism could have been chosen, and none who could better give appropriate expression to the sentiments of gratitude and affection which bind our people to France.

"I will be grateful if you will say how we honor in our national capital the statue of Lafayette erected by the French people, and convey my hope that the presentation of a similar memorial of that knightly soldier, whom both republics are proud to claim, may serve as a new link of friendship between the two countries, and a new incentive to generous rivalry in striving for the good of mankind. Very sincerely yours,

"WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

"Most Rev. John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn."

The following is the principal part of the oration:

To-day a nation speaks her gratitude to a nation; America proclaims her remembrance of priceless favors conferred upon her by France. We speak to France in the name of America, under commission from her chief magistrate, William McKinley, from her Senate and House of Representatives, from her youths who throng her schools, and from the tens of millions of her people who rejoice in the rich inheritance won in years past by the allied armies of France and America. We are bidden by America to give in the hearing of the world testimony of her gratitude to France.

Once weak and poor, in sore need of sympathy and succor, to-day the peer of the mightiest, self-sufficing, asking for naught save the respect and friendship to which her merits may entitle her, the republic of the United States of America holds in loving remembrance the nation from which in the days of her dire necessity there came to her powerful and chivalrous support. Noble men and noble nations forgive injuries; they never forget favors.

There is a land which is above all other lands the land of chivalry, of noble impulse and generous sacrifice, the land of devotion to ideals. At the call of a high-born principle her sons, with souls attuned by nature to the harmonies of the true and the beautiful, leap instinctively into the arena, resolved at any cost to render such principle a reality in the life-current of humanity. The pages of its history are glistening with the names of heroes and martyrs, of knightly soldiers and saintly missionaries. It is of France I speak.

At the close of the last century France was, more than ever, ready to hearken to an appeal made in the name of human rights. The spirit of liberty was hovering over the land, never again to depart from it, even if for a time baffled in its aspirations by the excesses of friends or the oppression of foes. To France America turned and spoke her hopes and fears; her messengers pleaded her cause in Paris; quick and generous was the response which France gave to the appeal.

Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette! Oh, that words of mine could ex-

press the full burning love which our Revolutionary sires did bear to this illustrious son of old Auvergne! Oh, that I could pronounce his name with the reverence with which my countrymen across the sea wish me to pronounce it before the people of France! In America two names are the idols of our national worship, the burden of fireside tale, the inspiration of the poet's song, the theme of the orator's discourse: the name of him who was the Father of his Country—George Washington; and the name of him who was the true and trusty friend of Washington, Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette.

Strange were it if America did not cherish the name of Lafayette. He loved America. "From the moment that I heard the name of America," said he, "I loved her; from the moment I learned of her struggles for liberty, I was inflamed with the desire of shedding my blood for her." He understood, above most men of his time, the full significance of America's contest. "Never," said he, "had so noble a purpose offered itself to the judgment of men; it was the last struggle for liberty, and its defeat would have left freedom without a home and without hopes." His devotion to America was as unselfish as it was intense. "I offer myself," he wrote, "to serve the United States with all possible zeal without pension or allowance."

Wealth and rank, the favors of court and king, high distinction in the service of his own country, the endearments of wife and child—all that ambition could covet or opportunity promise, the youth of nineteen summers put resolutely aside to cast his lot with a far-off people battling against fearful odds—and that at a moment when their fortunes were at their lowest ebb, and hope had wellnigh abandoned their standard. When the agent of America in France sadly confessed that he was even unable to furnish a ship to carry him and other volunteers, Lafayette said: "I will buy a ship and take your men with me."

By his magnanimity of soul, and by his grace of manner, not less than by his military prowess, he won all hearts and became the idol of the American army. He proved himself to the inmost fibre of his soul an American, as proud of America as the proudest of her patriots, the champion before all contestants of her honor and her fair name. More cheerfully even than his American companions in arms he bore the terrible hardships of the war; again and again he pledged his personal fortune to buy food and clothing for his men, who knew him by the familiar appellation of "The Marquis, the soldiers' friend." In camp and in battle his influence was boundless; a word of cheer from his lips roused the drooping spirits of his soldiers; a word of command sent them headlong against the enemy. A visitor to the American camp, the Marquis de Chastellux, could not help remarking that Lafayette was never spoken of without manifest tokens of attachment and affection.

But much as Lafayette deserves and receives our love and honor in return for his personal services in the cause of America, his chief title to the gratitude of our people is that his heroic figure ever looms up before their entranced fancy as the symbol of the magnanimity which France as a nation displayed towards our country in her laborious struggle for life and liberty. The value of the aid given to us by France in our war for independence is inestimable. The joy which the memory of it awakens in our souls is that which comes to us through the consciousness of our national life itself. France stood first sponsor for our nationhood. We entered into the great family of nations leaning on her arm, radiant with the reflection of her histrionic splendor, and strong in the protection of her titanic stature. When Franklin stood in the palace of Versailles, the acknowledged envoy of America, and Gerard de Rayneval, as the minister of France, saluted the Congress of America at Philadelphia, the young republic thrilled with new life and leaped at once into a full sense of security and a true consciousness of her dignity.

Let historians relate as they will that the King and minister of France saw in the revolt of the American colonies, and in the assistance that might be given them, an opportunity for France to avenge the humiliation of the treaty of 1763. It is not for us to demand that statesmen become for our sake oblivious

of the interests of their own country. What America knows, what she will never fail to know, is that King and ministers of France gave us the aid through which we won our independence, that they gave it to us in warmest friendliness and with most chivalrous generosity, and that in giving to us such aid they were applauded by the noble-hearted people of France, who loved America, and encouraged the alliance of their country with her, because of the great principles which were linked with the triumph or the defeat of the new republic of the West.

The war of America was waged for a mighty principle of deepest import to the welfare of humanity. It rose thereby immensely above other wars in solemn grandeur of meaning. The principle at stake was that of civil and political liberty, the triumph of which in America would be the presage of its triumph in the world. It was this principle that shed singular glory upon the battle-fields of America. America rose in rebellion against arbitrary and absolute government; she unsheathed the sword in the name of the rights of man and of the citizen.

There is but one who in His own right has power to rule over men—Almighty God—and from Him is derived whatever authority is exercised in human society. That authority is not, however, directly given to the one or the few; it is communicated by him to the people to be exercised in the form which they choose, by those whom they designate. And the men in whom this authority is invested by delegations of the people are to use it not for the benefit of the one or the few, but for the good of the people. All this is the plain teaching of reason and religion, and yet not seldom were such simple truths forgotten, not seldom in practice was power held as if it belonged to dynasties and classes, and exercised as if "the human race lived for the few." The rebellion of a people on so large a scale as was the uprising of the American colonies could not but challenge universal attention, and the triumph of such a rebellion could not but stir other peoples to a sense of their rights and to a stern resolve to maintain them.

It will not, assuredly, be said that the republican form of government is vital to a well-ordered State, nor that without it the rights of the people cannot be safeguarded, nor that it is the best and proper policy for every people. The form of a government is a question that must rest with the people of each nation, to be determined solely by them according to their special needs and their dispositions of character. It is, nevertheless, true that the republican form of government is of itself peculiarly expressive of the limitations and responsibilities of power, and consequently the founding of a republic such as that of the United States was a momentous event for liberty throughout the entire world. In every commonwealth the people's sense of their rights and power was quickened, and there sprang up in the consciences of the rulers of nations a new conception of their responsibilities towards the people. Whatever today in any country the particular form of government, democracy is there in some degree; and it is there because of its plenary triumph in America, whence went forth the charmed spell that reached, were it but in weakened waves, the uttermost bounds of civilized humanity.

The creation of the republic of the United States was the inauguration of a new era in the life of the human race—the era of the rights of manhood and of citizenship and of the rights of the people. Such is the true meaning of the American Revolution, the full significance of the work done in America by Lafayette and France.

This is the age of the people. Every decade will mark an advance in the triumphant march of democracy. Political movements do not go backward; the people do not abandon, except under duress, and then only for a time, rights of which they were once possessed, or the power which they have once wielded to maintain and enlarge those rights. To seek for arguments against democracy in its apparent perils is a waste of time. The part of true statesmanship is to study the perils such as they may be and take measures to avert them. The progress of democracy cannot be stayed. He who would rule must rule through the people, through the individual men who constitute the people. To obtain results in the civil and political world he must go to the individ-

ual, enlighten his mind, form his conscience and thus enlist his sympathies and win his intelligent co-operation. He who does this will succeed; he who uses other methods will fail. The task for those who would rule men is made more difficult. The time is long gone by when men can be swayed by sword or proclamation. But manhood in men has meanwhile grown, and they who love manhood in men should rejoice.

Why should we be asked to regret the coming of democracy? What is it in its ultimate analysis but the practical assertion of the dignity of man, indelibly impressed upon him when he was fashioned to the image of the Creator? What is it but trust in the power of truth and righteousness, and in the readiness of the human soul to respond to such influences? The growth of mind and will in the individual is what all must hail who believe in human progress, or in the strength of Christian civilization. And as mind and will grow in men, so grow in him the consciousness of his rights and power, and the resolve to uphold rights, to put power into act, and to resist all irrational or unnecessary restraint upon either rights or power—and thus is begotten democracy. The new age has dawned for all humanity; but, where men have the more quickly and the more thoroughly understood their dignity, there its golden rays have risen higher above the horizon and shed more richly their light upon human thought and action.

Iron, MARTIN, labor leader; born in Scotland, Oct. 7, 1832; emigrated to the United States in 1846; and later settled in Lexington, Mo.; joined the Knights of Labor and organized and led the famous Missouri Pacific Railroad strike of 1886. He died in Bunceville, Tex., Nov. 17, 1900.

Iron and Steel. The remarkable advance in material prosperity of the United States within a few years is shown in most striking detail in the production and manufactures of iron and steel. The calendar year 1899 was a record-breaker in the production of iron-ore throughout the world. In the United States the total output was 24,683,173 long tons, an increase of 5,249,457 long tons over the aggregate of the preceding year. The nearest approach to the total of the United States in 1898 and 1899 was the output of Great Britain in 1880, which reached 18,026,049 long tons. The output of the United States in 1899 aggregated in value $34,999,077. The chief ore-producing States were: Michigan, 9,146,157 long tons; Minnesota, 8,161,289 long tons; Alabama, 2,662,943 long tons; and Pennsylvania, 1,009,327 long tons. Virginia and West Virginia combined ranked next with 986,476 long tons. The production in the calendar year 1902 was the largest in the history of the country, 35,554,135 long tons, valued at $65,412,-

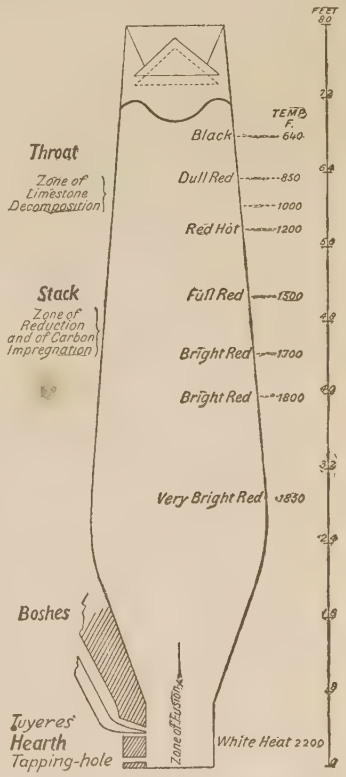


DIAGRAM OF A MODERN BLAST-FURNACE.

950; and in 1903 it was 35,019,308 long tons.

The amount of pig-iron manufactured in the United States in 1903 was 18,009,252 long tons. In the fifteen years 1889–1903 the total production of ore in the United States was 305,521,317 long tons,

THE GREAT ORE DOCKS AT MARQUETTE.

an average annual output of 20,368,088 long tons. In the production of 1903 the red hematite constituted the most prominent general class of iron-ore, yielding 30,328,654 long tons, or 86.6 per cent. of the total. Brown hematite yielded 3,080,399 long tons; magnetite, 575,422 long tons; and carbonate, 34,833 long tons. Minnesota produced the largest amount of red hematite, Alabama the largest of brown hematite, New Jersey the largest of magnetite, and Ohio the largest of carbonate.

In 1890 the United States for the first time gained the lead among the pig-iron producing countries of the world, but lost it to Great Britain in 1894. The following year, however, the United States again outranked Great Britain, and has since kept ahead of that country. In 1901 the five great pig-iron producers of the world stood in the following order of importance: United States, 15,878,000 long tons; Great Britain, 7,929,000; Germany, 7,867,000; Russia, 2,821,000; and France, 2,389,000. It is also a matter of record that in 1901 the United States produced over 33 per cent. of the total ore output of the world, or 28,887,000 long tons out of an estimated total of 87,000,000 long tons. It is further interesting to note that the capitalization of the groups of operating companies aggregated $1,455,696,000.

The steel industry also showed the United States to be at the head of all other countries. The total output of the steel-producing countries from which reports were available for 1901 was approximately 27,240,000 long tons, divided among them as follows: United States, 13,474,000 tons; Germany, 6,394,000; Great Britain, 4,904,000; France, 1,425,000; Belgium, 653,000; Sweden, 269,000; and Spain, 121,000. The output in the United States included 8,713,302 long tons of Bessemer steel and 4,656,309 long tons of open-hearth steel.

In the iron and steel trade with foreign countries, in the twenty years preceding 1900, the position of the United States was exactly reversed; and within the last five years of that period the United States changed from an importing to an exporting country. In 1880 five times as much in value of iron and steel was imported into the United States as was exported therefrom. At the close of this period the country exported six times the value of its iron and steel imports. These exports, in the fiscal year 1899–1900, aggregated $121,858,341, thus ranking next to breadstuffs, cotton, and provisions, the three

higher in value. There were in the iron and steel exports twenty-one classes valued at from $1,000,000 to $9,000,000 each. In the calendar year 1904 the export trade in iron and steel manufactures aggregated $111,948,586. The marvellous development of the iron and steel trade above indicated contributed to make the other articles entering the daily requirements of man.

If any further evidence was required to indicate the supremacy of the United States in the allied iron and steel industries, the gigantic United States Steel Corporation, organized in February, 1901, by a pooling of the interests of more than

A MODERN BLAST-FURNACE.

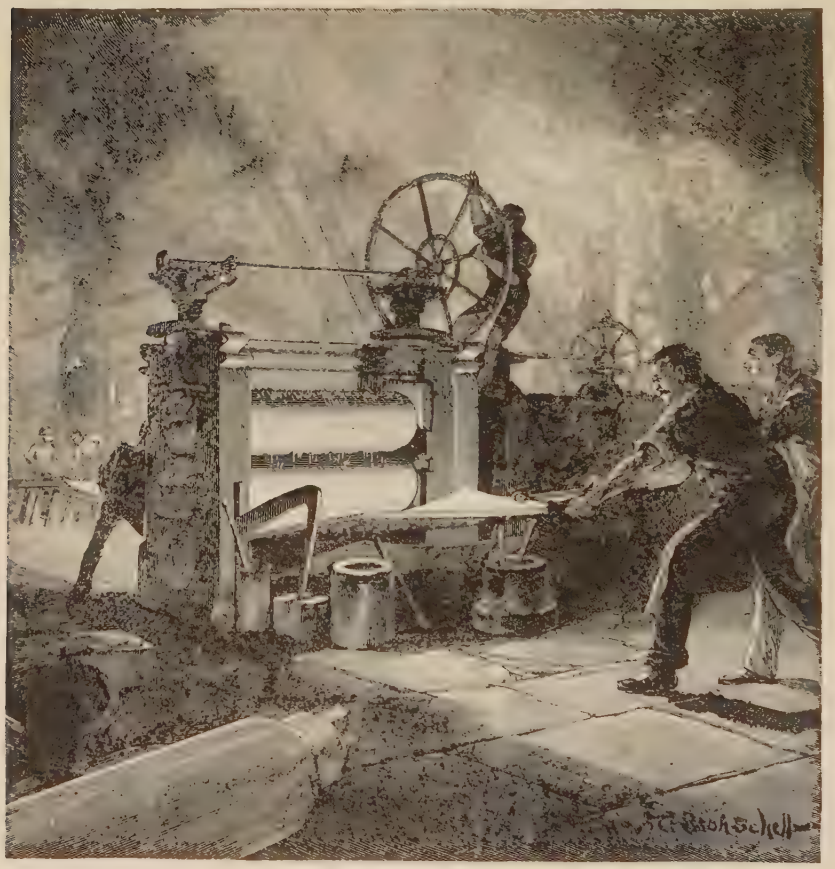
United States, in the opening of the twentieth century, the world's greatest producer of iron, steel, coal, copper, cotton, breadstuffs, provisions, and many a dozen great operating companies, known on the "street" as the "billion-dollar steel combine," would probably be sufficient to satisfy any doubt. Each of the

corporations in the new concern was widely known for the large capital it commanded and the vast amount of work it had already accomplished, and the possibilities open to consummation by a combination of these great concerns became a matter entirely beyond the range of human calculation. The leading figures in this consolidation of extraordinary interests were Andrew Carnegie, the Pittsburg iron and steel king, and J. Pierpont Morgan, the New York banker, who financiered the combination. The combination began operations with a total capital of $1,154,000,000, divided into $850,000,000 in capital stock, and $304,000,000 in bonds, and with a cash account of $200,000,000.

Ironclad Oath. See OATHS.

Ironsides, Old. See CONSTITUTION.

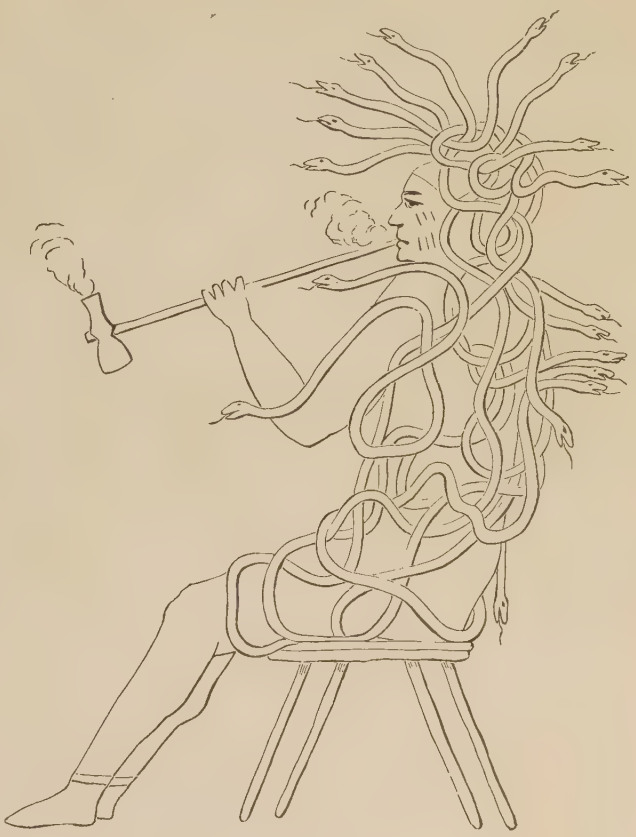
Iroquois Confederacy, The, was originally composed of five related families or nations of Indians, in the present State of New York. These were called, respectively, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Tradition says the confederacy was founded by Hiawatha, the incarnation of wisdom, at about the beginning of the fifteenth century. He came from his celestial home and dwelt with the Onondagas, where he taught the related tribes the knowledge of good liv-



ROLLING SHEET-IRON.

ing. Fierce warriors approached from the north, slaying everything human in their path. Hiawatha advised a council. It was held on the bank of Onondaga Lake. Representatives of each nation were there. Under his direction a league was formed, and each canton was assigned its appropriate place in it. They gave it a name signifying "they form a cabin," and they fancifully called the league "The Long House." The eastern door was kept by the Mohawks, and the western by the Senecas, and the council-fire was with the Onondagas, at their metropolis, a few miles south of the site of the city of Syracuse. By common consent, a chief of the Onondagas, called Atatarho, was made the first president of the league. The Mohawks, on the east, were called "the door." The confederacy embraced within its territory the present State of New York north and west of the Kaatzbergs and south of the Adirondack group of mountains. The several nations were subdivided into tribes, each having a heraldic insignia, or *totem*. Through the totemic system they maintained a tribal union, and exhibited a remarkable example of an almost pure democracy in government.

Each canton or nation was a distinct republic, independent of all others in relation to its domestic affairs, but each was bound to the others of the league by ties of honor and general interest. Each had an equal voice in the general council or congress, and possessed a sort of veto power, which was a guarantee against despotism. After the Europeans came, the sachem, or civil head of a tribe, affixed his totem—such as the rude outlines of a wolf, a bear, a tortoise, or an eagle—to every public paper he was required to sign. It was like a monarch affixing his



ATATARHO.*

* Atatarho, the first president of the Iroquois Confederacy, is represented by the Indians as living, at the time he was chosen, in grim seclusion in a swamp, where his dishes and drinking-vessels, like those of half-barbarian Caucasians, were made of the skulls of his enemies slain in battle. When a delegation went to him to offer him the symbol of supreme power, they found him sitting smoking his pipe, but unapproachable, because he was entirely clothed with hissing snakes. Here is the old story of Medusa's snaky tresses unveiled in the forests of the new-found world.

seal. Each of the original Five Nations was divided into three tribes, those of the Mohawks being designated as the Tortoise or Turtle, the Bear, and the Wolf. These totems consisted of representations of those animals. These were sometimes exceedingly rude, but were sufficient to denote the tribe of the signer; as, No. 1, appended to the signature of Little Hendrick, a Mohawk chief, represents his totem — a turtle; No. 2, appended to the signature of Kanadagea, a chief of the Bear tribe, represents a bear lying on his back; and No. 3 is the signature of Great Hendrick, of the Wolf tribe, the rude representation of that animal appearing at the end of his signature.

NO. 1.

As each confederated union was divided into tribes, there were thirty or forty sachems in the league. These had inferior officers under them, and the civil power was widely distributed. Office was the reward of merit alone; malfeasance in it brought dismissal and public scorn. All public services were compensated only by public esteem. The powers and duties of the president of the league were similar to those conferred and imposed upon the chief magistrate of our republic. He had authority to assemble a congress of representatives; had a cabinet of six advisers, and in the council he was a moderator. There was no coercive power, excepting public opinion, lodged anywhere. The military dominated the civil power in the league. The chiefs derived their authority from the people, and they sometimes, like the Romans, deposed civil officers. The army was composed wholly of volunteers, and conscription was impossible. Every able-bodied man was bound to do military duty, and he who shirked it incurred everlasting disgrace. The ranks were always full. The recruiting-stations were the war-dances. Whatever was done in civil councils was subjected to review by the soldiery, who had the right to call councils when they pleased, and approve or disapprove public measures. The matrons formed a third and powerful party in the legislature of the league. They had a right to sit in the councils, and there exercise the veto power on the subject of a declaration of war, and to propose and demand a cessation of hostilities. They were pre-eminently peace-makers. It was no reflection upon the courage of warriors if, at the call of the matrons, they withdrew from the war-path. These women wielded great influence in the councils, but they modestly delegated the duties of speech-making to some masculine orator. With these Indians, woman was man's coworker in legislation—a thing unheard of among civilized people. So much did the Iroquois reverence the "inalienable rights of man," that they never made slaves of their fellow-men, not even of captives taken in war. By unity they were made powerful; and to prevent degeneracy, members of a tribe were not allowed to intermarry with each other.

NO. 2.

Like the Romans, they caused their commonwealth to expand by annexation and conquest. Had they remained undiscovered by the Europeans a century longer the Confederacy might have embraced the whole continent, for the Five Nations had already extended their conquests from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and were the terror of the other tribes east and west. For a long time the French in Canada, who taught them the use of fire-arms, maintained a doubtful struggle against them. Champlain found them at war against the Canada Indians from Lake Huron to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He fought them on Lake Champlain in 1609; and from that time until the middle of that century their wars against the Canada Indians and their French allies were fierce and dis-

NO. 3.

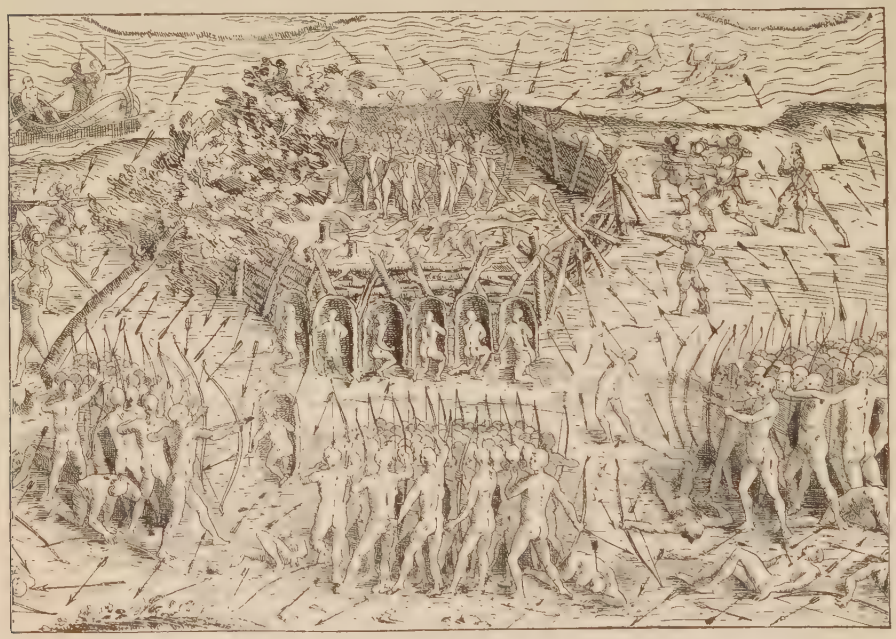
CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST FIGHT WITH THE IROQUOIS.

tressing. They made friends of the Dutch, from whom they obtained firearms; and they were alternately at war and peace with the French for about sixty years. The latter invaded the cantons of the league, especially after the Five Nations became allied with the English, who, as masters of New York, used their dusky neighbors to carry out their designs. The Iroquois, meanwhile, carried their conquests almost to Nova Scotia on the east, and far towards the Mississippi on the west, and subdued the Susquehannas in Pennsylvania. In 1649 they subdued and dispersed the Wyandottes in the Huron country. Some of the fugitives took refuge among the Chippewas; others fled to Quebec, and a few were incorporated in the Iroquois Confederacy. The Wyandottes were not positively subdued, and claimed and exercised sovereignty over the Ohio country down to the close of the eighteenth century. Then the Five Nations made successful wars on their eastern and western neighbors, and in 1655 they penetrated to the land of the Catawbas and Cherokees. They conquered the Miamis and Ottawas in 1657, and in 1701 made incursions as far as the Roanoke and Cape Fear rivers, to the land of their kindred, the Tuscaroras. So determined were they to subdue the Southern tribes that when, in 1744, they ceded a part of their lands to Virginia, they reserved a perpetual privilege of a war-path through the territory.

A French invasion in 1693, and again in 1696, was disastrous to the league, which lost one-half of its warriors. Then they swept victoriously southward early in the eighteenth century, and took in their kindred, the Tuscaroras, in North Carolina, when the Confederacy became known as the Six Nations. In 1713 the French gave up all claim to the Iroquois, and after that the Confederacy was generally neutral in the wars between France and England that extended to the American colonies. Under the influence of William Johnson, the English Indian agent, they went against the French in 1755, and some of them joined Pontiac in his conspiracy in 1763. When the Revolution broke out, in 1775, the Iroquois, influenced by the Johnson family, adhered to the crown, excepting the Oneidas. Led by Brant and savage Tories, they desolated the Mohawk, Cherry, and Wyoming valleys. The coun-

try of the Western Iroquois, in turn, was desolated by General Sullivan in 1779, and Brant retaliated fearfully on the frontier settlements. At the close of the war the hostile Iroquois, dreading the vengeance of the exasperated Americans, took refuge in Canada, excepting the Oneidas and Tuscaroras.

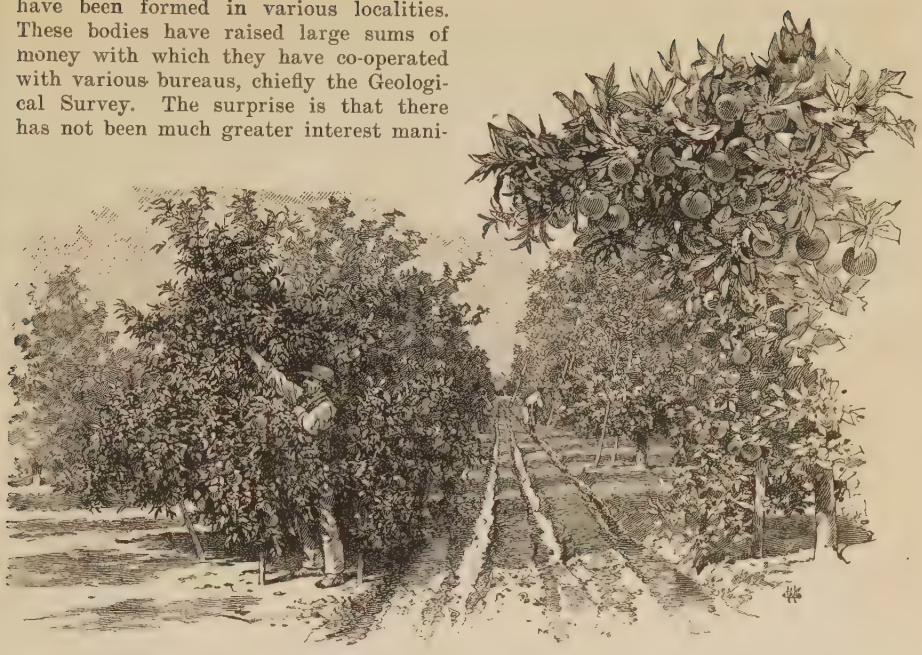
By treaties, all the lands of the Six Nations in New York passed into the possession of the white people, excepting some reservations on which their descendants still reside. In the plenitude of their power the Confederacy numbered about 15,000; they now number about 13,000, distributed at various points in Canada and the United States. In 1899 there were 2,767 Senecas, 549 Onondagas, 161 Cayugas, 270 Oneidas, and 388 Tuscaroras in New York State; 1,945 Oneidas in Wisconsin; and 323 Senecas in Indian Territory. Like the other Indians of the continent, the Iroquois were superstitious and cruel. They believed in witches as firmly as did Cotton Mather and his Puritan brethren in New England, and they punished them in human form as fiercely as Henry VIII., or the rulers and the Gospel ministers at Salem in later times. Their "medicine men" and "prophets" were as expert deceivers as the priests, oracles, and jugglers of civilized men. They tortured their enemies in retaliation for kindred slain with almost as refined cruelty as did the ministers of the Holy Inquisition the enemies of their opinions; and they lighted fires around their more eminent prisoners of war, in token of their power, as bright and hot as those kindled by enlightened Englishmen around Joan of Arc as a sorceress, or Bishops Latimer and Ridley as believers in what they thought to be an absurdity.



ATTACK ON AN IROQUOIS FORT (From an old print).

Irrigation, artificial watering of land in arid regions for the purpose of utilization. This subject has claimed much attention in the United States since 1890 on the part of the general and State governments, of large corporations, and of private individuals. Associations designed to promote investigations into the water and forest resources of the country

have been formed in various localities. These bodies have raised large sums of money with which they have co-operated with various bureaus, chiefly the Geological Survey. The surprise is that there has not been much greater interest manifested in this subject, since one-third of the United States territory is officially included in what is known as the great "arid region," which needs only the magic touch of water to change it into fertile fields.



A CALIFORNIA ORANGE GROVE, SHOWING RESULTS OF IRRIGATION.

This vast area falls topographically into the following divisions:

1. The Great Plains, stretching from the 100th meridian west to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of 250 miles, and having an extent of about 700 miles from Manitoba on the north to Texas on the south.

2. A region beginning at the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains and extending westward to the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the Cascade Mountains in Oregon and Washington. It comprises an immense territory,

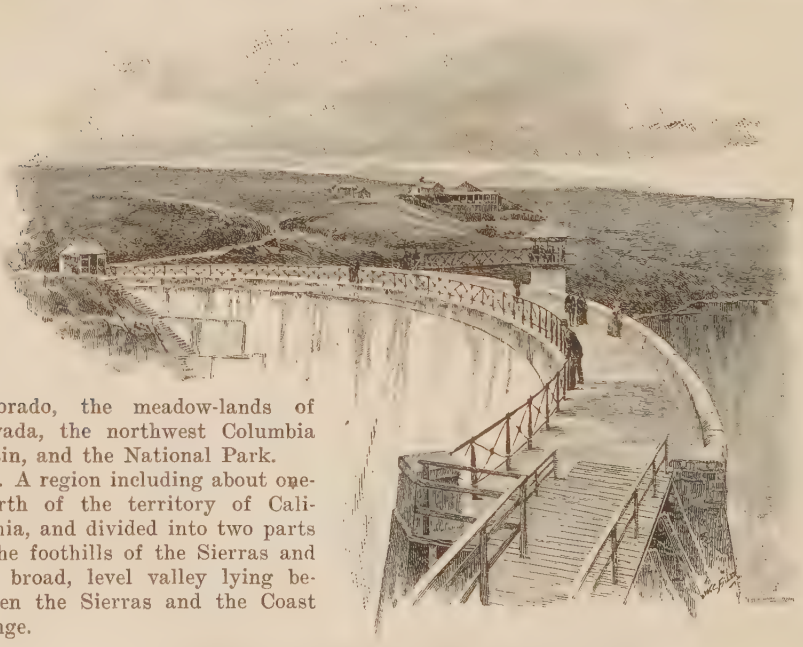
IRRIGATION BY PIPE SYSTEM.

IRRIGATION BY ARTESIAN-WELL SYSTEM.

In 1900 these divisions taken as a whole contained a population of 9,000,000 people, and over 50,000,000 acres of land under some form of cultivation. About 9,000,000 acres of this land have been made available through irrigation, by means of artesian wells in a few cases, but for the most part by the construction of canals and ditches.

At a number of irrigation congresses held in the West the national government was strongly urged to undertake an active part in the reclamation of the large arid areas susceptible of a high state of agricultural development under such liberal conditions as the national

which includes the park system of the Rockies, culminating in Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and northeast Arizona. The section contains many mountain systems, the Great Basin of Salt Lake, the great cañon system and plateau of the



Colorado, the meadow-lands of Nevada, the northwest Columbia Basin, and the National Park.

3. A region including about one-fourth of the territory of California, and divided into two parts —the foothills of the Sierras and the broad, level valley lying between the Sierras and the Coast Range.

SWEETWATER DAM, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, USED IN IRRIGATION.

government alone could afford. The census of 1900, among general irrigation statistics of the United States, reported the following: Number of irrigators, 108,218; acres irrigated, 7,539,545; area in crops, 5,944,412 acres, and in pasture and unmatured crops, 1,595,133 acres; value of irrigated crops, $86,860,491; and cost of irrigation systems, $67,770,942. In 1902 a bill was approved by the President, June 17, providing for the appropriation, as a special fund to be used in the construction of irrigation works, of all moneys received from the sale of public lands in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901. Under this law the fund amounted in 1901 to $3,144,821, and in 1902 to $4,585,516. This total, $7,730,337, was apportioned among the States and Territories in 1903 as follows: Arizona, $81,773; California, $503,270; Colorado, $628,995; Idaho, $507,448; Kansas, $49,135; Montana, $772,377; Nebraska, $235,194; Nevada, $23,414; New Mexico, $147,237; North Dakota, $1,227,496; Oklahoma, $1,008,795; Oregon, $910,061; South Dakota, $307,562; Utah, $146,824; Washington, $794,088; Wyoming, $385,762. On June 30, 1904, the auditor of the Department of the Interior reported that the accumulations of the reclamation fund then amounted to approximately $25,000,000.

Irvine, JAMES, military officer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 4, 1735; took part in Colonel Bouquet's expedition as captain in a Pennsylvania regiment. During the Revolutionary War he was captain and later lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Pennsylvania; and was commissioned colonel of the 9th Pennsylvania Regiment, Oct. 25, 1776. He was taken prisoner during the action at Chestnut Hill, Dec. 5, 1777, carried to New York, and remained there till he was exchanged in 1781. After the close of the war he was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1785–86, and of the State Senate in 1795–99. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., April 28, 1819.

Irvine, WILLIAM, military officer; born in Fermanagh, Ireland, Nov. 3, 1741; was surgeon of a ship-of-war; came to the United States after the peace of 1763, and practised medicine at Carlisle, Pa. He was an active patriot, and raised and commanded the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment in 1776; was captured in the battle at Three Rivers, Canada; exchanged in May, 1778; served under Wayne, and in 1781 was stationed at Fort Pitt, charged with the defence of the Northwestern frontier. He was a member of Congress in 1786–88, and took a civil and military part in the task of quelling the Whiskey Insurrection. He was again a member of Congress in 1793–95. He died in Philadelphia, July 29, 1804.

Irving, SIR HENRY, actor; born in Keinton, near Glastonbury, England, Feb. 6, 1838. His real name was John Henry Brodribb, but he preferred the name of "Irving," and in 1887 was permitted by royal license to continue the use of it. He was educated in a private school in London, and began his dramatic career in 1856, when he took the minor part of Orleans in *Richelieu*. In 1866 he established his reputation as an actor of merit at the St. James Theatre, in London, as Doricourt in *The Belle's Stratagem*. In 1870 he appeared as Digby Grant in the *Two Roses*, which was played for 300 nights; and in 1871, after playing the part of Mathias in *The Bells* at the Lyceum Theatre, he came to be regarded as the greatest actor in England. He assumed the management of the Lyceum Theatre in 1878, and raised that house to an international reputation. In May, 1881, he opened a memorable engagement with Edwin Booth, producing *Othello*, in which the two actors alternated the parts of Othello and Iago. He has made several successful tours of the United States in company with Ellen Terry, on one of which (1884) he delivered an address on *The Art of Acting* before the students of Harvard University. In a lecture on *Amusements*, before the Church of England Temperance Society, he made a strong defence of the morality of the stage. He published *Impressions of America* (1884). In 1895 he received the honor of knighthood.

Irving, WASHINGTON, author; born in New York City, April 3, 1783. His father was a Scotchman, his mother an English-

WASHINGTON IRVING.

woman. He engaged in literature while yet a youth, and was in Europe for his health in 1804–06. In 1807 he published, 1808, his *Knickerbocker's History of New York.* After editing a magazine during the War of 1812–15, he went to Europe, where he resided seventeen years; when, after the failure of a mercantile house in New York with which he was connected, he was left to rely on his literary labors for support. He spent his time partly in England, France, Germany, and Spain, and published his *Life of Columbus* in 1828, which was followed by the *Conquest of Granada* and the *Alhambra.* From 1829 to 1831 he was secretary of the American legation in London, and received from George IV. the fifty-guinea gold medal awarded for eminence in historical composition. He returned to New York in 1832, and prepared and published several works; and from 1839 to 1841 contributed to the *Knickerbocker Magazine.* From 1842 to 1846 he was minister to Spain, and on his return to New York

THE OLD CHURCH AT SLEEPY HOLLOW.

in connection with his brother Peter and James K. Paulding, *Salmagundi,* and in he published a revised edition of all his works in 15 volumes, which had a

very large sale. His last work was a *Life of Washington*, in 5 volumes, completed a few months before his death. Mr. Irving never married. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Harvard College, Oxford University, in England, and Columbia College, in New York. His remains rest near the summit of a gentle slope in the cemetery attached to the ancient Dutch church at the entrance to "Sleepy Hollow," near Tarrytown, N. Y. They lie by the side of those of his mother. In a row lie the remains of his father, mother, brothers, and sisters. The old church, which he made famous by the story of Ichabod Crane (a leader in the psalm-singing there on Sundays) in his *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, remains the same as when it was built in 1669, and is the oldest church edifice in the State of New York. Over the Sleepy Hollow brook, near it, is the bridge where Brom Bones, the supposed "headless horseman," hurled the pumpkin at the frightened Ichabod, and drove him from the neighborhood and Katrina van Tassell forever. Mr. Irving died in Irvington, N. Y., Nov. 28, 1859.

SUNNYSIDE, HOME OF WASHINGTON IRVING.

Irwin, JARED, legislator; born in Mecklenburg county, N. C., in 1750; removed to Georgia, and served throughout the Revolutionary War; was a member of the State constitutional conventions of 1789, 1795, and 1798; and was elected governor of the State in 1796 and 1806. He died in Union, Ga., March 1, 1818.

Isabella, Queen of Castile and Leon; born in Madrigal, Old Castile, April 23, 1451; lived in retirement with her mother, a daughter of John II., of Portugal, until her twelfth year. At the age of eleven years she was betrothed to Carlos, brother of Ferdinand (whom she afterwards mar-

ried), then forty-six years old. His death prevented the union. Other candidates for her hand were proposed, but, being a

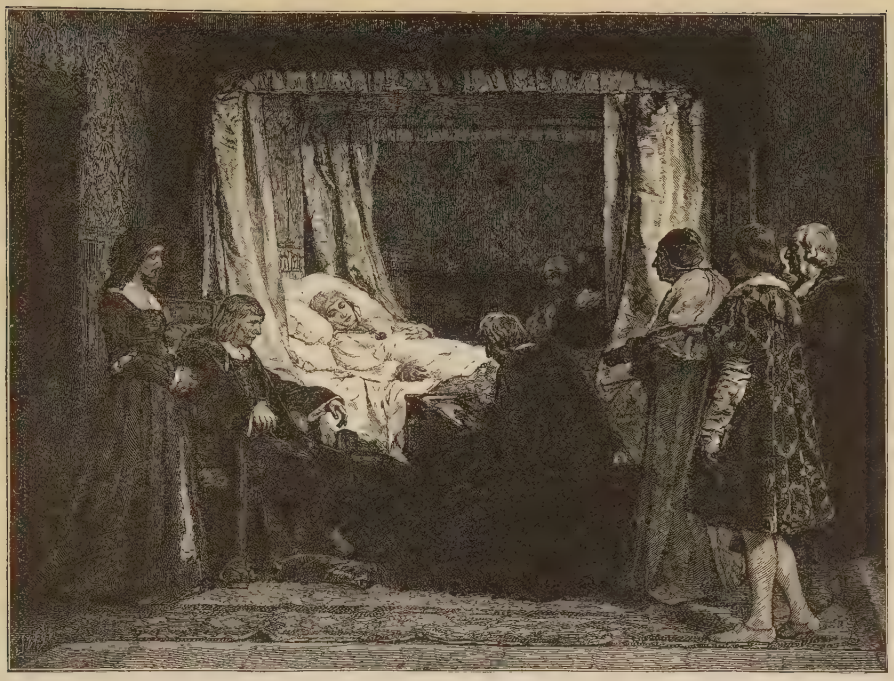
ISABELLA OF CASTILE.

young woman of spirit, she rejected them. Her half-brother Henry, on the throne, contracted a marriage for her, for state purposes, with the profligate Don Pedro Giron, grand-master of the Order of Calatrava. "I will plunge a dagger in Don Pedro's heart," said the maiden, "before I will submit to the dishonor." The grand-master died as suddenly as Carlos, while on his way to the nuptials, probably from the effects of poison. Henry now made an arrangement by which Isabella was recognized as heir to Castile and Leon, with the right to choose her own husband, subject to the King's approval. She chose Ferdinand, Prince of Aragon, who signed the marriage contract at Cervera, Jan. 7, 1469, guaranteeing to his betrothed all the essential rights of sovereignty in Castile and Leon. King Henry, offended because his sister would not marry the King of Portugal, sent a force to seize her person. She escaped to Valladolid, whither Ferdinand hastened in disguise, and they were married, Oct. 19, 1469, in the cathedral there. Civil war ensued. The King died late in 1474, and Isabella was declared Queen of Castile and Leon; but her authority was not fully recognized until after a war with the King of Portugal, who was affianced to Juana, the rival of Isabella for the throne. After that her career was brilliant. She appeared in arms at the head of her troops in her wars with the Moors.

From a conviction that it was for the safety of the Roman Catholic religion, she reluctantly, it is said, gave her consent to the establishment of the Inquisition; and for this act, and her fiery zeal for the Church, amounting at times to fanatical cruelty, she is known in history as Isabella, "the Catholic." Ferdinand was now King of Aragon, and their kingdoms were united and formed a strong empire, and the consolidated Christian power of the Spanish peninsula was effected. The two monarchs were one in love, respect, and interest. They ruled as separate sovereigns, each having an independent council, and sometimes holding their courts at points distant from each other at the same time; but they were a unit in the general administration of the consolidated kingdoms, all acts of sovereignty being executed in the name of both, all documents signed by both, and their profiles stamped together on the national coins, while the royal seal displayed the united arms of Castile and

VALLADOLID CATHEDRAL.

Aragon. The religious zeal of Isabella was inflamed when Columbus, in his application for aid, declared that one great

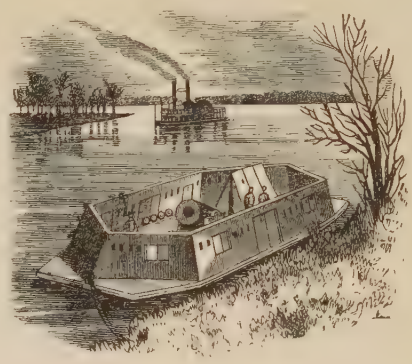


DEATH-BED OF QUEEN ISABELLA.

object of his ambition was to carry the Gospel to the heathen of undiscovered lands. But public affairs at first so engrossed the attention of the monarchs that the suit of the navigator did not prevail for a long time. Finally he was summoned before the monarchs, and pleaded his cause in person. The Queen's zeal was so increased that she resolved to give him aid. "Our treasury," said Ferdinand, "has been too much drained by the war to warrant us in the undertaking." The Queen said, "I will undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile; and, if necessary, will pledge my jewels for the money." Then she fitted out the expedition that sailed from Palos in the autumn of 1492. Afterwards she opposed the enslaving of the natives of the western continent; and when Columbus sent a cargo of captives to Spain, she ordered them to be carried back to their own country. With Cardinal Ximenes she effected a radical reform in the Church, as she had in the State; and criminals, high or low, the clergy and common offenders, felt the sword of justice fall with equal severity. Masculine in intellect, feminine in her moral qualities, pious and loving, Isabella's virtues—as virtues were estimated then and there—made a favorite theme for the praise of Spanish writers. In person she was beautiful—well formed, with clear complexion, light blue eyes, and auburn hair. She had one son and four daughters. Her youngest daughter, Catharine, became the wife of Henry VIII., of England. See COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER.

Island Number Ten. This island lies in a sharp bend of the Mississippi River, about 40 miles below Columbus, and within the limits of Kentucky. At the beginning of the Civil War it was considered the key to the navigation of the lower Mississippi. To this island some of the troops and munitions of war were transferred when General Polk evacuated Columbus, and all the troops there were in charge of Beauregard. On March 8, 1862, he sent forth a proclamation in which he called for bells with which to

make cannon, and there was a liberal response. "In some cities," wrote a Confederate soldier, "every church gave up its bells. Court-houses, public institutions, and plantations sent them. And the people furnished large quantities of old brass—andirons, candlesticks, gas-fixtures, and even door-knobs." These were all sent to New Orleans to be used in cannon foundries. There they were found by General Butler, sent to Boston, and sold at auction. Beauregard had thoroughly fortified the island, and, after the capture of New Madrid, it became an object of great interest to both parties, for it was besieged by the Nationals. For this purpose Commodore Foote left Cairo, March 14, 1862, with a powerful fleet of gun and mortar-boats. There were seven of the former iron-clad and one not armored, and ten of the latter. On the night of the 15th Foote was at Island Number Ten, and the next morning (Sunday) he began the siege with a bombardment by the rifled cannon of his flag-ship, the *Boston*. This was followed by the mortar-boats, moored at proper points along the river shore, from which tons of iron were hurled upon the island and the batteries on the Kentucky bank opposite. All day long the artillery duel was kept up without much injury to either party. Meanwhile a battery of Illlinois artillery had been landed on the Missouri shore, in a position to assail the Confederate flotilla near the island. The next day a tremendous attack on the Confederate works was made by a floating battery of ten guns, formed of three gunboats lashed together, side by side, followed by three others separately. The day's work was barren of any decisive result. The island shores were lined with

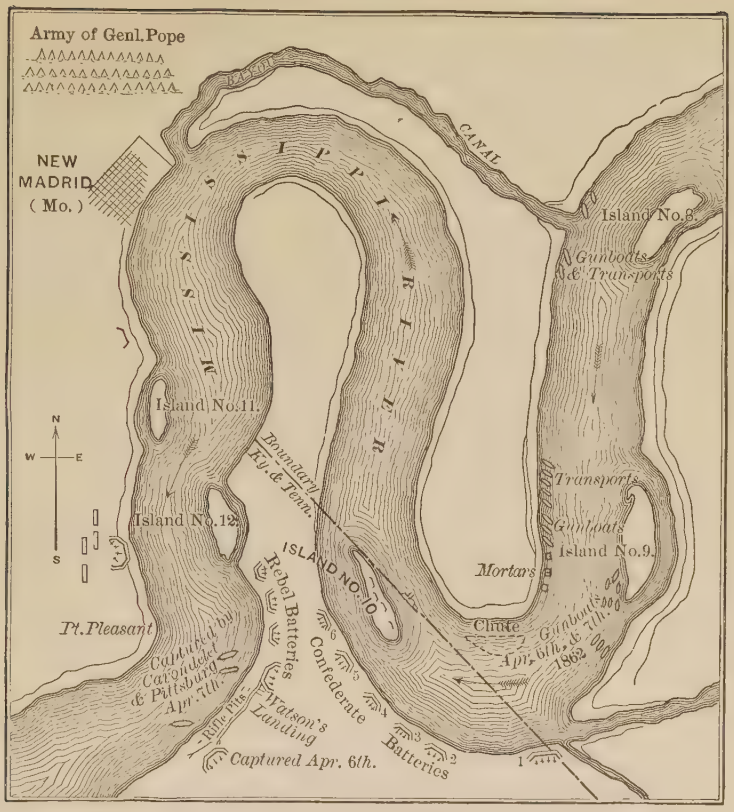


A MORTAR-BOAT.

batteries. So the siege went on, with varying fortunes, until the first week in April, when Beauregard telegraphed to Richmond that the "Federal guns" had "thrown 3,000 shells and burned 50 tons of gunpowder" without damaging his batteries or killing one of his men.

The public began to be impatient; but victory was near. General Pope was chafing with impatience at New Madrid. He wished to cross the river to the peninsula and attack the island in the rear, a movement that would insure its capture. The opposite shore was lined with Confederate batteries, and it would be madness to attempt a crossing until these were silenced. Gen. Schuyler Ham-

ISLAND NUMBER TEN.



MAP OF ISLAND NUMBER TEN.

ilton proposed the construction of a canal across the neck of a swampy peninsula of sufficient capacity to allow the passage of gunboats and transports, so as to effectually flank Island Number Ten and insure its capture. It was undertaken under the supervision of Colonel Bissell, and was successfully performed. In the mean time daring feats against the shore batteries had been performed; and during a terrible thunder-storm on the night of April 3, Captain Walke ran by the Confederate batteries with the gunboat *Carondelet*, assailed by all of them, her position being revealed by the flashes of lightning. It was the first vessel that ran by Confederate batteries on the Mississippi River. She had not fired a gun during her passage, but the discharge of three assured anxious Commodore Foote of the safety of the *Carondelet* after the dangerous voyage. Perceiving the perilous fate that awaited them after the completion of the canal, the Confederates sank steamboats in the channel of the river to prevent the gunboats descending it, and they unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the island. After the *Carondelet* had passed the batteries, Beauregard was satisfied that the siege must speedily end in disaster to his command; so, after turning over the command on the island to General McCall, and leaving the troops on the Kentucky and Tennessee shores in charge of General McCown, he, with a considerable number of his best soldiers, departed for Corinth to check a formidable movement of National troops through middle Tennessee towards Northern Alabama.

The vigorous operations of Pope after he passed through the wonderful canal

hastened the crisis. McCall and his troops, in their efforts to escape from the island, were intercepted by Pope's forces under Generals Stanley, Hamilton, and Paine; and on April 8, 1862, Island Number Ten, with the troops, batteries, and supports on the main, was surrendered. Over 7,000 men became prisoners of war; and the spoils of victory were 123 cannon and mortars, 7,000 small-arms, many hundred horses and mules, four steamboats afloat, and a very large amount of ammunition. The fall of Island Number Ten was a calamity to the Confederates which they never retrieved. It caused widespread alarm in the Mississippi Valley, for it appeared probable that Memphis, one of the strongholds of the Confederates, where they had immense work-shops and armories, would soon share the fate of Columbus, and that National gunboats would speedily patrol the great river from Cairo to New Orleans. Martial law was proclaimed at Memphis, and only by the wisdom and firmness of the mayor were the troops and panic-stricken citizens prevented from laying the town in ashes. Preparations for flight were made at Vicksburg, and intense alarm prevailed at New Orleans among the disloyal population. It seemed as if the plan devised by Frémont, and now partially executed, was about to be successfully carried out. Curtis had already broken the military power of the Confederates west of the Mississippi, and a heavy National force, pressing on towards Alabama and Mississippi, had just achieved a triumph on the banks of the

THE CARONDELET.

BOMBARDMENT OF ISLAND NUMBER TEN.

Tennessee, a score of miles from Corinth. See FRÉMONT, JOHN CHARLES.

Isles, ANDRÉ DES, military officer; born in Dieppe, France, in 1530; sent to America in 1560 by Coligni for the purpose of erecting a society for the settlement of French Huguenots. He landed on the Florida coast near Cape San Juan, and erected a wooden fort, which he left in charge of twenty men. Coligni sent 600 Huguenots and three ships, under command of Captain Ribaut, with Des Isles as lieutenant. In 1563 Des Isles returned with 300 additional emigrants, but owing to eternal strife between the leaders, Ribaut and Des Isles, on the one hand, and Laudonnière, on the other, the colony was greatly reduced, and in this condition was attacked by the Spaniard Menendez, who massacred all the French.

Italy. The relations of the United States with Italy, as with other Continental countries, have usually been harmonious. In 1891, however, an incident occurred which temporarily strained the mutual good feelings. Several murders had been committed in New Orleans, which had been attributed by many to the influence of a secret Italian society—the *Mafia*. A number of Italians had been arrested, but the normal procedure seemed to numerous inhabitants of New Orleans entirely inadequate. On March 14, 1891, eleven Italian prisoners were lynched in the city prison by an assemblage largely composed, so it was stated, of the "leading citizens" of New Orleans. This event created intense excitement. The Italians in this country and Italy were greatly aroused. The comments of Americans varied from downright condemnation of the proceedings to partial praise. The Italian government recalled its minister, Baron Fava. Eventually, April 12, 1892, the United States government appropriated $25,000 for the families of the victims, and diplomatic relations were resumed.

Itata, Chilean cruiser. She put in at San Diego, Cal., April 25, 1891, for arms and ammunition, and was seized by the United States government for violation of neutrality laws. She escaped, and was pursued by the United States ship *Charleston*. On June 4, 1891, the *Itata* surrendered to the *Charleston* at Iquique.

Iturbide, AUGUSTIN DE, Emperor of Mexico; born in Valladolid, Mexico, Sept. 27, 1783. Leading in a scheme for overthrowing the Spanish power in Mexico in 1821, he took possession of the capital with troops in September in the name of the nation, and established a regency. He was declared Emperor, May 18, 1822, but rivals and public distrust caused him to abdicate, and he went to Europe in 1823. An insurrection in his favor in Mexico induced him to return in 1824, when he was seized and shot, in Padilla, July 19, 1824. After his execution Mexico granted his family a pension of $8,000 per year. ANGEL, the eldest son of the Emperor, married Miss Alice Green, of Georgetown, D. C., and their son AUGUSTIN was adopted by the Emperor Maximilian as his heir. In April, 1890, Augustin Iturbide, who had entered the Mexican army, published an attack on the Mexican government, for which he was court-martialled.

Iuka Springs, BATTLE NEAR. After the evacuation of CORINTH (*q. v.*), General Rosecrans was placed in command of the forces under Pope, who had gone to Virginia, to occupy northern Mississippi and Alabama, in the vicinity of Corinth, and eastward to Tuscumbia. His forces were known as the Army of the Mississippi, with headquarters at Corinth. There were no more stirring events in the region of General Grant's command (under whom was Rosecrans) than guerilla operations, from June until September. At the beginning of September the Confederates under Price and Van Dorn moved towards the Tennessee River, and, when Bragg moved into Tennessee, Price attempted to cut off communications between Grant and Buell. General Armstrong (Confederate), with over 5,000 cavalry, struck the Nationals, Aug. 30, 1862, at Bolivar, with the intention of severing the railway there. He was repulsed by less than 1,000 men, under Colonel Leggett. He was repulsed at Jackson the next day, and again, on Sept. 1, at Britton's Lane, after a battle of four hours with Indiana troops, under Colonel Dennis. At the latter place Armstrong left 179 men, dead and wounded, on the field. Informed of this raid, at Tuscumbia, Rosecrans hastened to Iuka, a little

village celebrated for its fine mineral springs, about 15 miles east of Corinth, where a large amount of stores had been gathered. There, with Stanley's division, he encamped at Clear Creek, 7 miles east of Corinth, and, at the same time, Price moved northward from Tupelo with about

IUKA SPRINGS, 1862.

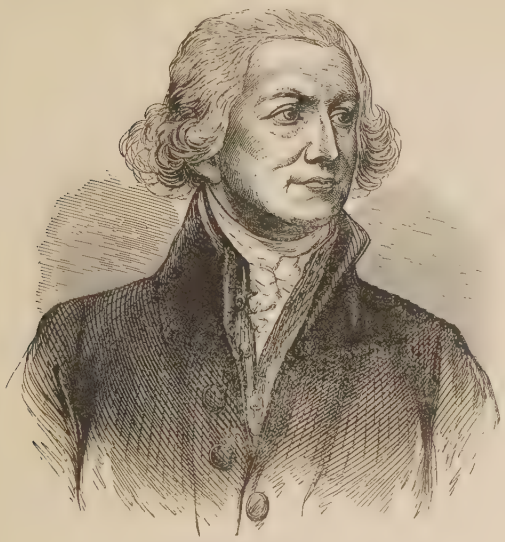
12,000 Confederate troops. Price struck Iuka, Sept. 10, and captured the National property there.

Grant at once put two columns in motion to crush Price—one, under Rosecrans, to attack his flank and rear, and another, under General Ord, to confront him. These movements began on the morning of Sept. 18. Ord, with 5,000 men, advanced to Burnsville, followed by General Ross with more, while Rosecrans moved with the separated divisions of Stanley and C. S. Hamilton, about 9,000 strong, during a drenching rain, to San Jacinto, 20 miles southward of Iuka. On the next morning, Sept. 19, they pushed on towards Iuka, Mizner's cavalry driving a Confederate guard. Early in the afternoon Hamilton, listening for the sound of Ord's guns, and skirmishing briskly by the way, had reached a point within 2 miles of Iuka, on densely wooded heights. There he formed a line of battle. He sent forward his skirmishers, who were driven back, and a severe battle immediately followed. The 11th Ohio Battery was, after a severe struggle, placed in position on the crest of the hill. With this battery, a few regiments of Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, and Indiana troops fought more than three times their number of Confederates, led by Price in person. Finally, when Colonel Eddy, of an Indiana regiment, was mortally wounded, the remainder of his regiment was hurled back in disorder, leaving the almost disabled battery to be seized by the Confederates. For the possession of these guns desperate charges and countercharges were made, until at length the Confederate soldiers dragged the guns off the field. All of the horses and seventy-two of the artillerymen had been killed. The battle raged warmly elsewhere, when the

Confederates were driven to the shelter of the hollows near the village. Darkness ended the battle of Iuka. The National loss was nearly 800, killed, wounded, and missing; that of the Confederates was nearly 1,400. Ord, meanwhile, whom Grant had sent to assist Rosecrans, had been watching the movements of Confederates who were making feints on Corinth. Expecting to renew the battle at Iuka in the morning, Stanley pressed forward for the purpose, but found that Price had fled southward under cover of the darkness, leaving behind the captured guns of the 11th Ohio Battery. Price was pursued all day, but escaped.

GRAVES OF THE 11TH OHIO BATTERY-MEN.

Ives, HALSEY COOLEY, artist; born in Montour Falls, N. Y., Oct. 27, 1846; studied art; was chief of the art department of the World's Columbian Exposition; and Professor of Drawing and Design, and Director of the Museum and School of Fine Arts in Washington University.



GEORGE IZARD.

Izard, GEORGE, military officer; born in South Carolina in 1777; son of Ralph Izard. Having finished his education and made a tour in Europe, he entered the United States army, in 1794, as lieutenant of artillery. He was appointed aide to General Hamilton in 1799; resigned in 1803; commissioned colonel of artillery in the spring of 1812; and promoted to brigadier-general in March, 1813. He was in command on Lake Champlain and on the Niagara frontier, in 1814, with the rank of major-general. From 1825 until his death he was governor of Arkansas Territory. Early in September, 1814, he moved towards Sackett's Harbor, under the direction of the Secretary of War, with about 4,000 troops, where he received a despatch from General Brown at Fort Erie, Sept. 10, urging him to move on to his support, as he had not more than 2,000 effective men. The first division of Izard's troops arrived at Lewiston on Oct. 5. He moved up to Black Rock, crossed the Niagara River, Oct. 10–11, and encamped 2 miles north of Fort Erie. Ranking General Brown, he took the chief command of the combined forces, then numbering, with volunteers and militia, about 8,000 men. He prepared to march against Drummond, who, after the sortie at Fort

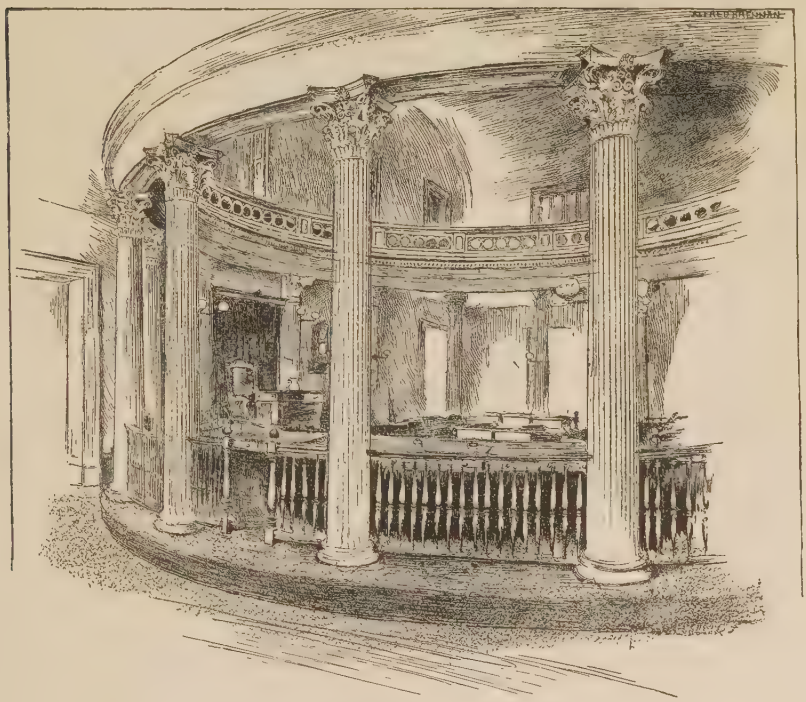
Erie, had moved down to Queenston. Izard moved towards Chippewa, and vainly endeavored to draw Drummond out. He had some skirmishing in an attempt to destroy a quantity of grain belonging to the British, in which he lost twelve men killed and fifty-four wounded; the British lost many more. Drummond fell back to Fort George and Burlington Heights. Perceiving further operations in that region to be useless, and perhaps perilous, Izard crossed the river and abandoned Canada. Knowing Fort Erie to be of little service, he caused it to be mined and blown up, Nov. 5. He died in Little Rock, Ark., Nov. 22, 1828.

Izard, RALPH, statesman; born near Charleston, S. C., in 1742; was educated at Cambridge, England, and in 1767 married a daughter of Peter De Lancey, of New York. They spent some time in Europe, and Mr. Izard was appointed by Congress commissioner to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and resided in Paris, where he took sides with Arthur Lee against Silas Deane and Franklin (see DEANE, SILAS). He returned home in 1780; procured for General Greene the command of the Southern army, and pledged his large estates for the purchase of ships-of-war in Europe. He was in Congress in 1781–83, and in the United States Senate in 1789–95. Two years afterwards he was prostrated by paralysis. His intellect was spared, and he lived in comparative comfort about eight years, without pain, when a second shock ended his life, May 30, 1804.

J.

Jackson, city and capital of the State of Mississippi; on the Pearl River and several important railroads; is a large cotton-shipping centre and has extensive manufactories; population in 1890, 5,920; in 1900, 7,816.

In 1863, while the troops of General Grant were skirmishing at Raymond, he learned that Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was hourly expected at Jackson. To make sure of that place, and to leave no enemy in his rear, Grant pushed on towards Jackson. McPherson entered Clinton early in the afternoon of May 13, without opposition, and began tearing up the railway between that town and the capital. Sherman was also marching on Jackson, while McClernand was at a point near Raymond. The night was tempestuous. In the morning, Sherman and McPherson pushed forward, and 5 miles from Jackson they encountered and drove in the Confederate pickets. Two and a half miles from the city they were confronted by a heavy Confederate force, chiefly Georgia and South Carolina troops, under General Walker. General Crocker's division led the van of the Nationals, and



SENATE CHAMBER AT JACKSON, MISS.

a battle began at eleven o'clock, while a shower of rain was falling. The Confederate infantry were in a hollow, with their artillery on the crest of a hill beyond them. Crocker pressed the Confederates out of the hollow and up the slopes to their artillery. Still onward the Nationals pressed in the face of a severe fire, when the Confederates broke and fled towards the city, closely pursued for a mile and a half to their earthworks. Under a heavy storm of grape and canister shot poured upon their works, the Nationals reformed for the purpose of making an assault; but there was no occasion, for the garrison had evacuated the fort. They left behind them seventeen cannon, and tents enough to shelter a whole division. The commissary and quartermaster's stores were in flames. The city was taken possession of by the Nationals, and the stars and stripes were unfurled over the State House by the 59th Indiana Regiment. Entering Jackson that night, Grant learned that Johnston had arrived, taken charge of the department, and had ordered Gen. J. C. Pemberton to march immediately out of Vicksburg and attack the National rear.

After the fall of Vicksburg, Johnston hovered menacingly in Grant's rear. Sherman had pushed out to press him back. Grant sent Sherman reinforcements, giving that leader an army 50,000 strong. With these he crossed the Big Black River, during a great drought. In dust and great heat the thirsty men and animals went on to Jackson, Johnston retiring before them and taking position behind his breastworks there. Sherman invested Jackson, July 10, each flank resting on the Pearl River. He planted 100 cannon on a hill, and opened on the city, July 12; but his trains being behind, his scanty ammunition was soon exhausted. In the assault, General Lauman pushed his troops too near the Confederate works, and in the course of a few minutes 500 of his men were killed or wounded by sharp-shooters and the grape and canister from twelve cannon. Two hundred of his men were made prisoners. Under cover of a fog, Johnston made a sortie, July 13, but with no beneficial result, and on the night of July 16–17 he withdrew with his 25,000 men, hurried across the Pearl River, burned the bridges behind him, and retreated to Morton. Sherman did not pursue far, his object being to drive Johnston away and make Vicksburg secure. For this purpose he broke up the railways for many miles, and destroyed everything in Jackson that might be useful to the Confederates.

GOVERNOR'S MANSION AT JACKSON, MISS.

JACKSON, ANDREW

Jackson, ANDREW, seventh President of the United States: born in the Waxhaw Settlement, Mecklenburg co., N. C., March 15, 1767. His parents had emigrated from the North of Ireland, in 1765, and were of the Scotch-Irish. At fourteen years of age, Andrew joined the Revolutionary forces in South Carolina. In

that service he had two brothers killed. He was with Sumter in the battle of Hanging Rock (*q. v.*), and in 1781 was made a prisoner. He was admitted to the practice of the law in western North Carolina in 1786; removed to Nashville in 1788; was United States attorney for that district in 1790; member of the convention that framed the State constitution of Tennessee in 1796; member of the United States Senate in 1797; and judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court from 1798 to 1804. From 1798 until 1814 he was major-general of the Tennessee militia, and conducted the principal campaign against the Creek Indians, which resulted in the complete subjugation of that nation in the spring of 1814. On May 31, 1814, he was appointed a major-general in the regular army and given command of the Department of the South. His victory at New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1815, gave him great renown.

On Jan. 21, with the main body of his army, he entered the city. He was met in the suburbs by almost the entire population, who greeted the victors as their saviors. Two days afterwards there was an imposing spectacle in the city. At Jackson's request, the apostolic prefect of Louisiana appointed Jan. 23 a day for the public offering of thanks to God for the victory just won. It was a beautiful winter morning on the verge of the tropics. The religious ceremonies were to be held in the old Spanish cathedral, which was decorated with evergreens for the occasion. In the centre of the public square in front of the cathedral, a temporary triumphal arch was erected, supported by six Corinthian columns, and festooned by flowers and evergreens. Beneath this arch stood two beautiful little girls, each upon a pedestal, and holding in her hand a civic crown of laurel. Near them stood two damsels, one personifying Liberty, the other Justice. From the arch to the church, arranged in two rows, stood beautiful girls dressed in white, each covered with a blue gauze veil, with a silver star on her brow. These personated the several States and Territories of the Union. Each carried a basket filled with flowers, and behind each was a lance stuck in the ground, and bearing a shield on which was inscribed the name and legend of the State or Territory which she represented. These were linked by festoons of evergreens that extended from the arch to the door of the cathedral. At the appointed time, Jackson, accompanied by the officers of his staff, passed into the square, and, amid the roar of artillery, was conducted to the raised floor of the arch. As he stepped upon it, the two little girls leaned gently forward and placed the laurel crowns upon his head. At the same moment, a charming Creole maiden (Miss Kerr), as the representative of Louisiana, stepped forward, and, with modesty in voice and manner, addressed a few congratulatory words to the general, eloquent with expressions of the most profound gratitude. To these words Jackson made a brief reply, and then passed on towards the church, the pathway strewn with flowers by the gentle representatives of the States. At the cathedral entrance he was received by the apostolic prefect (Abbé du Bourg) in his pontifical robes, supported by a college of priests in their sacerdotal garments. The abbé addressed the general with eloquent and patriotic discourse, after which the latter was seated conspicu-

BIRTHPLACE OF ANDREW JACKSON.

ously near the great altar, while the *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted by the choir and the people. When the pageant was over, the general retired to his quarters to resume the stern duties of a soldier; and that night the city of New Orleans blazed with a general illumination. On the spot where the arch was erected, in the centre of the public square in front of the cathedral, has been erected a bronze equestrian statue of Jackson, by Clark Mills.

Jackson, like a true soldier, did not relax his vigilance after the victory that saved Louisiana from British conquest. He maintained martial law in New Orleans rigorous'y, even after rumors of a

JACKSON'S HEADQUARTERS, NEW ORLEANS.

proclamation of peace reached that city. When an official announcement of peace was received from Washington he was involved in a contention with the civil authorities, who had opposed martial law as unnecessary. In the legislature of Louisiana was a powerful faction opposed to him personally, and when the officers and troops were thanked by that body (Feb. 2, 1815), the name of Jackson was omitted. The people were very indignant. A seditious publication soon appeared, which increased their indignation, and as this was a public matter, calculated to produce disaffection in the army, Jackson caused the arrest of the author and his trial by martial law. Judge Dominic A. Hall, of the Supreme Court of the United States, issued a writ of *habeas corpus* in favor of the offender. Jackson considered this a violation of martial law, and ordered the arrest of the judge and his expulsion beyond the limits of the city. The judge, in turn, when the military law was revoked (March 13, 1815) in consequence of the proclamation of peace, required Jackson to appear before him and show cause why he should not be punished for contempt of court. He cheerfully obeyed the summons, and entered the crowded court-room in the old Spanish-built court-house in citizen's dress. He had almost reached the bar before he was recognized, when he was greeted with huzzas by a thousand voices. The judge was alarmed, and hesitated. Jackson stepped upon a bench, procured silence, and then, turning to the trembling judge, said, "There is no danger here—there shall be none. The same hand that protected this city from outrage against the invaders of the country will shield and protect this court, or perish in the effort. Proceed with your sentence." The agitated judge pronounced him guilty of contempt of court, and fined him $1,000. This act was greeted by a storm of hisses. The general immediately drew a check for the amount, handed it to the marshal, and then made his way for the court-house door. The people were intensely excited. They lifted the hero upon their shoulders, bore him to the street, and there an immense crowd sent up a shout that blanched the cheek of Judge Hall. He was placed in a carriage, from which the people took the horses and dragged it themselves to his lodgings, where he addressed them, urging them to show their appreciation of the blessings of liberty and a free government by a willing submission to the authorities of their country. Meantime, $1,000 had been collected by voluntary subscriptions and placed to his credit in a bank. The general politely refused to accept it, and begged his friends to distribute it among the relatives of those who had fallen in the late battles. Nearly thirty years afterwards (1843), Congress refunded the sum with interest, amounting in all to $2,700.

In 1817 he successfully prosecuted the war against the Seminoles. In 1819 he

JACKSON'S RECEPTION BY THE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS.

resigned his military commission, and was governor of newly acquired Florida in 1821–22. He was again United States Senator in 1823–24; and in 1828, and also in 1832, he was elected President of the United States (see CABINET, PRESIDENT'S). His warfare on the United States Bank during his Presidency resulted in its final destruction.

President Jackson possessed great firmness and decision of character; was honest and true; not always correct in judgment; often rash in expressions and actions; misled sometimes by his hot anger into acts injurious to his reputation; of unflinching personal courage; possessed of a tender, sympathizing nature, although sometimes appearing fiercely leonine; and a patriot of purest stamp. He retired from public life forever in the spring of 1837. His administration of eight years was marked by great energy, and never

were the affairs of the republic in its domestic and foreign relations more prosperous than at the close of his term of office. He died in "The Hermitage," near Nashville, Tenn., June 8, 1845. In 1852

THE OLD COURT-HOUSE WHERE JACKSON WAS FINED FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT.

an equestrian statue of Jackson, in bronze, by Clark Mills, was erected at Washington, at the expense of the nation.

Nullification.—On Sept. 19, 1832, President Jackson issued the following proclamation against nullification:

Whereas, a convention assembled in the State of South Carolina have passed an ordinance, by which they declare "that the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially" two acts for the same purposes passed on May 29, 1828, and on July 14, 1832, "are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law," nor binding on the citizens of that State or its officers; and by said ordinance it is further declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the State or of the United States to enforce the payment of the duties imposed by the said acts within the same State, and that it is the duty of the legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full effect to the said ordinance;

And whereas, by the said ordinance, it is further ordained that in no case of law or equity decided in the courts of said State, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said ordinance or of the acts of the legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of court;

And, finally, the said ordinance declares that the people of South Carolina will maintain the said ordinance at every hazard; and that they will consider the passage of any act by Congress abolishing or closing the ports of the said State, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress or egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act of the federal government to coerce the State, shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the said acts otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of the said State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political con-

Andrew Jackson.

nection with the people of the other States, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do.

And, whereas, the said ordinance prescribes to the people of South Carolina a course of conduct in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its Constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the Union; that Union which, coeval with our political existence, led our fathers, without any other ties to unite them than those of patriotism and a common cause, through a sanguinary struggle to a glorious independence; that sacred Union, hitherto inviolate, which, perfected by our happy Constitution, has brought us, by the favor of heaven, to a state of prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of nations. To preserve this bond of our political existence from destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of national honor and prosperity, and to justify the confidence my fellow-citizens have reposed in me, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, have thought proper to issue this my proclamation, stating my views of the Constitution and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the convention of South Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to sustain them, declaring the course which duty will require me to pursue, and, appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences which must inevitably result from an observance of the dictates of the convention.

Strict duty will require of me nothing more than the exercise of these powers with which I am now, or may hereafter be, invested, for preserving the peace of the Union, and for the execution of the laws. But the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case, by clothing itself with State authority, and the deep interest which the people of the United States must feel in preventing a resort to stronger measures, while there is a hope that anything will be yielded to reasoning and remonstrance, perhaps demand, and will certainly justify, a full exposition to South Carolina and the nation of the views I entertain of this important question, as well as a distinct enunciation of the course which my sense of duty will require me to pursue.

The ordinance is founded, not on the indefeasible right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional, and too oppressive to be endured, but on the strange position that any one State may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that they may do this consistently with the Constitution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a State to retain its place in the

THE HERMITAGE IN 1861.

Union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitutional. It is true, they add, that to justify this abrogation of a law, it must be palpably contrary to the Constitution; but it is evident that, to give the right of resisting laws of that description, coupled with the uncontrolled right to decide what laws deserve that character, is to give the power of resisting all laws. For as, by the theory, there is no appeal, the reasons alleged by the State, good or bad, must prevail. If it should be said that public opinion is a sufficient check against the abuse of this power, it may be asked why it is not deemed a sufficient guard against the passage of an unconstitutional act by Congress? There is, however, a restraint in this last case, which makes the assumed power of a State more indefensible, and which does not exist in the other. There are two appeals from an unconstitutional act passed by Congress—one to the judiciary, the other to the people and the States. There is no appeal from the State decision in theory, and the practical illustration shows that the courts are closed against an application to review it, both judges and jurors being sworn to decide in its favor. But reasoning on this subject is superfluous, when our social compact, in express terms, declares that the laws of the United States, its Constitution, and treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land; and for greater caution adds "that the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." And it may be asserted, without fear of refutation, that no federal government could exist without a similar provision. Look for a moment to the consequences. If South Carolina considers the revenue laws unconstitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every other port, and no revenue could be collected anywhere, for all imposts must be equal. It is no answer to repeat that an unconstitutional law is no law, so long as the question of its legality is to be decided by the State itself; for every law operating injuriously upon any local interest will be perhaps thought, and certainly represented, as unconstitutional, and, as has been shown, there is no appeal.

JACKSON'S TOMB.

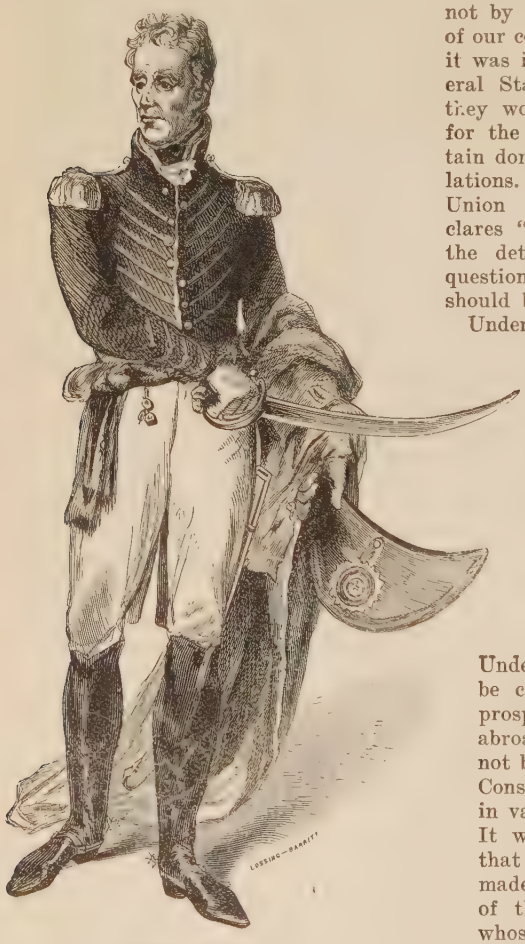
If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day the Union would have been dissolved in its infancy. The excise law in Pennsylvania, the embargo and non-intercourse law in the Eastern States, the carriage tax in Virginia, were all

JACKSON AS PRESIDENT RECEIVING DELEGATES.

deemed unconstitutional, and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of; but fortunately none of those States discovered that they had the right now claimed by South Carolina. The war into which we were forced to support the dignity of the nation and the rights of our citizens might have ended in defeat and disgrace instead of victory and honor, if the States who supposed it a ruinous and unconstitutional measure had thought they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared, and denying supplies for its prosecution. Hardly and unequally as those measures bore upon several members of the Union, to the legislatures of none did this efficient and peaceful remedy,

as it is called, suggest itself. The discovery of this important feature in our Constitution was reserved to the present day. To the statesmen of South Carolina belongs the invention, and upon the citizens of the State will unfortunately fall the evils of reducing it to practice.

If the doctrine of a State veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impracticable absurdity,



ANDREW JACKSON IN 1814.

our constitutional history will also afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation had it been proposed to form a feature in our government.

In our colonial state, although depending on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common interest with each other. Leagues were formed for common defence, and before the Declaration of Independence we were known in our aggregate character as the United Colonies of America. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by a joint, not by several acts, and when the terms of our confederation were reduced to form, it was in that of a solemn league of several States, by which they agreed that they would collectively form one nation for the purpose of conducting some certain domestic concerns and all foreign relations. In the instrument forming that Union is found an article which declares "that every State shall abide by the determinations of Congress on all questions which, by that confederation, should be submitted to them."

Under the confederation, then, no State could legally annul a decision of the Congress or refuse to submit to its execution; but no provision was made to enforce these decisions. Congress made requisitions, but they were not complied with. The government could not operate on individuals. They had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue.

But the defects of the confederation need not be detailed. Under its operation we could scarcely be called a nation. We had neither prosperity at home nor consideration abroad. This state of things could not be endured, and our present happy Constitution was formed, but formed in vain, if this fatal doctrine prevails. It was formed for important objects that are announced in the preamble made in the name and by the authority of the people of the United States, whose delegates framed and whose conventions approved it. The most important among these objects, that which is placed first in rank, on which all the others rest, is "to form a more perfect Union." Now, is it pos-

sible that even if there were no express provision giving supremacy to the Constitution and laws of the United States over those of the States, can it be conceived that an instrument made for the purpose of "forming a more perfect Union" than that of the confederation, could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country as to substitute for that confederation a form of government dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a State, or of a prevailing faction in a State? Every man of plain, unsophisticated understanding, who hears the question, will give such an answer as will preserve the Union. Metaphysical subtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, could alone have devised one that is calculated to destroy it.

I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.

After this general view of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the ordinance.

The preamble rests its justification on these grounds: It assumes as a fact that the obnoxious laws, although they purport to be laws for raising revenue, were in reality intended for the protection of manufactures, which purpose it asserts to be unconstitutional; that the operation of these laws is unequal; that the amount raised by them is greater than is required by the wants of the government; and, finally, that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorized by the Constitution. These are the only causes alleged to justify an open opposition to the laws of the country, and a threat of seceding from the Union if any attempt should be made to enforce them. The first virtually acknowledges that the law in question was passed under a power expressly given by the Constitution to lay and collect imposts; but its constitutionality is drawn in question from the motives of those who passed it. However apparent this purpose may be in the present case, nothing can be more dangerous than to admit the position that an unconstitutional purpose, entertained by the members who assent to a law enacted under a constitutional power, shall make that law void; for how is that purpose to be ascertained? Who is to make the scrutiny? How often may bad purposes be falsely imputed? In how many cases are they concealed by false professions? In how many is no declaration of motive made? Admit this doctrine, and you give to the States an uncontrolled right to decide, and every law may be annulled under this pretext. If, therefore, the absurd and dangerous doctrine should be admitted that a State may annul an unconstitutional law, or one that it deems such, it will not apply to the present case.

The next objection is that the laws in question operate unequally. This objection may be made with truth to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality. If the unequal operation of a law makes it unconstitutional, and if all laws of that description may be abrogated by any State for that cause, then indeed is the federal Constitution unworthy of the slightest effort for its preservation. We have hitherto relied on it as the perpetual bond of our Union. We have received it as the work of the assembled wisdom of the nation. We have trusted to it as to the sheet-anchor of our safety in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked to it with sacred awe as the palladium of our liberties, and with all the solemnities of religion have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here and our hopes of happiness hereafter, in its defence and support. Were we mistaken, my countrymen, in attaching this importance to the Constitution of our country? Was our devotion paid to the wretched, inefficient, clumsy contrivance which this new doctrine would make it? Did we pledge ourselves to the support of an airy nothing—a bubble that must be blown away by the first breath of disaffection? Was this self-destroying, visionary theory the work of the profound statesmen, the exalted patriotism to whom the task of constitu-

tional reform was intrusted? Did the name of Washington sanction—did the States deliberately ratify such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation? No. We were not mistaken. The letter of this great instrument is free from this radical fault; its language directly contradicts the imputation; its spirit, its evident intent, contradicts it. No, we do not err. Our Constitution does not contain the absurdity of giving power to make laws, and another power to resist them. The sages, whose memory will always be revenced, have given us a practical and, as they hoped, a permanent constitutional compact. The Father of this country did not affix his revered name to so palpable an absurdity. Nor did the States, when they severally ratified it, do so under the impression that a veto on the laws of the United States was reserved to them, or that they could exercise it by implication. Search the debates in all their conventions; examine the speeches of the most zealous opposers of federal authority; look at the amendments that were proposed. They are all silent; not a syllable uttered, not a vote given, not a motion made to correct the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the Union over those of the States, or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it. No, we have not erred. The Constitution is still the object of our reverence, the bond of our Union, our defence in danger, the source of our prosperity in peace; it shall descend as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction, to our posterity; and the sacrifices of local interest, of State prejudices, of personal animosities, that were made to bring it into existence, will again be patriotically offered for its support.

The two remaining objections made by the ordinance to these laws are that the sums intended to be raised by them are greater than are required, and that the proceeds will be unconstitutionally employed.

The Constitution has given expressly to Congress the right of raising revenue, and of determining the sum the public exigencies will require. The States have no control over the exercise of this right other than that which results from the power of changing the representatives who abuse it, and thus procure redress. Congress may, undoubtedly, abuse this discretionary power, but the same may be said of others with which they are vested. Yet the discretion must exist somewhere. The Constitution has given it to the representative of all the people, checked by the representatives of the States and by the executive power. The South Carolina construction gives it to the legislature or the convention of a single State, where neither the people of the different States, nor the States in their separate capacity, nor the chief magistrate, elected by the people, have any representation. Which is the most discreet disposition of the power? I do not ask you, fellow-citizens, which is the constitutional disposition; that instrument speaks a language not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in general convention, which would you think the safest depository of this discretionary power in the last resort? Would you add a clause giving it to each of the States, or would you sanction the wise provisions already made by your Constitution? If this should be the result of your deliberation when providing for the future, are you, can you be ready to risk all that we hold dear to establish, for a temporary and a local purpose, that which you must acknowledge to be destructive, and even absurd, as a general provision? Carry out the consequences of this right vested in the different States, and you must perceive that the crisis your conduct presents at this day would recur whenever any law of the United States displeased any of the States, and that we should soon cease to be a nation.

The ordinance, with the same knowledge of the future that characterized a former objection, tells you that the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied. If this could be ascertained with certainty, the objection would, with more propriety, be reserved for the law so applying the proceeds, but surely cannot be urged against the laws levying the duty.

These are the allegations contained in the ordinance. Examine them seriously, my fellow-citizens—judge for yourselves. I appeal to you to determine whether they are so clear, so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their correctness; and

even if you should come to this conclusion, how far they justify the reckless, destructive course which you are directed to pursue. Review these objections, and the conclusions drawn from them, once more. What are they? Every law, then, for raising revenue, according to the South Carolina ordinance, may be rightfully annulled, unless it be so framed as no law ever will or can be framed. Congress has a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and each State has a right to oppose their execution—two rights directly opposed to each other; and yet, is this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument drawn for the express purpose of avoiding collisions between the States and the general government by an assembly of the most enlightened statesmen and purest patriots ever embodied for a similar purpose?

In vain have these sages declared that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; in vain have they provided that they shall have power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution; that those laws and the Constitution shall be the "supreme law of the land, and that the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." In vain have the people of the several States solemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them their paramount law, and individually sworn to support them whenever they were called on to execute any office. Vain provisions! ineffectual restrictions! vile profanation of oaths! miserable mockery of legislation! if a bare majority of the voters in any one State may, on a real or supposed knowledge of the intent with which a law has been passed, declare themselves free from its operation—say here it gives too little, there too much, and operates unequally; here it suffers articles to be free that ought to be taxed; there it taxes those that ought to be free; in this case the proceeds are intended to be applied to purposes which we do not approve; in that the amount raised is more than is wanted.

Congress, it is true, is invested by the Constitution with the right of deciding these questions according to its sound discretion. Congress is composed of the representatives of all the States, and of all the people of all the States; but we, part of the people of one State, to whom the Constitution has given no power on the subject, from whom it has expressly taken it away; we, who have solemnly agreed that this Constitution shall be our law; we, most of whom have sworn to support it, we now abrogate this law, and swear, and force others to swear, that it shall not be obeyed. And we do this not because Congress has no right to pass such laws—this we do not allege—but because they have passed them with improper views. They are unconstitutional from the motives of those who passed them, which we can never with certainty know; from their unequal operation, although it is impossible, from the nature of things, that they should be equal; and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds, although that disposition has not been declared. This is the plain meaning of the ordinance in relation to laws which it abrogates for alleged unconstitutionality. But it does not stop there. It repeals, in express terms, an important part of the Constitution itself, and of laws passed to give it effect, which have never been alleged to be unconstitutional. The Constitution declares that the judicial powers of the United States extend to cases arising under the laws of the United States, and that such laws, the Constitution and the treaties, shall be paramount to the State constitution and laws. The judiciary act prescribes the mode by which the case may be brought before a court of the United States, by appeal, when a State tribunal shall decide against this provision of the Constitution. The ordinance declares there shall be no appeal; makes the State law paramount to the Constitution and laws of the United States; forces judges and jurors to swear that they will disregard their provisions; and even makes it penal in a suitor to attempt relief by appeal. It further declares that it shall not be lawful for the authorities of the United States, or of that State, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the revenue laws within its limits.

Here is a law of the United States, not even pretended to be unconstitutional, repealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single State. Here is a provision of the Constitution which is solemnly abrogated by the same authority.

On such expositions and reasonings the ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annul the laws of which it complains, but to enforce it by a threat of seceding from the Union if any attempt is made to execute them.

This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the Constitution, which, they say, is a compact between sovereign States, who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and therefore are subject to no superior; that, because they made the compact, they cannot break it, when, in their opinion, it has been departed from by the other States. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists State pride, and finds advocates in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

The people of the United States formed the Constitution, acting through the State legislatures in making the compact, to meet and discuss its provisions, and acting in separate conventions when they ratified these provisions, but the terms used in its construction show it to be a government in which the people of the States collectively are represented. We are one people in the choice of the President and Vice-President. Here the States have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. The candidates having the majority of all the votes are chosen. The electors of a majority of States may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. The people then, and not the States, are represented in the executive branch.

In the House of Representatives there is this difference, that the people of one State do not, as in the case of President and Vice-President, all vote for the same officers. The people of all the States do not vote for all the members, each State electing only its own representatives. But this creates no material distinction. When chosen, they are all representatives of the United States, not representatives of the particular State from which they come. They are paid by the United States, not by the State, nor are they accountable to it for any act done in the performance of their legislative functions; and however they may in practice, as it is their duty to do, consult and prefer the interests of their particular constituents when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interest, yet it is their first and highest duty, as representatives of the United States, to promote the general good.

The Constitution of the United States, then, forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the States or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the States—they retained all the power they did not grant. But each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union is to say that the United States are not a nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression, but to call it a constitutional right is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure.

Because the Union was formed by compact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it; but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or

binding obligation. It may by its terms have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt; if it have a sanction, then the breach insures the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations generally has no sanction other than a moral one, or if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior, it cannot be enforced. A government, on the contrary, always has a sanction, express or implied, and in our case it is both necessarily implied and expressly given. An attempt, by force of arms, to destroy a government is an offence by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed, and such government has the right, by the law of self-defence, to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless that right is modified, restrained, or resumed by the constitutional act. In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant provision has been made for punishing acts which obstruct the due administration of the laws.

It would seem superfluous to add anything to show the nature of that union which connects us; but as erroneous opinions on this subject are the foundation of doctrines the most destructive to our peace, I must give some further development to my views on this subject. No one, fellow-citizens, has a higher reverence for the reserved rights of the States than the magistrate who now addresses you. No one would make greater personal sacrifices or official exertions to defend them from violation, but equal care must be taken to prevent on their part an improper interference with our resumption of the rights they have vested in the nation. The line has not been so distinctly drawn as to avoid doubts in some cases of the exercise of power. Men of the best intentions and soundest views may differ in their construction of some parts of the Constitution, but there are others on which dispassionate reflections can leave no doubt. Of this nature appears to be the assumed right of secession. It treats, as we have seen, on the alleged undivided sovereignty of the States, and on their having formed, in this sovereign capacity, a compact which is called the Constitution, from which, because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

The States severally have not retained their entire sovereignty. It has been shown that in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league, they surrendered many of their essential parts of sovereignty. The right to make treaties, declare war, levy taxes, exercise exclusive judicial and legislative powers, were all of them functions of sovereign power. The States, then, for all these purposes were no longer sovereign. The allegiance of their citizens was transferred in the first instance to the government of the United States. They became American citizens, and owed obedience to the Constitution of the United States, and to laws made in conformity with the powers it vested in Congress. This last position has not been and cannot be denied. How, then, can that State be said to be sovereign and independent whose citizens own obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn to disregard those laws when they come in conflict with those passed by another? What shows conclusively that the States cannot be said to have reserved an undivided sovereignty is that they expressly ceded the right to punish treason, not treason against their separate powers, but treason against the United States. Treason is an offence against sovereignty, and sovereignty must reside with the powers to punish it. But the reserved rights of the State are not less sacred because they have, for their common interest, made the general government the depository of these powers.

The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the royal government we had no separate character; our opposition to its oppression began as united colonies. We were the United States under the confederation, and the name was perpetuated, and the Union rendered more perfect, by the federal Constitution. In none of these stages did

we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation. Treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were made for the joint defence. How, then, with all these proofs that, under all changes of our position, we had, for designated purposes and defined powers, created national governments—how is it that the most perfect of these several modes of union should now be considered as a mere league that may be dissolved at pleasure? It is from an abuse of terms. Compact is used as synonymous with league, although the true term is not employed, because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do to say that our Constitution was only a league, but it is labored to prove it a compact (which in one sense it is), and then to argue that as a league is a compact, every compact between nations must, of course, be a league, and that from such an engagement every sovereign power has a right to recede. But it has been shown that, in this sense, the States are not sovereign, and that even if they were, and the national Constitution had been formed by compact, there would be no right in any one State to exonerate itself from its obligations.

So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The Union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by natural sacrifices of interest and opinions. Can these sacrifices be recalled? Can the States, who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the West, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland States agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the Gulf, for their own benefit? Shall there be a free port in one State and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single State to involve all the others in these and countless other evils contrary to the engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other States, in self-defence, must oppose it at all hazards.

These are the alternatives that are presented by the convention: a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the government without the means of support, or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our Union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known, if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force; that Congress could not, without involving itself in disgrace and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet if this is not done in a given day, or if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the State is, by the ordinance, declared to be out of the Union. The majority of a convention assembled for the purpose have dictated these terms, or rather this rejecting of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the governor of the State speaks of the submission of their grievances to the convention of all the States, which, he says, they "sincerely and anxiously seek and desire." Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other States on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary, has never been attempted by those who have urged the State on to this destructive measure. The State might have proposed the call for a general convention to the other States, and Congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred, must have called it. But the first magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed hope that, "on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the general government of the merits of the controversy," such a convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither Congress nor any functionary of the general government has authority to call such a convention, unless it be demanded by two-thirds of the States. This suggestion, then, is another instance of the reckless inattention to the provisions of the Constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on, or of the attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the legislature of South Carolina "anxiously desire" a general convention to consider their complaints, why have they not made application for it in the way the Constitution points out? The assertion that

they "earnestly seek it" is completely negatived by the omission.

This, then, is the position in which we stand. A small majority of the citizens of one State in the Union have elected delegates to a State convention; that convention has ordained that all the revenue laws of the United States must be repealed, or that they are no longer a member of the Union. The governor of that State has recommended to the legislature the raising of an army to carry the secession into effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to vessels in the name of the State. No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed, but such a state of things is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim, not only that the duty imposed on me by the Constitution "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," shall be performed to the extent of the powers already invested in me by law, or of such others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise and intrust to me for that purpose, but to warn the citizens of South Carolina who have been deluded into an opposition to the laws, of the danger they will incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the convention; to exhort those who have refused to support it to persevere in their determination to uphold the Constitution and laws of their country, and to point out to all the perilous situation into which the good people of that State have been led, and that the course they have been urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very State whose rights they affect to support.

Fellow-citizens of my native State, let me not only admonish you, as the first magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalty of its laws, but use the influence that a father would over his children whom he saw rushing to certain ruin. In that paternal language, with that paternal feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason on which you stand! First, a diminution of the value of your staple commodity, lowered by overproduction in other quarters, and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the tariff laws.

The effect of those laws was confessedly injurious, but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe, that its burdens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably, might be constitutionally made; that you might enjoy all the advantages of the Union, and bear none of its burdens. Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your State pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of disunion should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complacency on objects which, not long since, you would have regarded with horror. Look back to the arts which have brought you to this state; look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! Look back to what was first told you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous course! The great political truth was repeated to you, that you had the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive; it was added that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle, but that it was a peaceable remedy. This character which was given to it made you receive, with too much confidence, the assertions that were made of the unconstitutionality of the law and its oppressive effects. Mark, my fellow-citizens, that, by the admission of your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be palpable, or it will not justify either resistance or nullification! What is the meaning of the word palpable in the sense in which it is here used? That which is apparent to every one; that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description?

Let those among your leaders, who once approved and advocated the principle of protective duties, answer the question, and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable then of perceiving that which must have been apparent to every man of common understanding, or as imposing upon your confidence, and endeavoring to mislead you now. In either case they are unsafe guides in the perilous path they urge you to tread. Ponder well on this circumstance, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they address to you. They are not champions of liberty emulating the fame of our Revolutionary fathers; nor are you an oppressed people contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage.

You are free members of a flourishing and happy Union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have, indeed, felt the unequal operation of laws which may have been unwisely, not unconstitutionally, passed; but that inequality must necessarily be removed. At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced. The nearly approaching payment of the public debt, and the consequent necessity of a diminution of duties, had already produced a considerable reduction, and that, too, on some articles of general consumption in your State. The importance of this change was underrated, and you were authoritatively told that no further alleviation of your burdens was to be expected at the very time when the condition of the country imperiously demanded such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discontents, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

I have urged you to look back to the means that were used to hurry you on to the position you have now assumed, and forward to the consequences it will produce. Something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part. Consider its government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different States—giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of American citizens, protecting their commerce, securing their literature and their arts; facilitating their intercommunication; defending their frontiers; and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth. Consider the extent of its territory; its increasing and happy population; its advance in arts which render life agreeable; and the sciences which elevate the mind! See education spreading the lights of religion, morality, and general information into every cottage in this wide extent of our Territories and States! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honor, and say, we, too, are citizens of America! Carolina is one of these proud States; her arms have defended, her best blood has cemented, this happy Union! And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy Union we will dissolve; this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface; this free intercourse we will interrupt; these fertile fields we will deluge with blood; the protection of that glorious flag we renounce; the very name of Americans we discard. And for what, mistaken men; for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings? For what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honor of the Union? For the dream of separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home; are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do your neighboring republics, every day suffering some new revolution, or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed. The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know

that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion; but be not deceived by names: disunion, by armed force, is treason. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequences; on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment. On your unhappy State will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your country. It cannot accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims; its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty. The consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow-citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity with a vexation they could not conceal; it was a standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, and they will point to our discord with the triumph of malignant joy. It is yet in your power to disappoint them. There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the Sumters, the Rutledges, and of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your Revolutionary history, will not abandon that Union, to support which so many of them fought, and bled, and died.

I adjure you, as you honor their memory, as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives, as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Snatch from the archives of your State the disorganizing edict of its convention; bid its members to reassemble, and promulgate the decided expressions of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity, and honor. Tell them that, compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all. Declare that you will never take the field unless the star-spangled banner of your country shall float over you; that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonored and scorned while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the Constitution of your country. Its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace; you may interrupt the course of its prosperity; you may cloud its reputation for stability, but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

Fellow-citizens of the United States, the threat of unhallowed disunion — the names of those once respected, by whom it is uttered—the array of military force to support it—denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and, perhaps, that of all free governments, may depend. The conjuncture demanded a free, a full, and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions, but of my principles of action; and, as the claim was asserted of a right by a State to annul the laws of the Union, and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justness of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties, which has been expressed, I rely, with equal confidence, on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws, to preserve the Union by all constitutional means, to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and, if it be the will of Heaven, that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by an offensive act on the part of the United States.

Fellow-citizens, the momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred Union will be preserved, and the blessings it secures to us as one people shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the pru-

dence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defence will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

May the Great Ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which He has favored ours may not, by the madness of party or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost; and may His wise Providence bring those who have produced this crisis to see their folly before they feel the misery of civil strife, and inspire a returning veneration for that Union which, if we may dare to penetrate His designs, He has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destinies to which we may reasonably aspire.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this 10th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and of the independence of the United States the fifty-seventh.

Jackson, CHARLES THOMAS, geologist; born in Plymouth, Mass., June 21, 1805; graduated at Harvard in 1829, and afterwards studied in Paris. He was appointed State geologist of Maine and surveyor of public lands in 1836, and of Rhode Island in 1839; and subsequently was engaged on the geological survey of New Hampshire; explored the southern shore of Lake Superior in 1844; and was appointed to survey the mineral lands of Michigan in 1847. He is author of a large number of reports on the geology of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, etc. He claimed to be the discoverer of etherization, and received the Montyon prize from the French Academy of Sciences. He died in Somerville, Mass., Aug. 28, 1880.

Jackson, CLAIBORNE FOX, statesman; born in Fleming county, Ky., April 4, 1807; became conspicuous as a leader in the efforts of pro-slavery men to make Kansas a slave-labor State. In 1822 he went to Missouri; was a captain in the Black Hawk War; served several years in the State legislature; and was elected governor of Missouri by the Democrats in 1860. In 1855 he led a band of lawless men from Missouri, who, fully armed, encamped around Lawrence, Kan., where he took measures to prevent a legal polling of votes at an election for members of the territorial legislature, late in March. His followers threatened to hang a judge who attempted to secure an honest vote, and by threats compelled another to receive every vote offered by a Missourian. When the Civil War broke out, Jackson made strenuous efforts to place Missouri on the side of secession, but was foiled chiefly through the efforts of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon. He was deposed by the Missouri State convention, in July, 1861, when he entered the Confederate military service as a brigadier-general. He died in Little Rock, Ark., Dec. 6, 1862.

Jackson, FRANCIS, social reformer; born in Newton, Mass., March 7, 1789; president of the Anti-Slavery Society in Boston for many years. He published a *History of Newton*, and died there Nov. 14, 1861.

Jackson, FRANCIS JAMES, British minister to the United States, who succeeded David M. Erskine in 1809. An experienced diplomatist, he had lately figured discreditably in the affair of the seizure of the Danish fleet by British men-of-war at Copenhagen. He had become known as "Copenhagen Jackson," whose conduct did not commend him to the good-will of the people of the United States. The impression was that he had come with explanations of the cause of the rejection of Erskine's arrangement. The Secretary of State, finding he had nothing to offer, addressed Jackson in a letter in which a tone of discontent was conspicuous, declaring the surprise and regret of the President that he had no explanations to offer as to the non-ratification of the Erskine arrangement, or authority to substitute any new arrangement for it. The object of the letter, probably, was to draw out from Jackson an explicit admission, as a basis for an appeal to the nation, that he had no authority to treat except upon the ground of Canning's three conditions—namely, 1. The repealing as to Great Britain, but the keeping in force as to France, and all countries adopting her decrees, so long as these decrees were continued, all American non-importation and non-intercourse acts; 2. The renunciation by the United States, during the present

war, of any pretensions to carry on any trade with the colonies of belligerents not allowed in time of peace; and 3. The allowing British ships-of-war to enforce, by capture, the American non-intercourse acts with France and her allies. Jackson declared that the rejection of that part of the arrangement of Erskine relating to the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard* was owing partly to the offensive terms employed in the American note to Erskine concerning it. This note had offended the old monarch, with whom Admiral Berkeley was a favorite. In it Secretary Smith said, April 17, 1809: "I have it in express charge from the President to state that, while he forbears to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example, nor the less persuaded that it would best comport with what is due from his Britannic Majesty to his own honor." Jackson's manner was offensive. He had an unbounded admiration for the government he represented, and a profound contempt for the Americans as an inferior people. He treated the officers of the United States government with the same haughty bearing that he did those of weak and bleeding Denmark, and, after one or two personal interviews, Secretary Smith refused to have any further intercourse with him except in writing. The insolent diplomat was offended, and wrote an impudent letter to the Secretary. He was informed that no more communications would be received from him, when Jackson, disappointed and angry, left Washington with every member of the diplomatic family, and retired to New York. The United States government requested his recall, and early in 1810 he was summoned to England. No other minister was sent to the United States for about a year.

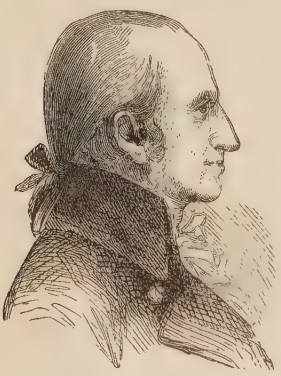
Jackson, Helen Maria Fiske, author; born in Amherst, Mass., Oct. 18, 1831; daughter of Prof. Nathan W. Fiske; was educated in the Ipswich Female Seminary; married Capt. Edward B. Hunt in 1852. She first became known as an author under the letters "H. H." in 1875, when she married William S. Jackson. In 1879 she became deeply interested in the condition of the American Indians and their treatment by the United States government. In 1883, while a special commissioner to inquire into the circumstances of the Mission Indians of California, she studied the history of the early Spanish missions, and a short time prior to her death she wrote the President a letter pathetically asking for the "righting of the wrongs of the Indian race." Her works include *Verses; Bits of Travel; Nelly's Silver-Mine; The Story of Boone; A Century of Dishonor; Mammy Littleback and her Family; Ramona; Glimpses of Three Coasts; Hetty's Strange History,* and others. She died in San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 12, 1885.

Jackson, Henry Rootes, military officer; born in Athens, Ga., June 24, 1820; graduated at Yale College in 1839, and admitted to the bar in 1840, when he settled in Savannah. He was appointed United States district attorney for Georgia in 1843. During the Mexican War he was colonel of the 1st Georgia Volunteers. At the close of the war he became part proprietor of *The Georgian,* in Savannah. In 1853 he was sent to the Court of Austria as the United States *chargé d'affaires.* In 1854–58 he was minister to Austria. Returning to the United States he was commissioned a special United States district attorney for Georgia, to aid in trying notorious slave-trading cases. When the Civil War broke out he entered the Confederate army with the rank of brigadier-general. During the battle of Nashville, in December, 1864, he was taken prisoner, and was held till the close of the war. Returning to Savannah he resumed law practice. In 1875–88 he was a trustee of the Peabody Educational Fund. In 1885 he was appointed minister to Mexico, but served only a few months, owing to his opposition to the government in seizing the American ship *Rebecca.* He published *Tallulah, and other Poems.* He died in Savannah, Ga., May 23, 1898.

Jackson, Howell Edmunds, jurist; born in Paris, Tenn., April 8, 1832; graduated at the West Tennessee College in 1848; admitted to the bar in 1856; elected United States Senator from Tennessee in 1881, but resigned in 1886, when he was appointed United States district judge by President Cleveland; appointed justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1893.

He died in West Meade, Tenn., Aug. 8, 1895.

Jackson, JAMES, military officer; born in Devonshire, England, Sept. 21, 1757; removed to Savannah, Ga., in 1772; studied law; entered the military service; and was brigade-major of the Georgia militia in 1778. He took part in the defence of Savannah; and, when the British seized it at the close of 1778, he fled to South Carolina, where he joined General Moultrie. His appearance was so wretched while in his flight, that he was arrested, tried, and condemned as a spy, and was about to be executed, when a reputable citizen of Georgia, who knew him, saved him. Jackson fought a duel



JAMES JACKSON.

in March, 1780, with Lieutenant-Governor Wells, killing his antagonist, and being severely wounded himself. He joined Col. Elijah Clarke, and became aide to Sumter. With Pickens he shared in the victory at the Cowpens. He afterwards did good service as commander of a legionary corps, and was presented with a dwelling in Savannah by the Georgia legislature. In 1786 he was made brigadier-general, and in 1788 was elected governor of Georgia, but the latter office he declined. From 1789 to 1791 he was a member of Congress, and from 1793 to 1795, and from 1801 to 1806, United States Senator. From 1798 to 1801 he was governor of the State. He died in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1806.

Jackson, JONATHAN, patriot; born in Boston, Mass., June 4, 1743; graduated at Harvard College in 1761; held a seat in the Provincial Congress in 1775; was United States marshal in 1789–91. He wrote *Thoughts upon the Political Situation of the United States.* He died in Boston, Mass., March 5, 1810.

Jackson, SHELDON, clergyman; born in Minaville, N. Y., May 18, 1834; graduated at Union College in 1855, and at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1858, and was ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church on May 5 of the latter year. The same year he went as a missionary to the Choctaw Indians. In 1859–69 he was engaged in missionary work in western Wisconsin and southern Minnesota; in 1869–70 was superintendent of the Presbyterian missions in western Iowa, Nebraska, and the Rocky Mountain Territories; and in 1877 became superintendent of the Presbyterian missions in Alaska. In 1885 he was appointed United States general agent of education for the Territory of Alaska. In 1887 he organized at Sitka the Alaskan Society of Natural History and Ethnology; in 1884 induced Congress to grant a district organization to Alaska; in 1891 introduced reindeer into that region; and in 1898 was authorized to secure a colony of Laplanders for Alaska. He was several times a commissioner to the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and moderator in 1897. He gave $50,000 to establish a Christian college in Utah in 1896. He is a member of the National Geographical Society, and many other similar organizations. His publications include *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast; Education in Alaska,* and elaborate reports on Alaska in the annual reports of the United States Commissioner of Education.

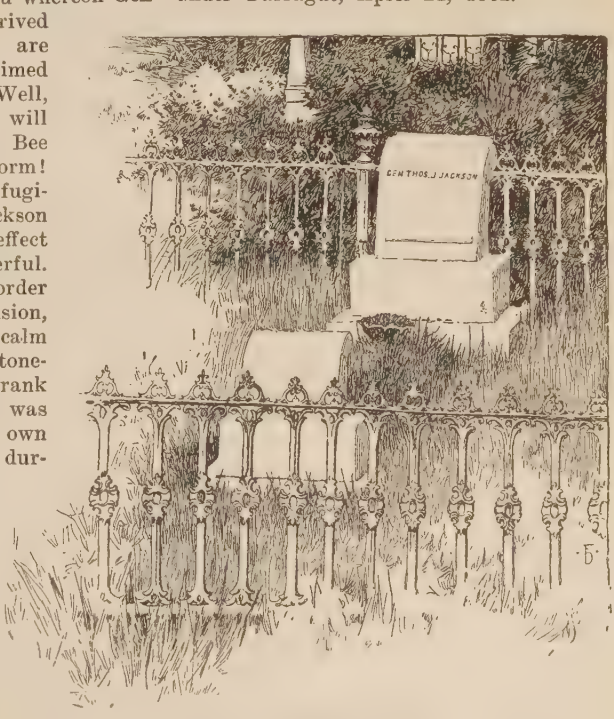
Jackson, THOMAS JONATHAN, military officer; born in Clarksburg, Va., Jan. 21, 1824; graduated at West Point in 1846, entering the 2d Artillery; served in the war with Mexico; was brevetted captain and major; and resigned in 1852 with health impaired, becoming professor in the Military Institute at Lexington, Va. He entered the Confederate service, as colonel, in April, 1861, and commanded the "Army of Observation" at Harper's Ferry. His first engagement was at Falling Waters. Jackson commanded

a brigade in the battle of Bull Run, where he received the name of "Stonewall." A furious charge, made by a New York regiment, under Col. Henry W. Slocum, had shattered the Confederate line, and the troops had fled to a plateau whereon General Jackson had just arrived with reserves. "They are beating us back!" exclaimed Gen. Bernard E. Bee. "Well, sir," replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet." Bee was encouraged. "Form! form!" he cried to the fugitives; "there stands Jackson like a stone wall." The effect of these words was wonderful. The flight was checked, order was brought out of confusion, and ever afterwards the calm general was called "Stonewall." He attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and was accidentally shot by his own men, while reconnoitring during the battle of Chancellorsville; and, from his wounds, and a sudden attack of pneumonia, he died in Guinea Station, Va., May 10, 1863.

THOMAS J. ("STONEWALL") JACKSON.

Jackson, WILLIAM, military officer; born in Cumberland, England, March 9, 1759; was taken to Charleston, S. C., an orphan, at an early age; at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he entered the military service. He finally became aide to General Lincoln, and was made a prisoner at Charleston in 1780. He was secretary to Col. John Laurens, special minister to France, and was in Washington's military family as aide, with the rank of major. Jackson was assistant Secretary of War under Washington, and was secretary to the convention that framed the national Constitution in 1787. From 1789 to 1792 he was aide and private secretary to President Washington; from 1796 to 1801 was surveyor of the port of Philadelphia, and was secretary to the General Society of the Cincinnati. He died in Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1828.

Jackson and St. Philip, FORTS, two fortifications on the Mississippi River, 57 miles southeast of New Orleans, which command the lower approach to that city. Both were strongly fortified by the Confederates in the early part of the Civil War, and were passed by the fleet under Farragut, April 24, 1862.



GRAVE OF THOMAS J. JACKSON.

Although Farragut had passed these forts, and the Confederate flotilla had been destroyed, the fortifications were still firmly held. The mortar-fleet under Porter was below them. General Butler, who had accompanied the gunboats on their perilous passage on the *Saxon*, had returned to his transports, and in small boats his troops, under the general pilotage of Gen. Godfrey Weitzel, passed through bayous to the rear of Fort St. Philip. When he was prepared to assail it, the garrison was surrendered without

FORTS JACKSON AND ST. PHILIP AND ENVIRONS.

resistance (April 28), for they had heard of the destruction of the Confederate flotilla. The commander of Fort Jackson, fearing that all was lost, accepted generous terms of surrender from Commodore Porter. The prisoners taken in the forts and at the quarantine numbered about 1,000. The entire loss of the Nationals from the beginning of the contest until New Orleans was taken was forty killed and 177 wounded. See NEW ORLEANS.

Jacob, RICHARD TAYLOR, military officer; born in Oldham county, Ky., in 1825; went to California in 1846, where he aided Gen. John C. Frémont in conquering that section. In 1862 he recruited a regiment of 1,244 cavalry at Eminence, Ky.; in 1863 became lieutenant-governor of Kentucky. He was strongly opposed to President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, holding that it not only deprived those loyal citizens who owned slaves of their property, but it was unjust to the friends of the Union.

Jacobi, MARY PUTNAM, physician; born in London, England, Aug. 31, 1842; daughter of George P. Putnam, of New York. She studied in the Philadelphia Medical College for Women, and graduated at the New York College of Pharmacy. She was the first woman matriculated at the École de Médecine, in Paris, France, where she graduated in 1871. For twelve years she was the dispensary physician at the Mount Sinai Hospital, and for ten years was professor in the Woman's Medical College, both in

New York. Her essay, *The Question of Rest for Women during Menstruation*, won the Boylston prize. She is the author of *The Value of Life; Cold Pack and Massage in Anæmia; Hysteria; Brain Tumor, and other Essays; Studies in Primary Education; Common-Sense Applied to Woman Suffrage;* and numerous articles in medical periodicals.

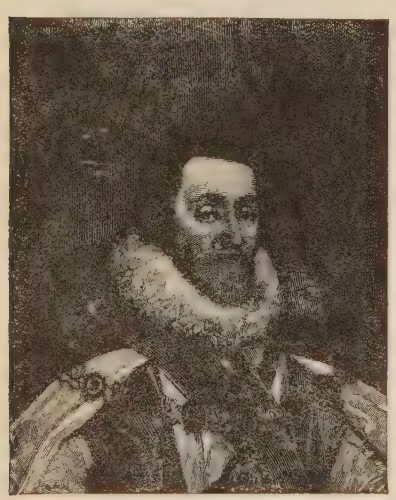
Jacobs, Benjamin Franklin, philanthropist; born in Paterson, N. J., Sept. 18, 1834; received a liberal education; and engaged in business in Chicago in 1854. At an early age he became deeply interested in Sunday-school work. In 1856 he was superintendent of the First Baptist Mission Sunday-school of Chicago, and in 1864 director of the First Baptist Sunday Choir. During the Civil War he was secretary of the northwestern branch of the United States Christian Commission. He founded the Waif's Mission in Chicago, and with others organized the Immanuel Baptist Church there in 1881, becoming superintendent of its Sunday-school. He originated the *International Sunday-school Lessons* which are used now by all evangelical denominations. In 1872 he became a member of the international lesson committee. For several years he has been chairman of the executive committee of the International Sunday-school Association.

Jacobs, Henry Eyster, theologian; born in Gettysburg, Pa., Nov. 10, 1844; graduated at Pennsylvania College in 1862, and at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, in 1865; became Professor of Systematic Theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in 1888. He is the author of *History of the Lutheran Church in America; The German Emigration to America, 1709–40*, etc.

Jamaica, Conquest of. When Cromwell had made peace with the Dutch (1654) he declared war against Spain, and sent a fleet under Admiral Penn and an army under General Venables to attack the Spanish West Indies. Edward Winslow went with the fleet as one of Cromwell's commissioners to superintend the conquered countries. By volunteers from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands the army was increased to 10,000. Santo Domingo was first attacked. The English were repulsed, and then proceeded to Jamaica, which they easily took possession of, for it was inhabited by only a few of the enervated descendants of old Spanish colonists and some negro slaves. Winslow died at sea soon after the repulse at Santo Domingo, and Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, was put in his place. He framed an instrument of government for Jamaica, having a supreme executive council, of which he was the head. Cromwell, anxious to retain and people the island with subjects of Great Britain, ordered the enlistment in Ireland of 1,000 girls and young men, and sent them over. "Idle, masterless robbers and vagabonds, male and female," were arrested and sent to Jamaica; and to have a due admixture of good morals and religion in the new colony, Cromwell sent agents to New England for emigrants. Many at New Haven, not prospering at home, were disposed to go, but, the magistrates opposing, few went. The island was of great commercial importance when the outbreak between the English-American colonies and the mother country occurred. In December its legislature interposed. They affirmed the rights of the colonies, enumerated their grievances, and, enforcing their claims to redress, implored the King to become the mediator for peace, and to recognize the title of the Americans to the benefits of the English constitution. They disclaimed any intention of joining the American confederated colonies, for they were too weak, being only a small colony of white inhabitants, with more than 200,000 slaves. Their petition was received by the King, but no heed was given to it.

James I., King of England, etc.; born in Edinburgh Castle, June 19, 1566; son of Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Lord Darnley. Of him Charles Dickens writes: "He was ugly, awkward, and shuffling, both in mind and person. His tongue was much too large for his mouth, his legs were much too weak for his body, and his dull google-eyes stared and rolled like an idiot's. He was cunning, covetous, wasteful, idle, drunken, greedy, dirty, cowardly, a great swearer, and the most conceited man on earth. His figure—what was commonly called rickety from his birth—presented the most ridiculous appearance that can be imagined, dressed in thick-padded clothes, as a safeguard

against being stabbed (of which he lived in constant fear), of a grass-green color from head to foot, with a hunting horn dangling at his side instead of a sword, and his hat and feather sticking over one eye or hanging on the back of his head, as he happened to toss it on. He used to



JAMES I.

loll on the necks of his favorite courtiers, and slobber their faces, and kiss and pinch their cheeks; and the greatest favorite he ever had used to sign himself, in his letters to his royal master, 'his Majesty's dog and slave.' He was the worst rider ever seen, and thought himself the best. He was one of the most impertinent talkers (of the broadest Scotch) ever heard, and boasted of being unanswerable in all manner of argument. He wrote some of the most turgid and most wearisome treaties ever read—among others, a book upon witchcraft, in which he was a devout believer—and thought himself a prodigy of authorship. He thought, and said, that a king had a right to make and unmake what laws he pleased, and ought to be accountable to nobody on earth. This is the plain, true character of the personage whom the greatest men about the Court praised and flattered to that degree that I doubt if there be anything more shameful in the annals of human nature!" James was the sixth King of Scotland of that name, and came to the throne of England, after experiencing many vicissitudes, March 24, 1603.

He was regarded as a "Presbyterian king," and the Puritans expected not only the blessings of toleration and protection for themselves, but even hope for supremacy among the religionists of the realm. Soon after his accession, James called a conference of divines at Hampton Court. He was chief actor at that conference, in the rôle of "brute and mountebank." Some of the Puritan divines ranked among the brightest scholars in the land. They were greatly annoyed by the coarse browbeating of the bishop of London and the coarser jests of the King. The venerable Archbishop Whitgift was present, and bent the supple knee of the courtier in the presence of royalty. When the vulgar King said to the Puritan ministers, "You want to strip Christ again; away with your snivelling," and much more to that effect, Whitgift, the primate, exclaimed, "Your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit." And the bishop of London fell upon his knees and said, "I protest my heart melts within me for joy that Almighty God, of His singular mercy, has given us such a King as, since Christ's time, has not been." This was the beginning of those royal and prelatical revilings and persecutions of the Puritans by the Stuarts and the hierarchy which drove the Puritans, in large numbers, to seek asylum in the wilds of North America.

The King's gross, ill manners and bad personal appearance made an unfavorable impression on the English people. He had trouble with Parliament and with the religionists of his realm from the beginning of his reign. Glad to get rid of troublesome subjects, he readily granted charters for settlements in America; and in 1612 two "heretics" were burned in England, the last execution of that kind that occurred in that country. His son Henry, Prince of Wales, died the same year, and his daughter Elizabeth was married to the Elector Palatine in 1613. His treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he caused to be beheaded (October, 1618), was disgraceful to human nature; his foreign policy, also, was disgraceful to the English name. Fickle, treacherous, conceited, and arbi-

trary, his whole life was an example to be avoided by the good. Dickens's portrayal of his personal character is a fair picture of his reign so far as the King was concerned. It was during that reign that a new translation of the Bible was authorized (1604)—the English version yet in use. The Duke of Buckingham was James's special favorite for a long time; and he and the Queen were suspected of causing the King's last illness, by poison.

James II., King of England; born in St. James's Palace, London, Oct. 14, 1633; son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria. During the civil war, in which his father lost his head, James and his brother Gloucester and sister Elizabeth were under the guardianship of the Duke of Northumberland, and lived in the palace. When the overthrow of monarchy appeared inevitable, in 1648, he fled to the Netherlands, with his mother and family, and he was in Paris when Charles I. was beheaded. He entered the French service (1651), and then the Spanish (1655), and was treated with much consideration by the Spaniards. His brother ascended the British throne in 1660 as Charles II., and the same year James married Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. She died in 1671, and two years afterwards, James married Maria Beatrice Eleanor, a princess of the House of Este, of Modena, twenty-five years younger than himself. While in exile James had become a Roman Catholic, but did not acknowledge it until 1671. He had become a commander in the British navy, but the test-act of 1673 caused him to leave all public employments. Being sent to Scotland as head of the administration there, he treated the Covenanters with great cruelty. When Charles died, James became King (Feb. 6, 1685). The prime object of his administration was to overthrow the constitution of England and give the control of the nation to Roman Catholics. His rule was vigorous—oftentimes tyrannous—and in less than three years almost the whole of his subjects detested him. The foreign policy of the government was made subservient to that of France. Finally, the announcement that the Queen had given birth to a son brought on a political crisis. The people had been restrained from revolution by the belief that the government would soon fall into the hands of his eldest daughter, who had married the Protestant Prince William of Orange. Now that event seemed remote, and William was invited by leading men of the realm to invade England. He did so in November, 1688, when the King was abandoned by every one but the Roman Catholics—even by his daughter Anne, who was afterwards Queen of England. James fled to France, where he was received by Louis XIV. with open arms. He made efforts to regain his kingdom, but failed, and died in St. Germain, France, Sept. 6, 1701.

JAMES II.

James, BENJAMIN, lawyer; born in Stafford county, Va., April 22, 1768; became a lawyer and practised in Charleston, S. C., till 1796. Removed to his native place and followed his profession

till 1808, when he settled permanently in Laurens district, S. C. He published *Digest of the Statute and Common Law of Carolina.* He died in Laurens district, S. C., Nov. 15, 1825.

James, EDMUND JANES, educator; born in Jacksonville, Ill., May 21, 1855; was educated at the Illinois State Normal School and at the Northwestern and Harvard universities. In 1878–79 he was principal of the High School at Evanston, Ill.; in 1879–82 principal of the Model High School at Normal, Ill.; and in 1883–95 Professor of Public Finance and Administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania. He was also Professor of Political and Social Science in the University of Pennsylvania in 1884–95, and editor of *Political Economy* and *Public Economy and Public Law Series,* published by the University of Pennsylvania, in 1886–95. He became president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1889, and from 1890 to 1895 edited its *Annals.* In the latter year he was made associate editor. In 1895 he was chosen Professor of Public Administration and director of the Extension Division in the University of Chicago. In 1891–95 he was president of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. He is the author of *Our Legal-Tender Decisions; The Education of Business Men; The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply;* and also numerous papers and addresses on political and educational topics.

James, EDWIN, geologist; born in Weybridge, Vt., Aug. 27, 1797; graduated at Middlebury College in 1816; and afterwards studied medicine, botany, and geology in Boston. He is the author of a *Report of the Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1818–19; Narrative of John Tanner,* etc. He died in Burlington, Ia., Oct. 28, 1861.

James, HENRY, author; born in New York City, April 15, 1843; was educated in France, Switzerland, and in the Harvard Law School. His literary career opened in 1866. A year or two later he began writing serial stories, but produced no extended novel till 1875. He has since been a prolific writer, not only of novels but also of contributions to the periodical press on engrossing questions of the day. Since 1869 he has lived chiefly in England. His publications include *Trans-Atlantic Sketches* (1875); *A Passionate Pilgrim; The American; The Europeans; An International Episode; The Siege of London; The Bostonians; Poor Richard; Watch and Ward; Life of Hawthorne; A Little Tour in France; A London Life; The Tragic Muse; The Lesson of the Master; Embarrassments; Tales of Three Cities; Essays in London and Elsewhere; The Wheel of Time; What Maisie Knew,* etc.

James, HENRY AMMON, lawyer; born in Baltimore, Md., April 24, 1854; graduated at Yale College in 1874, and at its law school in 1878; began practice in New York City in 1880. He is the author of *Communism in America.*

James, LEWIS GEORGE, historian; born in Providence, R. I., Feb. 19, 1844; graduated at Providence High School; instructor in history in the Adelphia Academy, Brooklyn, in 1894–95. He is the author of *Samuel Gorton, a Forgotten Founder of our Liberties,* etc.

James, THOMAS, clergyman; born in England in 1592; graduated at Cambridge in 1614; emigrated to the United States in 1632, where he became the first pastor of the church in Charlestown, Mass. In consequence of dissension he removed to New Haven and subsequently to Virginia, but was obliged to leave Virginia as he refused to conform to the English Church. He returned to New England in 1643, but went back to England, where he became pastor of a church in Needham till 1662, when he was removed for non-conformity after the accession of Charles II. He died in England in 1678.

James, THOMAS, navigator; born in England about 1590. In 1631 he was sent out by an association at Bristol to search for a northwest passage. With twenty-one men, in the ship *Henrietta Maria* (named in honor of the Queen), he sailed May 3. On June 29 he spoke the ship of Capt. Luke Fox, who had been sent on the same errand by the King, and furnished with a letter to the Emperor of Japan, if he should find that country. Neither James nor Fox discovered the coveted "passage," but the former made valuable discoveries in Hudson Bay. James was a man of science, and in his *Journal*

he recorded his observations on rarities he had discovered, "both philosophicall and mathematicall." James and his crew suffered terribly, for they passed a winter in those high latitudes, and returned in 1632. In the following year he published *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Capt. Thomas James for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage to the South Sea.*

James, THOMAS LEMUEL, journalist; born in Utica, N. Y., March 29, 1831; proprietor of the *Madison County Journal,* published at Hamilton, N. Y., 1851–61; took an active interest in politics, serving the State and nation in various capacities; was appointed postmaster of New York City in 1873; Postmaster-General, March 6, 1881; and resigned in 1882, when he organized and became president of the Lincoln National Bank, New York City.

James, WILLIAM, psychologist; born in New York City, Jan. 11, 1842; was educated in private schools and at the Lawrence Scientific School. In 1872 he became Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. He is the author of *Principles of Psychology; Psychology: Briefer Course; The Will to Believe, and other Essays in Popular Philosophy.* He was appointed Gifford lecturer on natural religion in the University of Edinburgh for 1899–1901.

Jameson, JOHN FRANKLIN, educator; born in Boston, Sept. 19, 1859; graduated at Amherst in 1879. In 1895, when the *American Historical Review* was founded, he became its managing editor. In the same year, when the Historical Manuscript Commission was instituted, he was made its chairman, and served as such till 1899. He was Professor of History at Brown University in 1888–1900. In the latter year he accepted a call to the chair of History at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *William Usselinx, Founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies; History of Historical Writing in America; Dictionary of United States History,* etc. He is also the editor of *Essays on Constitutional History of the United States;* and *The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun.*

Jamestown. On May 13, 1607, more than 100 Englishmen landed on a slightly elevated peninsula on the left bank of the "River of Powhatan," Virginia, 40 or 50 miles from its mouth; chose the spot for the capital of a new colony; cleared the trees from the ground; and began the building of a village, which, in compliment to their King (James I.), they named Jamestown. They also gave his name to the river. The spot is more of an island than a peninsula, for the marshy isthmus that connects it with the mainland is often covered with water. The Rev. Robert Hunt, the pastor of the colony, preached a sermon and invoked the blessings of God upon their undertaking. Then, in the warm sunshine, and among the shadowy woods and the delicious perfume of flowers, the sound of the metal axe was first heard in Virginia. The first tree was felled for a dwelling on the spot first settled, permanently, by Englishmen in America. The Indians were at first hostile, and the settlement built a stockade. Their first church edifice there

THE ARRIVAL AT JAMESTOWN.

was very simple. "When I first went to Virginia," says Captain Smith, "I well remember we did hang an awning (which was an old sail) to three or four

MAP OF JAMESTOWN SETTLEMENT.
(From Capt. John Smith's Historie of Virginia.)

trees to shadow us from the sun; our walls were rails of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks; our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees; in foul weather we shifted into an old, rotten tent, for we had few better. . . . This was our church till we built a homely thing, like a barn, set upon crotchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so were also the walls. The best of our houses were of the like curiosity, but, for the most part, of far worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor rain. Yet we had daily common prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months communion till our minister died." The church—"the homely thing, like a barn"—was burned while Captain Smith was a prisoner among the Indians, and he found the settlers building a house for the president of the council. When, not long after, he was installed in that office, he ordered the "building of the palace to be stayed, as a thing needless," and the church to be rebuilt at once.

Commissioners under the new charter arrived at Jamestown in the spring of 1610. Of the 490 persons left there by Smith the previous autumn, only sixty remained alive. They had refused to follow the admonitions of Smith to provide food for the winter, but relied upon the neighboring Indians to supply them. When Smith departed, the Indians showed hostility and withheld corn and game. They matured a plan for the destruction of the settlers at Jamestown, when POCAHONTAS (*q. v.*), like an angel of mercy, hastened to the settlement under cover of darkness, warned them of their danger, put them on their guard, and saved them. Terrible had been the sufferings of the colonists through the winter. More than 400 had perished by famine and sickness in the space of six months. It was long after referred to by the survivors as "the starving time." The settlers were in the depths of despair when the commissioners arrived. Sir Thomas Gates, who was acting governor, saw no other way to save the lives of the starving men than to abandon the settlement, sail to Newfoundland, and distribute them among the fishermen there. They were embarked in four pinnaces, but, at dawn, they met Lord Delaware, with ships, supplies, and emigrants, at the mouth of the river. All turned back and, landed at deserted Jamestown, they stood in silent prayer and thanksgiving on the shore, and then followed Rev. Mr. Buckle (who had succeeded Mr. Hunt) to the church, where he preached a sermon in the evening twilight. The congregation sang anthems of praise, and were listened to by crouching savages in the adjacent woods. In that little chapel at Jamestown Pocahontas was baptized and married a few years later. The fire

THE BURNING OF JAMESTOWN

that consumed the first church also destroyed a large portion of the town and surrounding palisades. There seems to have been another destructive fire there afterwards, for Smith, speaking of the arrival of Governor Argall, in 1617, says: "In Jamestown he found but five or six houses, the church down, the palisades broken, the bridge [across the marsh] in pieces, the well of fresh water spoiled, and the storehouse used

ARRIVAL OF THE YOUNG WOMEN AT JAMESTOWN.

for a church." In the same year Smith's *Generall Historie* recalls a statement by John Rolfe: "About the last of August came a Dutch man-of-war and sold us 20 Negars." A more desirable accession came in 1621 through the shipment by the company of "respectable young women for wives of those colonists who would pay the cost of transportation"—at first 120 lbs. of tobacco, afterwards 150 lbs. In July, 1620, the colony was 4,000 strong and shipped to England 40,000 pounds of tobacco. This was raised with the aid of many bound apprentices—boys and girls picked up in the streets of London and sent out—and of many "disorderly persons" sent by order of the King."

Suddenly a great calamity overtook the colony. Powhatan was dead, and his successor, OPECHANCANOUGH (*q. v.*), always hostile, planned a blow for the extermination of the white people. It fell with terrible force late in March, 1622, and eighty plantations were reduced to eight. The settlers at Jamestown escaped the calamity through the good offices of Chanco, a friendly Indian, who gave them timely warning of the plot, and they were prepared for defence. Jamestown became a refuge from the storm for the western settlements. Sickness and famine ensued, and the colony was greatly reduced

JAMESTOWN IN 1622.

in number, for many left through fear. It soon recovered, and increased in strength. A new and substantial church was built, with a heavy brick tower, probably between 1620 and 1625. During Bacon's Rebellion, in 1676, Jamestown—"the only village in all Virginia"—was entered by that leader, after driving away the governor, and, in a council of war it was determined to burn the town, a rumor having reached Bacon that the royalist troops were coming upon him. The torch was applied just at twilight, and the Virginia capital was laid in ashes. Nothing remained the next morning but the brick tower of the church and a few solitary chimneys.

JAMESTOWN IN 1902.

Janney, SAMUEL MACPHERSON, author; born in Loudon county, Va., Jan. 11, 1801; became a Quaker preacher; was appointed

a superintendent of Indian affairs in 1869. His publications include *An Historical Sketch of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages; Life of William Penn; History of the Religious Society of Friends from Its Rise to the Year 1828*, etc. He died in Loudon county, Va., April 30, 1880.

Janvier, THOMAS ALLIBONE, author; born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 16, 1849. He is the author of *The Aztec Treasure-House; In Old New York; Stories of Old New Spain*, etc.

Japan and the United States. Japan, like China, had always been a sort of sealed kingdom to the commerce of the world. The foundation of the States of California and Oregon, on the Pacific coast, suggested the great importance of commercial intercourse with Japan, because of the intimate relations which must soon exist between that coast and the East Indies. This consideration caused an expedition to be fitted out by the United States government in the summer of 1852 to carry a letter from the President (Mr. Fillmore) to the Emperor of Japan soliciting the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two nations, by which the ports of the latter should be thrown open to American vessels for purposes of trade. For this expedition seven ships-of-war were employed. They were placed under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry, a brother of the victor on Lake Erie. The diplomatic portion of the mission was also intrusted to Commodore Perry. He did not sail until November, 1852. The letter which he bore to the Emperor was drafted by Mr. Webster before his decease, but countersigned by Edward Everett, his successor in office. Perry carried out many useful implements and inventions as presents to the Japanese government, including a small railway and equipments, telegraph, etc. He was instructed to approach the Emperor in the most friendly manner; to use no violence unless attacked; but if attacked, to let the Japanese feel the full weight of his power. Perry delivered his letter of credence, and waited some months for an answer, without being permitted to land on the shores of the empire. Meanwhile he visited and surveyed the Loo Choo Islands.

In February, 1854, he returned to the Bay of Jeddo, and finally effected a landing and commenced negotiations, which were happily successful. The treaty then made stipulated that ports should be thrown open to American commerce, to a limited extent, in different Japanese islands; that steamers from California to China should be furnished with supplies of coal; and that American sailors shipwrecked on the Japanese coasts should receive hospitable treatment. So Japan was first opened to friendly relations with the Americans. Before this treaty the Dutch had monopolized the trade of Japan. Subsequently a peculiar construction of the treaty on the part of the Japanese authorities, in relation to the permanent residence of Americans there, threatened a disturbance of the amicable relations which had been established. The matter was adjusted, and in 1860 the first embassy from Japan visited the United States. It was an imposing array of Japanese officials. There was great opposition in the empire to this intercourse with "the barbarians." Civil war ensued. A rapid change now marked public opinion in Japan in regard to foreigners; and from that time the intimate relations, social and commercial, between the United States and Japan have constantly increased, with results wonderfully beneficial to both countries. Early in 1872 the government of Japan sent another embassy to the United States, this one charged to inquire about the renewal of former treaties. It consisted of twenty-one persons, composed of the heads of the several departments of the Japanese government and their secretaries. Among them was an imperial prince—Mori—who came to represent Japan at Washington as *chargé d'affaires*, and also twelve students. The mission arrived at Washington at the beginning of March, and Mori had the honor of being the first minister ever sent by his government to reside in a foreign country.

Jarboe, JOHN W., inventor; born in 1830. He served through the Civil War in the 71st New York Regiment, and was later influential in securing the display of the American flag over the public school-houses of the country. He was the inventor of a process of making house-

hold utensils from papier-maché and several articles employed in the manufacture of sugar. He died in New York City, June 30, 1901.

Jarnac, GASTON LOUIS DE, military officer; born in Angoûleme, France, in 1758; served in the French army during the Revolutionary War; emigrated to the United States in 1795; returned to France in 1805, but, being obliged to leave the country on account of his criticisms of Napoleon, he again came to the United States, where he took service under Jean Lafitte, the Louisiana buccaneer. Jarnac was killed by the Indians in Texas, in 1818.

Jarves, JAMES JACKSON, author; born in Boston, Mass., Aug. 20, 1820; established the first newspaper printed in the Hawaiian Islands, in 1840. In 1850 he was appointed by King Kamehameha III. commissioner to the United States, Great Britain, and France, for the purpose of negotiating treaties, and in 1879 United States vice-consul in Florence, Italy. Among his works are *History of Hawaii; Parisian Sights and French Principles seen through American Spectacles; Italian Sights*, etc. He died in Terasp, Switzerland, June 28, 1888.

Jasper, WILLIAM, military hero; born in South Carolina, about 1750; became a sergeant in the 2d South Carolina Regiment; and greatly distinguished himself in the attack on Fort Sullivan, June 28, 1776, by the British fleet. During the hottest of the attack the South Carolina flag that waved over the fort fell to the ground outside the fort, its staff having been cut in two by a cannon-ball. Sergeant Jasper, seeing the flag fall, leaped down from one of the embrasures, seized the ensign, climbed back, fixed the colors to a sponge-staff, mounted the parapet, stuck the improvised flag-staff in the sand of one of the bastions, and returned to his place in the fort. A few days afterwards Governor Rutledge took his own sword from his side and presented it to Jasper. He also offered him a lieutenant's commission, which the young man modestly declined, because he could neither read nor write, saying, "I am not fit to keep officers' company; I am but a sergeant." He was given a sort of roving commission by Colonel Moultrie, and, with five or six men, he often brought in prisoners before his commander was aware of his absence. An earnest Whig lady of Charleston, Mrs. Susannah Elliot, presented Jasper's regiment with a stand of colors wrought with her own hands. They were shot down at the assault on Savannah (1779), and in trying

SERGEANT JASPER REPLACING THE COLORS.

to replace them on the parapet of a redoubt, Jasper was mortally wounded, but brought them off. He died Oct. 9, 1779.

Jay, JOHN, diplomatist; born in New York City, June 23, 1817; graduated at Columbia College in 1836; admitted to the bar in 1839; appointed minister to Austria in 1869; chairman of the committee to investigate the New York custom-house in 1877; and member of the State civil service in 1883. Mr. Jay was a prominent abolitionist and author of a number of pamphlets, among them are *The Dignity of the Abolition Cause; The American Church and the American Slave-Trade; The Great Conspiracy and England's Neutrality; Caste and Slavery in the American Church; America Free, or America Slave,* etc. He died in New York City, May 5, 1894.

Jay, JOHN, statesman; born in New York City, Dec. 12, 1745; was of Huguenot descent. Graduated at King's College (now Columbia University) in 1764, he was admitted to the bar in 1768, and formed a partnership with Robert R. Livingston. In 1774 he was a delegate in the first Continental Congress, and the same year he married a daughter of William Livingston, of New Jersey. In that Congress, though the youngest member but one, he took a conspicuous part, being the author of the *Address to the People of Great Britain.* His facile pen was often employed in framing documents in the Congress of 1775. Early in 1776 he left Congress and engaged in the public affairs of his own State, being a leading member of the Provincial Congress in 1776. He wrote the able address of the convention at Fishkill in December, 1776; reported a bill of rights to the New York constitutional convention in March, 1777; and was the chief author of the first constitution of the State of New York. After assisting in putting in motion the machinery of his State government, and being made a judge he entered Congress again late in 1778 and became president of that body. In September, 1779, he was sent to Spain to negotiate a loan. Mr. Jay was one of the commissioners for negotiating a treaty of peace with Great Britain. He returned to New York in 1784, and was secretary for foreign affairs from that year until the organization of the government under the national Constitution. Mr. Jay was associated with Hamilton and Madison in writing the series of articles in support of the Constitution known collectively as *The Federalist.* Washington appointed Jay the first chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

On April 7, 1794, a motion was made in the House of Representatives that all commercial intercourse with Great Britain and her subjects be suspended, so far as respected all articles of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, until the surrender of the Western posts and due compensation for all losses and damages growing out of British aggressions on our neutral rights should be made. This motion, if adopted, would lead directly to war. Its adoption seemed probable, and Washington, to avert the calamitous consequences, proposed to send a special minister to England to negotiate an amicable settlement of the existing disputes. There were grave charges of violations of the treaty of 1783 made by the two parties against each other. Washington desired to send Hamilton on the mission. Violent opposition to this was made by his political enemies, whose hatred and jealousy were intense. Fearing Hamilton might not have the confirmation of the Senate, Washington nominated Mr. Jay (April 16), which nomination was confirmed April 19. The special minister arrived in England in June, where he was received with great courtesy by the British government. He negotiated a treaty which was not wholly satisfactory to his countrymen, closing his labors on Nov. 19; and from 1795 to 1801 he was governor of New York, under whose administration slavery was abolished. This was his last public office. He died in Bedford, N. Y., May 17, 1829. See AMES, FISHER.

Jay's Treaty.—After Mr. Jay's formal reception in London, Lord Grenville, then at the head of foreign affairs, expressed great anxiety to bring the negotiations to a successful issue. There was a wide difference of views concerning matters in dispute. The Americans complained that, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of peace (1783), a large number of negroes had been carried off by the evacuating armies; and for this loss com-

pensation was demanded for the owners. They complained, also, of the detention of the Western posts, which was the main cause of the hostility of the Northwestern tribes. They also alleged numerous viola-

JOHN JAY.

tions of their neutral rights, especially on the high seas, such as the impressment of seamen and the exclusion of American shipping from the trade of the British West Indies. There were other complaints on the part of the Americans; but the matters more immediately provocative of war were the disputed questions of neutral rights and the detention of the Western posts. Deeming it wise to adjust these two important difficulties, Jay thought it best to yield, temporarily, other considerations, or leave them for future adjustment, and he was induced to sign a treaty, Nov. 19, 1794, defective in some respects and objectionable in others. It provided for the collection of British debts in the United States contracted before the Revolution, but it did not secure indemnity to those who lost slaves. It secured indemnity for unlawful captures on the high seas, and the evacuation of the military posts on the frontiers yet held by the British. These were to be surrendered on June 1, 1796, the present residents to have the option of removing or of becoming American citizens. There was to be a mutual reciprocity of inland trade and intercourse between the North American territories of the two nations, including the navigation of the Mississippi; but it did not extend to the Hudson Bay Company, nor to the admission of American vessels into the harbors of the British North American colonies, nor to the navigation of the rivers of those colonies below the highest port of entry. These were the principal features of the first ten articles of the treaty, which were to be perpetual. Eighteen others, of the nature of a treaty of commerce, were limited to two years. They provided for the admission of American vessels into British ports in Europe and the East Indies on terms of equality with British vessels; but no terms were made concerning the East India coasting trade, or the trade between Europe and the British West Indies. There were restrictions upon the American trade to the British West Indies; and British vessels were to be admitted to American ports on terms of the most favored nations. Privateers were to give bonds to respond to any damages they might commit against neutrals, and other regulations of that service were made. The list of contraband articles was clearly defined. No vessel attempting to enter a blockaded port was to be captured unless she had first been notified and turned away. Neither nation was to allow enlistments within its territory by any third nation at war with the other; nor were the citizens or subjects of either to be allowed to accept commissions from such third nation, or to enlist in its service, on penalty of being treated as pirates. Ships-of-war of the contracting parties were to be mutually admitted in a friendly manner into the ports of each other, such vessels to be free from any claim of search, but were to depart as speedily as might be. Other and stringent regulations were made concerning privateers. In case of rupture or war, the citizens or subjects of either nation resident in

the territories of the other were to be allowed to remain and to continue their trade so long as they behaved peaceably. They might be ordered off, in case of suspicion, on twelve months' notice, or without any notice, if detected in violations of the laws. No reprisals were to be ordered by either party till satisfaction had first been demanded. Fugitives from justice charged with murder or forgery were to be mutually given up.

Early Opposition.—The treaty was concluded at London on Nov. 19, 1794. It reached the President in March, 1795, after the adjournment of Congress. The Senate was convened, in special session, to consider it, early in June, 1795. After a debate for a fortnight, in secret session, a vote of 20 to 10—precisely a constitutional majority—advised (June 24) the ratification of the treaty, excepting the article which related to the renunciation by the Americans of the privilege of transportation of sugar, molasses, coffee, cocoa, and cotton in the West India trade. Cotton was then just promising to be of vast importance in the carrying-trade, and such an article was wholly inadmissible. The President had determined, before the meeting of the Senate, to ratify the treaty; and when it was laid before the cabinet all agreed with him excepting the Secretary of State (Edmund Randolph, of Virginia), who raised the point that by the ratification, before an obnoxious British Order in Council concerning neutrals should be repealed, the British claim to the right of search and impressment would be conceded by the Americans. Hamilton, who had been consulted, advised the ratification, but to withhold the exchange of ratifications until that order should be repealed. The Senate had removed the seal of secrecy from their proceedings, but had forbidden any publication of the treaty itself. Statements concerning the provisions of the treaty soon appeared. The Democratic societies and newspapers had resolved to oppose and attack the treaty whatever might be its provisions. They had opposed the mission to negotiate it. After it was received Randolph revealed enough of its character to give a foundation for many attacks upon it in the newspapers. It was denounced as a pusillanimous surrender of American rights. In order to prevent misrepresentations, and to elicit the expressions of the people, Washington caused the whole treaty to be published. A mad, seditious cry went over the land from the opposition. In several cities mobs threatened personal violence to the supporters of the treaty. Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting in New York, while speaking in the open air. The British minister at Philadelphia was insulted; and in Charleston the British flag was trailed in the dust of the streets. Jay was denounced as a traitor; and in Virginia *disunion* was recommended as a cure for political evils. The Democratic societies and orators put forth claims for sympathy for France. "She has a government congenial to our own. Citizens, your security depends on France. Let us unite with her and stand or fall together!" shouted opposition orators throughout the country. The Democrats adorned their hats with the French cockade. Jay was burned in effigy in many places, and longings for the guillotine were freely expressed in public assemblies.

When the President had proclaimed the treaty as the law of the land, he, according to promise, sent a copy of it, March 2, 1796, to the House. Its appearance was the beginning of a violent debate in that body, which turned upon the question whether the House possessed discretionary power to carry the treaty into execution or not at its pleasure. The debate arose on a motion of Edward Livingston, of New York, calling upon the President for his instructions to Jay and other papers relating to the treaty. After about thirty speeches, in a debate of three weeks, which grew warmer and warmer the longer it lasted, the resolution was adopted, March 24, by a vote of 62 to 37. The President consulted his cabinet, and they unanimously decided that the House had no right to make such a call, as they were not a part of the treaty-making power. They also decided that it was not expedient for the President to furnish the papers, for the call should be considered as an unfounded claim of power on the part of the House to interfere with the privileges of the President and Senate. The President, therefore, declined to comply with the request of the House, giving

his reasons in a special message. Resolutions asserting the majesty of the House were introduced (April 6), and were supported by Madison. These resolutions were adopted by a vote of 57 to 35, and the subject of the "British treaty" was a staple topic of debate for some time afterwards. Finally, April 30, the House passed a resolution—51 to 48—that it was expedient to pass laws for carrying the treaty into effect.

The discussions of the treaty were soon transferred from public meetings and the newspapers to the arena of State legislatures. Governor Shelby, in his speech to the Kentucky legislature, attacked the treaty. The House seemed to agree with him (Nov. 4, 1794), but the Senate evaded any decided committal. The house of delegates of Virginia adopted, by a vote of 100 to 50, a resolution approving the conduct of their Senators in voting (Nov. 20) against the treaty. A counter-resolution declaring their undiminished confidence in the President was lost—59 to 79; but another resolution disclaiming any imputation of the President's motives was passed—78 to 62. The legislature of Maryland resolved that they felt a deep concern at efforts to detach from the President the "well-earned confidence of his fellow-citizens," and declared their "unabated reliance in his judgment, integrity, and patriotism." The Senate of Pennsylvania made a similar declaration. The legislature of New Hampshire expressed, Dec. 5, 1795, their "abhorrence of those disturbers of the peace" who had endeavored to render abortive measures so well calculated to advance the happiness of the country. The North Carolina legislature, by a decided majority, adopted a series of resolutions, Dec. 8, reprobating the treaty and thanking their Senators for having opposed it. In the legislature of South Carolina resolutions were introduced declaring the treaty "highly injurious to the general interests of the United States"; when the friends of the treaty, finding themselves in a minority, declared the legislature had no business to interfere with the duties of the President and Senate of the United States, and refused to vote, the resolutions were adopted unanimously. The House did not venture to send up these resolutions to the Senate. A resolution declaring the treaty unconstitutional was defeated. The legislature of Delaware passed, Jan. 14, 1796, a resolution of approval. Gov. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, spoke of the treaty as "pregnant with evil," suggested a conflict of authority between the President and Senate and the House of Representatives, and transmitted to the general court the resolutions of Virginia on the subject of amendments to the Constitution. The Massachusetts Senate declared their concurrence in the belief of the governor that the national government was in "honest hands," and the house suggested "a respectful submission on the part of the people to the constituted authorities as the surest means of enjoying and perpetuating the invaluable blessings of our free and representative government." The general court of Rhode Island expressed their confidence in the general government. So, also, did the legislature of New York.

Jay, JOHN, diplomatist; born in New York City, June 23, 1817; son of William Jay; became manager of the New York Young Men's Anti-slavery Society in 1834; was graduated at Columbia College in 1836; admitted to the bar in 1839; acted as counsel without pay for many fugitive slaves; minister to Austria in 1869–75; chairman of the committee to investigate the system of the New York Custom-House in 1877; and president of the New York State Civil Service Commission in 1883–88. He died in New York City, May 5, 1894.

Jay, WILLIAM, jurist; born in New York City, June 16, 1789; son of John Jay; graduated at Yale in 1807; appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1818; reappointed under the new constitution in 1822; served till 1843, when he was superseded on account of his anti-slavery views. He was the author of *Life of John Jay; The Action of the Federal Government in Behalf of Slavery; War and Peace*, in which he suggested that international disputes should be settled by arbitration; *The Mexican War;* etc. He died in Bedford, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1858.

Jayhawkers and Red Legs, names applied to Free-State men who, during the Kansas conflict in 1854–59, began a series of reprisals for outrages committed by

pro-slavery men, but ultimately practically became bandits.

Jayne, HORACE, biologist; born in Philadelphia, March 5, 1859; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1879, and at its medical school in 1882; studied biology at Leipzig and Jena in 1883–84; and, returning to the United States, was first appointed lecturer in biology in the University of Pennsylvania, and subsequently Professor of Vertebrate Morphology there. For a number of years he was dean of the faculty. In 1900 he was director of the Wistar Institute of the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of *Mammalian Anatomy; Revision of the Dermestidæ of North America; Abnormities Observed in North American Coleoptera,* etc.

Jeannette, VOYAGE OF THE. See DE LONG.

Jeffers, WILLIAM NICHOLSON, naval officer; born in Gloucester county, N. J., Oct. 6, 1824; joined the navy in 1840; served in the war with Mexico, and also through the Civil War; was promoted commodore in February, 1878. His publications include *Short Methods in Navigation; Theory and Practice of Naval Gunnery; Inspection and Proof of Cannon; Marine Surveying; Ordnance Instructions for United States Navy,* etc. He died in Washington, D. C., July 23, 1883.

Jefferson, the name proposed to be given to what is now the State of Colorado, in 1858, when an attempt was made to establish a provisional government. The scheme failed in consequence of conflicting claims on the part of the surrounding Territories. When, however, Congress created the new Territory in 1861, the name Colorado was given to it.

Jefferson, JOSEPH, actor; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 20, 1829; is descended from several generations of actors; made his first appearance on the stage when three years old; played in the old Spanish theatre in Matamoras, Mexico, two days after that city was taken by the Americans; and in 1857 established his reputation as a comedian by his performance as Asa Trenchard in *Our American Cousin,* in New York City. In 1865 he appeared for the first time in his inimitable rôle of *Rip Van Winkle,* in the Adelphi Theatre, London, and, although he has since played in many of the most popular comedies of the day, and in various parts of the world, he will be remembered longest for his presentations of that character. Mr. Jefferson has also distinguished himself as an orator and a painter. For many years his chief diversions were fishing and painting, and in 1899 he permitted an exhibition of sixteen of his landscape-paintings in oil in the national capital. He published an autobiography in 1890.

As the representative of the dramatic profession, Mr. Jefferson was invited by the faculty of Yale University to deliver a lecture on *Dramatic Art,* which was given on April 27, 1892, in the course of which he says:

If I am asked to reason from my knowledge and engraft it on the history of the past, I would unhesitatingly declare that the stage is in a much better condition now than it ever was before. The social and moral status of the whole world has undoubtedly improved, and gone hand in hand with scientific and material progress; and permit me to assure you that the stage in this respect has not been idle, but that, to my knowledge, it has in the march of improvement kept pace foot by foot with every social advance.

Even the coarse dramas of the olden time were in keeping with the conditions of the social and literary society that surrounded it. Those plays that appealed to the lowest tastes were not only welcome but demanded by the court of Charles. Old Pepys, who lived during this time, says in his diary: "I went last night to see *A Midsummer Night's Dream;* it was a great waste of time, and I hope I shall never again be condemned to see such a poor play. Ah, give me a comedy of Ethelridge, and let us have no more of this dull, vague Shakespeare." It was not, therefore, that there were no good plays, but that the vicious public wanted bad ones, and while rakes and unprincipled gallants and vile women were the heroes and heroines of the stage, the plays of Shakespeare had been written for a hundred years. Such lovely creatures as Rosalind, Desdemona, Beatrice, Ophelia, Imogene, Portia, and Juliet, together with

their noble mates, Orlando, Benedict, Hamlet, Romeo, and a host of pure and marvellous creations, were moulding on the shelves, because the managers had suffered bankruptcy for daring to produce them. Shakespeare says that the actors are "the abstract and brief chronicles of the times." And so the people insisted that the actors should give them an exhibition of the licentious times rather than the splendid lessons of Shakespeare. As the social world improved in its tastes the drama followed it—nay, in some instances has led it.

JEFFERSON, THOMAS

Jefferson, THOMAS, third President of the United States; born in Shadwell, Va., April 2, 1743; was educated at the College of William and Mary; studied law under George Wythe; and was admitted to the bar in 1767. From 1769 to 1775 he was an active member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. In that body he introduced a bill empowering masters to manumit their slaves. On Jan. 1, 1771,

STATUE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

he married Martha Skelton, a rich and beautiful young widow of twenty-three. He was a member of the committee of correspondence of Virginia, which he assisted in forming, and was engaged in active public life until his retirement from the Presidency of the United States. In 1774 he wrote his famous *Summary View of the Rights of British America,* which, it is believed, procured for him a place in the list of American traitors denounced by the British Parliament. He had taken an active part against the Boston port bill. Mr. Jefferson took his seat in the Continental Congress in June, 1775, when he was thirty-two years of age. In that body he served on the most important committees, and in drawing up state papers. On the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, to Mr. Jefferson was assigned the duty of writing that important paper, which he advocated and signed. True to the proclivities of his nature in favor of human liberty, he introduced a clause censuring slavery, which was stricken out. In October, 1776, he retired from Congress to take part in his own State affairs, and for two years and a half was employed in revising the laws of Virginia and procuring some wise enactments, such as abolishing the laws of primogeniture, giving freedom to convicts, etc. During the entire Revolutionary War Jefferson was very active in his own State, serving as its governor from June, 1779, to 1781. At the time of his retirement from the chair, Cornwallis, invading Virginia, desolated Jefferson's estate at Elk Hill, and he and his family narrowly escaped capture. Mr. Jefferson was again in Congress in 1783, and, as chairman of a committee, reported to that body the definite treaty of peace with Great Britain. Assisting the suggestions of Gouverneur Morris, he proposed and carried a bill establishing the decimal system of currency. In 1785 he succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister at the French Court, where he remained until 1789, when he returned and took a seat in Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State. In France he had published his *Notes*

Th. Jefferson

on Virginia, and he had there become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the French revolutionists previous to the bloody era of 1793. Not finding at home the same enthusiastic admiration of the French people in their struggle against "the conspiracy of the kings," he became morbidly suspicious of a monarchical party in the United States that might overthrow the government. He formed and led an active party called "Republican" or "Democratic," and there was much acrimonious feeling soon engendered between that and the Federal party, of which Alexander Hamilton was the active leader. Mr. Jefferson was an able leader of the Democratic party, and secured so large a following that in 1800 he was elected President, and served eight years, retiring in March, 1809, when he withdrew from public life and retired to his seat at Monticello, near Charlottesville, Va. Among the important events of his administration were the purchase of Louisiana, an exploration of the continent from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, and difficulties with France and Great Britain on account of their violation of the rights of neutrals. Mr. Jefferson was the founder of the University of Virginia (1819) at Charlottesville, Va., and was its rector until his death, which occurred on the same day, and almost at the same hour, as that on which John Adams died, who was his associate in drafting the Declaration of Independence, and signing it, just fifty years before (July 4, 1826).

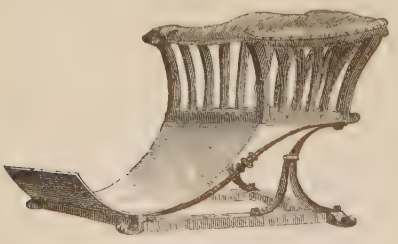
CARICATURE OF JEFFERSON.

Jefferson was a keen politician, though no speaker; a man of great learning and fine scholarly as well as scientific attainments, and in conversation extremely attractive. His house was the resort of learned men of his own country and of Europe. In person he was tall and slender, with sandy hair, florid complexion in his youth, and brilliant gray eyes, a little inclining to brown. He was buried in a family cemetery near his house at Monticello, and over his grave is a granite monument, bearing the inscription, written by himself, and found among his papers after his death, "Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia." Mr. Jefferson regarded slavery as a moral and political evil, and did much to alleviate its hardships. His correspondence with men of all classes was voluminous, for he was a fluent writer and had a very wide acquaintance. Few men have exerted as much influence in establishing the free institutions of the United States as

Thomas Jefferson. He adopted for the motto of his private seal that of Oliver Cromwell — "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." See LEWIS, MERIWETHER.

When, in the early summer of 1781, Cornwallis was overrunning a portion of Virginia, he sent Tarleton with his cavalry to capture the Virginia Assembly siting at Charlottesville, and also Governor Jefferson, who lived 2 miles from that place. On the way Tarleton destroyed twelve wagon-loads of clothing intended for Greene's army in North Carolina. Within 10 miles of Charlottesville Tarleton detached Captain McLeod, with a party of horsemen, to capture Governor Jefferson at Monticello, while he pressed forward. On his way he captured some members of the legislature, but when he arrived at Charlottesville the remainder, forewarned, had fled and escaped. McLeod's expedition to Monticello was quite as unsuccessful. Jefferson was entertaining several members of the legislature, including the presiding officers of both houses, when the British cavalry were seen coming up the winding road towards the mansion. Jefferson immediately sent his family away, while he and the others escaped on horseback. Jefferson had not been gone ten minutes when McLeod rode up and found the house deserted.

The leaders of the two great parties



PART OF JEFFERSON'S GIG.

nominated their respective candidates for the Presidency in 1800, the Federalists choosing to be voted for John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; the Democrats, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. There was a breach in the Federal party, owing to extended dislike of Adams, and the Democrats used the Alien and Sedition Laws with powerful effect against him. The Federalists were defeated. Jefferson and Burr had each seventy-three votes in the electoral college, and, according to the provisions of the Constitution, the election was carried into the House of Representatives. There exciting scenes occurred. Two or three members, too

JEFFERSON'S SEAL.

MOTTO: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

sick to appear otherwise, were brought to the House on beds. For seven days the balloting went on. After it was ascertained that a Democrat was elected, the Federalists all voted for Burr, as being less objectionable than Jefferson; but the friends of the latter were stronger than all opposition, and he was elected. The whole Federal party were mortified and humiliated by the triumph of Jefferson, their arch-enemy. He was inaugurated March 4, 1801. See CABINET, PRESIDENT'S; LOUISIANA; MAZZEI, PHILIP.

Inaugural Address.—The following is the principal part of the inaugural address, delivered on March 4, 1801:

Friends and Fellow-citizens,—Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive officer of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and

fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I see here remind me that, in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amid the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind, let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and as capable of bitter and

BEDROOM IN WHICH JEFFERSON DIED.

bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are all federalists. If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it is the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels, in the form of kings, to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradation of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to

MONTICELLO, JEFFERSON'S HOME.

make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regu-

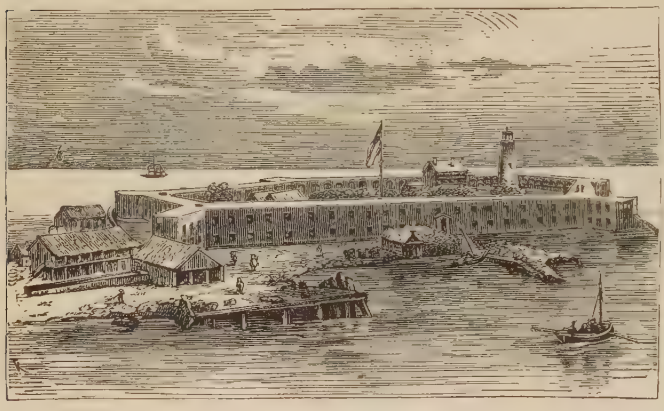
THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GRAVE.

late their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, upon the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and, consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus;* and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which leads alone to peace, liberty, and safety. . . .

The Jeffersonian Policy. — Soon after his inauguration, Jefferson indicated his policy in a letter to Nathaniel Macon, in Congress, as follows: "1. Levees are done away with. 2. The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected. 3. Diplomatic establishments in Europe will be reduced to three ministers. 4. The compensation of collectors depends on you [Congress], and not on me. 5. The army is undergoing a chaste reformation. 6. The navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month

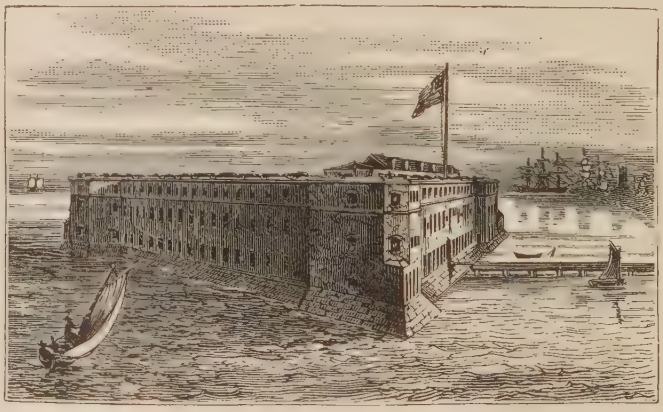
[May, 1801]. 7. Agencies in every department will be revived. 8. We shall push you to the uttermost in economizing. 9. A very early recommendation has been given to the Postmaster-General to employ no traitor, foreigner, or Revolutionary Tory in any of his offices." Three days after his inauguration he wrote to Monroe: "I have firmly refused to follow the counsels of those who have desired the giving of offices to some of the Federalist leaders in order to reconcile them. I have given, and will give, only to Republicans under existing circumstances." The doctrine, "To the victor belong the spoils," which has been accepted as orthodox in the politics of our republic ever since, was then first promulgated.



FORT JEFFERSON, GARDEN KEY.

Jefferson, Fort, a fortification built by Col. George Rogers Clark (*q. v.*), on the west side of the Mississippi. He had designed to extend his invasion to Detroit, but troops to reinforce him had been added to the force of another bold leader (see Shelby, Evan), and he had to abandon the undertaking. Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, gave instructions for the occupation of a station on the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Ohio and the parallel of 36° 30′; and in the spring of 1780 Clarke chose a strong position 5 miles below the mouth of the Ohio, whereon he built Fort Jefferson. Here the Americans planted their first sentinel to watch over the freedom of the navigation of the "Father of Waters."

Jefferson and Taylor, Forts. At the Garden Key, one of the Tortugas Islands, off the extremity of the Florida Peninsula, was Fort Jefferson; and at Key West was Fort Taylor. Neither of these forts was quite finished at the beginning of 1861. The Confederates early contemplated their seizure, but the laborers employed on them by the United States government were chiefly slaves, and their masters wished to reap the fruit of their labor as long as possible. It was believed these forts might be



FORT TAYLOR, KEY WEST.

seized at any time by the Floridians. Captain Brannan, with a company of artillery, occupied barracks about half a mile from Fort Taylor. Some of the military and civil officers there were Confederates, and they determined to oppose Captain Brannan if he should attempt to take possession of that fort. Finally Captain Brannan succeeded by a stratagem in gaining possession. The steamer *Wyandotte* lay near the fort, and her guns commanded the bridge that connected it with the island. One Sunday morning, while the inhabitants were at church, Captain Brannan marched his men by a back road, crossed the bridge, and entered the fort. Supplies had already been forwarded by water. Both forts were strengthened and were lost to the Confederates.

Jeffreys, Sir George, jurist; born in Acton, Denbighshire, in 1648; was called to the bar in 1668; became chief-justice of England in 1683; and was elevated to the post of lord chancellor in 1685. He was of a blood-thirsty and cruel disposition, delighting in the severe punishment of the enemies of the King. After the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth (1685) was crushed he held courts in the insurgent districts which are known in history as the "Bloody Assizes." The partisans of Monmouth in arms were fully 6,000 in number, many of them persons of great respectability. They were brought before the court of the chief-justice by scores. He seemed to delight in convicting and punishing them. He caused 320 to be hanged or beheaded, and more than 800 to be sold as slaves in the West Indies and Virginia. Many of the latter were given to court favorites that they might sell them on speculation or extort money for their pardon from those who had any to give. In this nefarious business Lord Effingham, governor of Virginia, engaged; and many men of culture, as well as good mechanics, were sent to Virginia to be sold as slaves, and so added excellent social materials for society in that colony. "Take care," wrote King Charles to Effingham, "that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves by money or otherwise until that term be fully expired." The Assembly refused to make laws to that end; and when, in 1689, the Stuarts were driven from the throne of England, these people were pardoned, and the Virginians received them with open arms as brethren. Sir George died in London, April 18, 1689.

Jenckes, Joseph, colonial governor; born on the site of the city of Pawtucket, R. I., in 1656; held a seat in the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1679–93; was appointed to arrange the boundary disputes with Connecticut and Massachusetts, and afterwards those which had arisen between Massachusetts and New Hampshire and Maine. He was also made commissioner to answer a letter of the King regarding the "condition of affairs in Rhode Island," and to reply to a number of questions proposed by the lords of the privy council. He was governor of Rhode Island in 1727–32. He died June 15, 1740.

Jenckes, Thomas Allen, legislator; born in Cumberland, R. I., Nov. 2, 1818; graduated at Brown University in 1838; admitted to the bar in 1840; served in Congress in 1862–71. He was the author of the United States bankruptcy law, which was passed in 1867; and was also one of the earliest and most prominent advocates of civil service reform. His bill in advocacy of the same was passed in 1868. He died in Cumberland, R. I., Nov. 4, 1875.

Jenkins, Charles Jones, jurist; born in Beaufort district, S. C., Jan. 6, 1805; settled in Jefferson county, Ga., in 1816; graduated at Union College in 1824; held a seat in the Georgia legislature in 1836–50. He was a Union delegate to the Georgia convention in 1850, and as chairman of that body drafted the resolutions known as "The Platform of 1850," in which it was resolved "that the State of Georgia, even to the disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, resist any act of Congress abolishing slavery." He was a judge of the Supreme Court of Georgia in 1859–65, and governor in 1865–68. Mr. Jenkins received two votes for President of the United States in the electoral college of 1872. He died in Summerville, Ga., June 13, 1883.

Jenkins, James G., jurist; born in Saratoga Springs, N. Y., July 18, 1834; was liberally educated in New York State;

and was admitted to the bar in New York City in 1855. Two years later he removed to Milwaukee, Wis., where he practised till 1888, when he was appointed United States judge for the district of Wisconsin. In 1893 he was promoted to the bench of the United States Circuit Court of the 7th Judicial Circuit. In December, 1893, he issued an injunction forbidding all employés of the Northern Pacific Railroad (which at that time was in the hands of receivers appointed by the court) from joining or conspiring with others in striking against reduced wages. The Circuit Court of Appeals sustained this injunction in a modified form. Upon this action the labor leaders endeavored to have Judge Jenkins impeached, but without result.

Jenkins, JOHN, military officer; born in New London, Conn., Nov. 27, 1751; served throughout the Revolutionary War as a lieutenant; and during the Wyoming massacre commanded Forty Fort. He died in Wyoming, Pa., March 19, 1827.

Jenkins, JOHN STILWELL, author; born in Albany, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1818; educated at Hamilton College, and began the practice of law in Weedsport, N. Y. His publications include *Generals of the Last War with Great Britain;* a condensation of Hammond's *History of New York; Life of Silas Wright; History of the Mexican War; Lives of the Governors of New York; Lives of Jackson, Polk, and Calhoun,* etc. He died in Weedsport, N. Y., Sept. 20, 1852.

Jenkins, THORNTON ALEXANDER, naval officer; born in Orange county, Va., Dec. 11, 1811; appointed midshipman in 1828; commissioned lieutenant in 1839; promoted captain in 1862; and rear-admiral in 1870. In 1834 to 1860 he was employed on the coast survey, and in the light-house board. He was fleet captain, and commanded the *Hartford* when Farragut passed Forts Jackson and St. Philip below New Orleans, April 24, 1862; commanded the *Richmond* when Farragut captured Mobile in 1864. He died in Washington, D. C., Aug. 9, 1893.

Jenkins, WILLIAM DUNBAR, civil engineer; born in Adams county, Miss., Sept. 19, 1849; was educated at military schools in France and Belgium; studied civil engineering in Lexington, Va., in 1869–71; and has since done much work in bridge-building. He was in charge of the construction of the Randolph bridge over the Missouri River, at Kansas, Mo., and was employed on the Mississippi levees. He has been chief engineer of railroads in the South and Southwest, and was also chief engineer of the Aransas Pass harbor and jetty works in Texas. In 1898–99 he was major of the Volunteer Engineer Corps, and chief engineer officer of the 1st Division of the 2d Army Corps. In 1887 he became a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers.

Jenkinson, CHARLES, English politician; was private secretary to Lord Bute when he was the English premier, and, when he resigned, Jenkinson became the principal secretary of the treasury. He was an Oxford scholar, and, becoming personally acquainted with George III., when he was Prince of Wales, became devoted to his service. He had great tact in dealing with delicate personal matters, and so was fitted to please all; or, rather, not to offend any. He was chiefly instrumental in pushing forward the English ministry in their schemes for taxing the English - American colonists, and was really the author of Townshend's obnoxious bills and Grenville's Stamp Act. He held a place with Lord North at the Treasury board, in 1768, and was the chief instigator of that minister's bills for asserting the absolute authority of the Parliament over the American colonies.

Jenkinson's Ferry, BATTLE AT. In 1864, General Steele, at Little Rock, Ark., tried to co-operate with the Red River expedition, but was unable to do so effectually, for he was confronted by a heavy body of Confederates. He started southward, March 23, with 8,000 troops, cavalry and infantry. He was to be joined by General Thayer at Arkadelphia, with 5,000 men, but this was not then accomplished. Steele pushed on for the purpose of flanking Camden and drawing out Price from his fortifications there. Early in April Steele was joined by Thayer, and on the evening of the 15th they entered Camden as victors. Seriously menaced by gathering Confederates, Steele, who, by the retreat of Banks, had

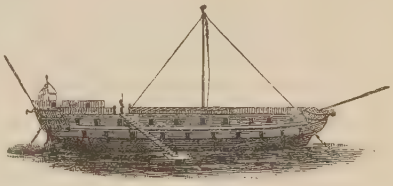
been released from duty elsewhere, moved towards Little Rock. He crossed the Washita on the night of April 26. At Jenkinson's Ferry, on the Sabine River, he was attacked by an overwhelming force, led by Gen. Kirby Smith in person. Steele's troops, though nearly famished, fought desperately during a most sanguinary battle that ensued. Three times the Confederates charged heavily, and were repulsed. The battle was fought by infantry alone, and the Nationals finally drove their adversaries and gained a complete victory. Then they crossed the river and moved on towards Little Rock. In the struggle at Jenkinson's Ferry the Confederates lost over 3,000 men, including more than 300 officers. The Nationals lost 700 killed and wounded. Steele's broken army reached Little Rock on May 2.

Jenks, JEREMIAH WHIPPLE, educator; born in St. Clair, Mich., Sept. 2, 1856; graduated at the University of Michigan in 1878; and was admitted to the bar of that State. Later he taught German, Latin, and Greek at Mount Morris (Ill.) College. In 1886–89 he was Professor of Political Science and English Literature at Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; in 1889–91 was Professor of Political Economy and Social Science in the Indiana University; and in 1891 became Professor of Political Science in Cornell University. He is the author of *Henry C. Carey als Nationalökonom; Road Legislation for the American State,* and contributions on monopolies, political methods, etc., to reviews, magazines, and encyclopædias in the United States, Germany, and England.

Jenks, JOSEPH, inventor; born near London; came to America in 1645, and is supposed to have been the first brass-founder on this continent. On May 6, 1648, he secured a patent from the Massachusetts legislature for a water-mill and for a saw-mill. In 1652 he made the dies, it is said, for the silver coinage—the "pine-tree" money of that province. In 1654 he made a fire-engine for Boston, and in 1655 he received a patent for an improved method of manufacturing scythes. In 1667 he had an appropriation for the encouragement of wire-drawing. He died in Lynn, Mass., in 1683.

Jenney, WILLIAM LE BARON, architect; born in Fairhaven, Mass., Sept. 25, 1832; was educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; graduated at the École Centrale des Arts et Métiers, Paris, in 1856. He also studied art and architecture in Paris studios in 1858–59. On his return he was commissioned a captain in the United States army; was assigned to engineer duty; and served on the staff of Gen. U. S. Grant from the battle of Cairo to Corinth, and then on that of Gen. W. T. Sherman until 1866, receiving the brevet of major in 1864; he settled in Chicago as an architect in 1868; was landscape engineer for the West Chicago parks in 1870–71; invented the skeleton construction (now generally used in tall buildings) in 1883; and was the architect for the Union League Club and the Siegel & Cooper Building, in New York City; The Fair, and the Horticultural Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, in Chicago, and other notable structures.

Jersey Prison-ship, one of the prisons used by the British at New York during a part of the Revolutionary War. Nothing could exceed the horrors of these crowded prisons. The sugar-houses of New York being large, were used for the purpose, and therein scores suffered and died. But the most terrible scenes occurred on board several old hulks, which



THE JERSEY PRISON-SHIP.

were anchored in the waters around New York, and used for prisoners. Of them the *Jersey* was the most notorious for the sufferings it contained, and the brutality of its officers. From these vessels, anchored near the present navy-yard at Brooklyn, almost 11,000 victims were carried ashore during the war, and buried in shallow graves in the sand. Their remains were gathered in 1808 and put in a vault situated near the termination

of Front Street and Hudson Avenue, Brooklyn.

Jerseys, The. Collective name for the colonies of East and West New Jersey.

Jervis, John Bloomfield, engineer; born in Huntington, N. Y., Dec. 14, 1795; assisted in the construction of the Erie and the Delaware and Hudson canals. He was connected with railroads from their first introduction, and made many improvements in locomotives; and was chief engineer of the Croton aqueduct in 1836. He is the author of *A Description of the Croton Aqueduct; A Report of the Hudson River Railroad; Railway Property; Labor and Capital,* etc. He died in Rome, N. Y., Jan. 12, 1885.

Jessup, Henry Harris, clergyman; born in Montrose, Pa., April 19, 1832; graduated at Yale University in 1851, and at Union Theological Seminary in 1855; and after ordination went to a missionary to Tripoli, where he served in 1856–60. In the latter year he went to Beirut. In 1879 he was moderator of the General Assembly. He is the author of *Mohammedan Missionary Problem; The Women of the Arabs; The Greek Church and Protestant Missions; Syrian Home Life; Kamil, Moslem Convert,* etc.

Jesuit Missions. In 1539 the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, was established by Ignatius Loyola. Its members were, by its rules, never to become prelates. Their vows were to be poor, chaste, and obedient, and in constant readiness to go on missions against heresy and heathenism. Their grand maxim was the widest diffusion of influence, and the closest internal unity. Their missions soon spread to every part of the habitable globe then known. They planted the cross in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and on the islands of the sea; and when Champlain had opened the way for the establishment of French dominion in America, to the Jesuits was assigned the task of bearing the Christian religion to the dusky inhabitants in North America. More persevering and more effective than the votaries of commerce and trade, the Jesuits became the pioneers of discovery and settlement in North America. Their paramount object was the conversion of the heathen and an extension of the Church; their secondary, yet powerful, object was to promote the power and dominion of France in America. Within three years after the restoration of Canada to the French there were fifteen Jesuit priests in the province (1636). The first most noted of these missionaries were Brébeuf and Daniel, who were bold, aggressive, and self-sacrificing to the last degree. Then came the more gentle Lallemande, who, with others, traversed the dark wilderness with a party of Hurons who lived far to the westward, on the borders of one of the Great Lakes. They suffered incredible hardships and privations—eating the coarsest food, sleeping on the bare earth, and assisting their red companions in dragging their canoes at rough portages. On a bay of Lake Huron they erected the first house of the society among the North American Indians. That little chapel, which they called the cradle of the Church, was dedicated to St. Joseph, the husband of the Blessed Virgin. They told to the wild children of the forest the story of the love of Christ and his crucifixion, and awed them with the terrors of perdition. For fifteen years Brébeuf carried on his missionary labors among the Hurons, scourging his flesh twice a day with thongs; wearing an iron girdle armed at all points with sharp projections, and over this a bristly hair-shirt, which continually "mortified the flesh"; fasted frequently and long; kept his pious vigils late into the night, and by penitential acts resisted every temptation of the flesh.

As missionary stations multiplied in the western wilderness, the central spot was called St. Mary. It was upon the outlet of Lake Superior into Lake Huron. There, in one year, 3,000 Indians received a welcome at the hands of the priest. This mission awakened great sympathy in France. Everywhere prayers were uttered for its protection and prosperity. The King sent magnificently embroidered garments for the Indian converts. The Pope expressed his approbation, and to confirm and strengthen these missions a college in New France was projected. The pious young Marquis de Gaenache, with the assent of his parents, entered the Society of Jesus, and with a portion of their ample fortune he endowed a seminary for education at Quebec. Its foundation was

laid in 1635, just before the death of Champlain. That college was founded two years before the first high seminary of learning was established in the Protestant colonies in America by John Harvard (see HARVARD UNIVERSITY). At the same time the Duchess d'Acquillon, aided by her uncle, Cardinal Richelieu, endowed a public hospital at Quebec, open to the afflicted, whether white or red men, Christians or pagans. It was placed in charge of three young nuns, the youngest twenty-two, and the oldest twenty-nine years of age, who came from Paris for the purpose. In 1640, Hochelaga (Montreal) was taken possession of as a missionary station, with solemn religious ceremonies, and the Queen of Angels was petitioned to take the island of Montreal under her protection. Within thirteen years the remote wilderness was visited by forty-two Jesuit missionaries, besides eighteen other devoted men. These assembled two or three times a year at St. Mary's; the remainder of the time they were scattered through the forests in their sacred work.

A plan was conceived in 1638 of establishing missions among the Algonquians, not only on the north, but on the south of the Great Lakes, and at Green Bay. The field of labor opened to the view of the missionaries a vast expanse of wilderness, peopled by many tribes, and they prayed earnestly for recruits. Very soon Indians from very remote points appeared at the mission stations. The hostilities of the Five Nations had kept the French from navigating Lakes Ontario and Erie; finally, in 1640, Brébeuf was sent to the NEUTRAL NATION (*q. v.*), on the Niagara River. The further penetration of the country south of the Lakes was then denied, but a glimpse of the marvellous field soon to be entered upon was obtained. In September and October, 1641, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues penetrated to the Falls of St. Mary, in the strait that forms the outlet of Lake Superior, where they heard of the Sioux. They yearned to penetrate the country of this famous people. This favor was denied the missionaries. Father Raymbault returned to Quebec and died, but Father Jogues was destined to endure many trials and adventures of missionary life. On his way from Quebec to the Hurons he was captured by a roving band of Mohawks, and he who was one of the first to

A JESUIT TRAVELLING THROUGH THE WILDERNESS.

carry the cross into Michigan was now the first to bear it to the villages of the Five Nations. At the villages on the way from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk domain Father Jogues was compelled to submit to the horrors of running the gantlet, yet he never repined, but rejoiced in his tribulations, and was made happy by the conversion, here and there, of one of the savages, whom, on one occa-

sion, he baptized with drops of dew. As he roamed through the forests of the Mohawk Valley he carved the name of Jesus and the figure of a cross on the trees, and with a chant took possession of the country in the name of Christ. He was ransomed by the Dutch at Albany, sailed for France, but soon returned to Canada.

Another missionary (Bressani), who suffered horribly, was also ransomed by the Dutch. In the summer of 1646 the Jesuits established a mission among the Indians of Maine, and so French outposts were established on the Kennebec and the upper Lakes fourteen years after these missionary labors were begun. There was then a lull in hostilities between the French and the Five Nations, and Father Jogues went to the Mohawks as ambassador for Canada. His report caused an effort to establish a mission among them, and he alone understanding their language, was sent, but lost his life among the Mohawks, who hung his head upon the palisades of a village, and cast his body into the Mohawk River. In 1648, warriors from the Mohawk Valley fell upon the Hurons, and the Jesuit missions among them were destroyed, and priests and converts were murdered after horrible tortures. Finally, in 1654, when peace between the French and the Five Nations had been restored, Father Le Moyne was sent as ambassador to the Onondagas, when he was cheered by the sight of many Hurons holding on to their faith. Le Moyne was allowed to establish a mission in the Mohawk Valley. Very soon the Onondagas received Father Dablon and his companions kindly, and chiefs and followers gathered around the Jesuits with songs of welcome. A chapel was built in a day. "For marbles and precious metals," Dablon wrote, "we employed only bark; but the path to heaven is as open through a roof of bark as through arched ceilings of silver and gold." Fifty French people settled near the missionary station, and very soon there were Christian laborers among the

A JESUIT MISSIONARY PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

Cayugas and Oneidas. A change came. War was again kindled, and Jesuits and settlers were obliged to flee from the bosom of the Five Nations. After that, the self-sacrificing Jesuits penetrated the western wilderness to the Mississippi River, carrying the cross as the emblem of their religion, and the lilies of France as tokens of political dominion. In these labors they were assisted by the votaries of commerce. Seeds of civilization were planted here and there, until harvests were beginning to blossom all along the Lakes and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The discoveries of these priests and traders gave to France a claim to that magnificent domain of millions of square miles, extending from Acadia along the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and the establishment of French dominion in Louisiana, on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. It has been truthfully said, "The history of these [Jesuit] labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a cape was turned or a river entered but a Jesuit led the way."

There were twenty-four different Jesuit missionaries among the Six Nations between 1657 and 1769. Their names and places of service were as follows: Paul Ragueneau, at Onondaga, from July, 1657, to March, 1658. Isaac Jogues, prisoner among the Mohawks from August, 1642, to August, 1643; a missionary to the same nation in 1646, and killed in October of the same year. Francis Joseph Le Mercier, at Onondaga, from May 17, 1656, to March 20, 1658. Francis Duperon, at Onondaga, from 1657 to 1658. Simon Le Moyne, at Onondaga, July, 1654; with the Mohawks from Sept. 16, 1655, until Nov. 9 of the same year; then again in 1656, until Nov. 5; again there (third time) from Aug. 26, 1657, until May, 1658; at Onondaga, from July, 1661, until September, 1662; ordered to the Senecas in July, 1663, but remained at Montreal. He died in Canada in 1665. Francis Joseph Bressani, a prisoner among the Mohawks from April 30 to Aug. 19, 1644. Pierre Joseph Mary Chaumont, at Onondaga from September, 1655, until March 20, 1658. Joseph Anthony Poncet was a prisoner among the Iroquois from Aug. 20 to Oct. 3, 1652; started for Onondaga Aug. 28, 1657, but was recalled to Montreal. René Ménard was with Le Mercier at Onondaga from 1656 to 1658, and afterwards among the Cayugas. Julien Garnier, sent to the Mohawks in May, 1668, passed to Onondaga, and thence to the Senecas, and was engaged in this mission until 1683. Claude Dablon, at Onondaga a few years after 1655, and was afterwards among the tribes of the Upper Lakes. Jacques Fremin, at Onondaga from 1656 to 1658; was sent to the Mohawks in July, 1667; left there for the Senecas in October, 1668, where he remained a few years. Pierre Rafeix, at Onondaga from 1656 to 1658; chaplain in Courcelle's expedition in 1665; sent to the Cayugas in 1671, thence to Seneca, where he was in 1679. Jacques Bruyas, sent to the Mohawks, July, 1667, and to the Oneidas in September, where he spent four years, and thence returned to the Mohawks in 1672; was at Onondaga in 1679, 1700, and 1701. Etienne de Carheil, sent to Cayuga in 1668, and was absent in 1671–72; returned, and remained until 1684. Pierre Milet was sent with De Carheil to the Cayugas in 1668, and left in 1684; was at Niagara in 1688, and was taken prisoner at Cataraqua in 1689. Jean Pierron was sent to the Mohawks in July, 1667; went among the Cayugas in October, 1668, and was with the Senecas after 1672, where he was in 1679. Jean de Lamberville was at Onondaga in 1671–72; was sent to Niagara in 1687. Francis Boniface was sent to the Mohawks in 1668, and was there after 1673. Francis Vaillant de Gueslis succeeded Boniface among the Mohawks about 1674; accompanied the expedition against the Senecas in 1687; was sent to New York in December, 1687, and to the Senecas in 1703. Pierre de Mareuil was at Onondaga in June, 1709, where he surrendered himself to the English in consequence of war breaking out between the latter and the French, and was courteously treated at Albany. Jacques d'Heu was among the Onondagas in 1708, and the Senecas in 1709. Anthony Gordon founded St. Regis in 1769, with a colony from St. Louis. There were two "Sulpicians" as missionaries in northern New York, Francis Piquet, who founded Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg) in 1748, and his successor at Oswe-

gatchie, Pierre Paul Francis de la Garde. For Jesuit missions in California, see JUNIPERO.

Jesup, MORRIS KETCHUM, philanthropist; born in Westport, Conn., June 21, 1830; removed to New York City; was a clerk in a manufacturing house till 1852, and thence till 1884 was engaged in banking business. He was elected president of the Five Points House of Industry in 1872, and the same year became a founder and president of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York City. In 1881 he was elected president of the New York City Mission and Tract Society, for which he built the DeWitt Memorial Church, in memory of his father-in-law, and also president of the Museum of Natural History, to which he presented a collection of native woods valued at $100,000. He was elected president of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1899. Besides the above institutions, he has been an officer in the leading benevolent and educational institutions in New York City and elsewhere. Mr. Jesup has been exceedingly liberal in his benefactions, and has extended his aid to a large variety of interests. In 1897 he assumed the expense, estimated at from $50,000 to $75,000, of a series of expeditions to secure anthropological material for the Museum of Natural History, with special reference to the origin of the ancient population of this continent and its relation to the ancient inhabitants of the Old World. This project involves the thorough exploration of the coast of the north Pacific Ocean. In 1891 he gave to Yale Divinity School $51,000, and the Women's Hospital, in New York City, $100,000; in 1899 he erected Jesup Hall for Williams College, at a cost of $35,000; and in 1900 he presented to Yale University the collection of Arabic manuscripts made by Count Landberg, a distinguished Swedish collector and traveller, for which he paid $20,000. He also erected, for the Union Theological Seminary, a building known as Jesup Hall.

Jesup, THOMAS SIDNEY, military officer; born in Virginia, in 1788; entered the army in 1808, and was Hull's adjutant-general in 1813. For his good conduct at the battle of Chippewa, he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel; also colonel for his services in the battle of Lundy's Lane, or Niagara, in which he was severely wounded. After the war, he was promoted to adjutant-general and quartermaster-general of the army in 1818, with the rank of brigadier-general, and was brevetted major-general in 1828. In 1836 he was in command of the army in the Creek nation, and at the close of the year he commanded the army in Florida. He was wounded by the Seminoles in January, 1838. He died in Washington, D. C., June 10, 1860.

Jewell, MARSHALL, diplomatist; born in Winchester, N. H., Oct. 20, 1825; learned the tanner's trade; and established a leather business. He was elected governor of Connecticut in 1869, re-elected in 1871 and 1872; appointed minister to Russia in 1873; and became Postmaster-General in 1874. He died in Hartford, Conn., Feb. 10, 1883.

Jewett, SARAH ORNE, author; born in South Berwick, Me., Sept. 3, 1849; was educated at the Berwick Academy. She has travelled extensively in the United States, Canada, and Europe; and is widely known as a short-story writer. Her works include *Deephaven; Play Days; Old Friends and New; A White Heron; A Marsh Island; Betty Leicester; Country By-ways; The Mate of the Daylight, and Friends Ashore; A Country Doctor; The Story of the Normans; The King of Folly Island, and other People; Strangers and Wayfarers; A Native of Winby, and Other Tales; The Life of Nancy; The Country of the Pointed Firs,* etc.

Jews. The Jewish citizenship of the United States is one of the most substantial of all foreign constituents of our complex population. The Jews are an exceedingly law-abiding people, and in their charities are unsurpassed by any race among us. Their homes, asylums, hospitals, and educational establishments are among the best endowed and most progressive institutions in the country, and the benevolent acts of prosperous Hebrew men towards objects and institutions other than those of their own people have received a high and a deserved recognition.

At the fifteenth annual meeting of the Association of Jewish Immigrants, in Philadelphia, in 1899, President Levy's report treated especially of the general increase in immigration. Of the 312,000 im-

migrants to this country, representing an increase of 36 per cent. over the figures of the preceding year, the Jewish contingent was 37,000, an increase of 32.1 per cent. A large proportion of the Jewish immigrants came from Russia, where, however, the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected were being less rigorously enforced than formerly. The ferment infused into the European social body by the Dreyfus affair appeared to have had a clarifying effect, even the Procurator of the Russian Holy Synod having in a recent interview disavowed anti-Semitic sentiments. The actual storm centre of Slavic anti-Semitism had moved over the border from Russia to Austria and Rumania, and in Bohemia the condition of affairs was described as gravely foreboding. In Vienna the fever of anti-Semitism had passed its critical stage. This had been, in part, due to the disclosure of colossal frauds in the administration of the city finances by numerous leaders of the anti-Semite majority. In Germany and France the conditions were still more favorable.

Turning to the subject of Jewish colonization, President Levy said that the movement to colonize Jews in Palestine had been stemmed by the interference of the Turkish government. Jewish colonies had been established in Cyprus, and the De Hirsch colonies in Argentine were showing unmistakable signs of progress. Of the New Jersey colonies, the one at Woodbine, under the fostering care of the American De Hirsch Fund trustees, was growing in importance, and left no doubt as to its ultimately successful establishment. The other colonies at Alliance, Norma, Carmel, and Rosenhayn had passed the problematic stage and gave promise of success.

In the American-Jewish *Year-Book* for 1899–1900 (Hebrew year, 5660), Cyrus Adler, the editor, considering the number of Jews in the United States, said: "As the census of the United States has, in accordance with the spirit of American institutions, taken no heed of the religious convictions of American citizens, whether native-born or naturalized, all statements concerning the number of Jews living in this country are based upon estimate, though several of the estimates have been most conscientiously made.

"In 1818 Mordecai M. Noah estimated the Jewish population at 3,000. In 1826 Isaac C. Harby placed the figures at 6,000, and in 1840 these were further increased by the estimate published in the *American Almanac* to 15,000. In 1848 M. A. Berk made their number 50,000. In 1880 William B. Hackenburg put the figures at 230,257; in 1888 Isaac Markens put them at 400,000, and in 1897 David Sulzberger estimated the total at 937,800."

The following figures are then given:

JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES, 1885–99.

Year.	New York.	Philadelphia.	Baltimore.
1885.....	18,535	1,076	.....
1886.....	27,348	2,310	.....
1887.....	25,788	1,680	.....
1888.....	29,602	1,761	.....
1889.....	22,674	1,288	.....
1890.....	32,321	1,982	.....
1891.....	62,574	4,984	1,581
1892.....	52,134	3,039	5,152
1893.....	25,678	5,324	1,941
1894.....	16,381	3,825	1,902
1895.....	27,065	2,791	2,221
1896.....	23,802	2,499	1,817
1897.....	17,278	1,752	1,654
1898.....	22,921	2,079	2,409
To July, 1899..	12,909	.....	1,463
Total.....	417,010	36,390	20,140

Immigration for 1881-84.....	74,310
New York, 1885-99.....	417,010
Philadelphia, 1885-99.....	36,390
Baltimore, 1885-99.....	20,140
Total	547,850

"If we add this immigration to the estimate of Mr. Hackenburg made in 1880," says Mr. Adler, "we can secure a total of 778,107, without making any allowance for the natural increase in twenty years, nor for the immigration through Canada and other ports of the United States than New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore."

Early in 1904 Professor Haman, of Basel, Switzerland, calculated that there were about 19,000,000 Jews in the world, of whom nearly 11,000,000 were in Europe and 8,000,000 outside of Europe, including 1,000,000 in the United States. According to his estimates Russia had 5,500,000; Austria-Hungary, 1,860,000; Germany, 568,000; Rumania, 300,000; Great Britain, 22,000; Turkey, 120,000; Holland, 97,000; France, 77,000; Italy, 50,000; Bulgaria, 31,000; Switzerland, 12,000; Greece, 6,000; Servia, 5,000; Denmark, 4,000; Sweden,

3,500; Belgium, 3,000; Spain, 2,500; and Portugal, 300.

The American Jewish *Year-Book* for 1903–04 stated the Jewish population of the United States at 1,127,268, which would make the United States rank third among the nations of the world in respect to Jewish citizens. The *Year-Book* estimated that fully 500,000 Jews were residents of New York State, the greater part being on Manhattan Island. The following States were credited with having 10,000 or more Jews among their people: California, 28,000; Illinois, 75,000; Indiana, 25,000; Kentucky, 12,000; Louisiana, 12,000; Maryland, 26,500; Massachusetts, 60,000; Minnesota, 10,000; Missouri, 50,000; New Jersey, 23,000; New York, 500,000; Ohio, 50,000; Pennsylvania, 95,000; Tennessee, 10,000; Texas, 15,000; Virginia, 15,000; Wisconsin, 15,000. The immigration figures for 1903 show that in 1902–03, 58,079 Jews entered the port of New York, of whom 30,536 were Russians, 18,113 Austrians, 8,314 Rumanians, 527 Germans, 271 Turks, 233 English, 35 Dutch, 28 French, 12 Swedes, 5 Scotch, and 5 South Americans. From Aug. 27, 1902, to Aug. 25, 1903, 24 synagogues were dedicated in fourteen of the United States, 16 hospitals and many other institutions were opened.

JEWS AND JUDAISM

Jews and Judaism. Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, the scholarly writer on Jewish questions, and son of the well-known Rabbi Gottheil, of New York, writes as follows regarding Hebraism in America.

For the Jew the Middle Ages did not end with the Reformation and the Renaissance; but only disappeared in the transformation brought about gradually by the French Revolution. During this period the Jew has passed through more upheavals than many nations have during three or four times the number of years. The modern European and American world has had a hard fight to find its way into its present changed condition; but much harder by far was the task laid upon the Jew; and, whether he has succeeded or not, he has made an honest fight. The tale of the Jew of the nineteenth century is a record of his endeavor to do justice to the two demands which were made upon him: the one from the outside world—to fit himself to take his place worthily and do his work side by side with the other citizens of the state in which he lived; the other from within his own ranks to harmonize his religious belief with his new point of view and to adapt his religious exercises to modern social conditions. The struggle of the Jews in the various European countries for civil rights and for equality before the law was long drawn out, and was marked by varying fortunes dependent upon the political conditions of these countries. More than seventy years of the century had passed before this struggle had been fought out.

The cause of Jewish emancipation in England suffered no such sudden changes as it did on the continent. It proceeded by regular stages through the abrogation of the Act of Test in 1828, the admission of Jews as citizens of London in 1830, as sheriffs in 1835, as magistrates in 1845, and in 1858 as members of Parliament by the removal of the words "upon the faith of a Christian" in the oath taken by the members.

There are between 10,000,000 and 11,000,000 Jews to-day in the world; of these, about 9,000,000 live in Europe; 1,000,000 in the United States and Canada; 350,000 in Africa; 350,000 in Asia; and 16,000 in Australasia.

In England and America no organization of the Jews has been effected, as the state does not there take cognizance of the religious belief of the people. In both these countries attempts have been made by the Jews themselves to organize under one head upon a purely religious basis, but without much success. The congregational system has been carried to its utmost limits in the United States, where each congregation is a law unto itself and absolutely rejects any interference on the part of any larger body. From time to time a desire has been manifested to supersede this purely congregational system by

some form of union. The late Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati, had at various times attempted to bring the Jews of the United States together with an authoritative synod at their head. Out of this and other attempts have come the Central Conference of American Rabbis and The Union of American Congregations (founded in 1873), which now comprises about ninety-one congregations. These organizations, however, do not by any means represent either all of the Jewish ministers or all of the Jewish congregations, and the Union itself is merely a deliberative body having no power to do anything in the internal affairs of one of its constituent synagogues. Since the union of American Jewish congregations comprises only such as stand upon a Reform platform, a union of Orthodox congregations was formed in New York two or three years ago, and it is hoped that this organization will do much towards binding together the very many congregations of those who adhere strictly to traditional Judaism.

But the organization of Jews as a church has not been found sufficient. It was early felt that some more secular bond must be found which should unite the Jews of various persuasions for common and concerted action. The first attempt in this direction was nobly made by Narcisse Leven, Eugene Emanuel, Charles Netter, and a few others, in founding (1880) the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" in Paris, whose object it was to aid in removing Jewish disabilities wherever they might exist, and to raise the spiritual condition of their coreligionists in northern Africa, eastern Europe, and western Asia by the founding of schools. From these small beginnings the Alliance has grown to be an important factor in the conservation of Jewish interests. Faithful to its programme, it has established a large number of elementary and technical schools, and has intervened actively in Algeria, Morocco, the Turkish Empire, and Persia whenever Jews or Jewish interests were in any way threatened. Its attempt, however, to represent the whole Jewish people has not been successful; for the reason that it has been allied too closely with French national interests; and side by side with the "Alliance Française" it has been an active propagandist of the French language and of French culture in the East. This one-sidedness of its work is best seen in the fact that by its side similar organizations have been created in other countries, "The Board of Delegates of American Israelites" in the United States, "The Anglo-Jewish Association" in England, the "Israelitische Alliance" in Austria, and the "Deutsche Gemeindebund" in Germany. At one point it was hoped that the B'nai B'rith, established in this country in 1843, by Isidor Busch, Julius Bien, and others, would form such a union of Jews, where the theological differences would be eliminated. But though this order, which has 315 lodges in the United States and Canada, has established itself in such countries as Germany, Rumania, Austria, Algeria, Bulgaria, and Egypt, and despite the good work it has so far done, the mere fact that it is a secret organization prevents it from standing forth as the representative of international Jewry. Where, then, and in what manner is such a body to be found?

It is a mistake to suppose that the Jews as a people are rich. The proletariat among them is proportionately much larger than it is among other people; and thus it came about that the Jewish quarters in all the large cities were already well filled when they were (almost at a moment's notice) called upon to receive double or triple the number they already held. The actual number of the Jewish poor was thereby greatly increased; for many a family that had been wealthy or in easy circumstances in Russia, Galicia, or Rumania, had been reduced to want and been compelled to take its place among those who needed the help of their brethren. This help was freely and cheerfully given all the world over. Great sacrifices were made by the richer Jews to meet the pressing needs of the hour, and, with no help from the outside world, excepting the London Mansion House Fund in 1882, the thousands and tens of thousands of immigrants were cared for. The Jewish charitable organizations, the development of which has been during the latter half of the nineteenth century the brightest spot in Jewish communal life, rose to the demands of the occasion, and the more than princely munificence of Baron and Baroness Maurice de Hirsch,

in regard to the Russian Jews, may justly be looked upon with pride.

New Ghettos, however, were formed in nearly all the cities to which these immigrants came; and this name for the habitat of the poorer Jews became again familiar, aided by the popularity which some modern novelists had given to it. In the Middle Ages and down to our own time the Jews had been forced by the state to live apart in such Ghettos; sometimes for their own protection, sometimes to preserve the outside world from contact with them. The modern Ghetto is a voluntary gathering of the Jews for the purpose of mutual help and from a feeling of reciprocal obligations. To the outside observer it presents an unsightly appearance; it is the abode of poor people, and its population is usually strange in dress, manners, and speech. The sweating system (which in one form or another is to be found in all these Ghettos) has been a dreadful incentive towards grinding the face of the poor; and the results of too great a hoarding are often quite apparent; so that the general morality of the Jews in these Ghettos has suffered in consequence. A people ignorant of the language of their new home are a prey to the evil-intended, who make use of their ignorance for their own commercial and political advancement. This has been notably seen in the city of New York, where a lax city government has permitted the vampires of society to fasten their fangs upon the Ghetto and to produce conditions which call for the active interference of all those forces which seek to stamp out crime and vice. But, on the other hand, to one who is acquainted with the inner life of the Ghetto the virtues which have hitherto characterized the Jews—industry and sobriety—are still to be found there; much more frequently than in those parts where the richer classes congregate, and whose wealth enables them to withdraw their doings from the public gaze. Its members are as industrious as bees in a hive; and though extremely litigatious, drunkenness is unknown and actual crime is comparatively rare.

In order to correct the abuses of the Ghetto, two things are absolutely necessary—the increase of the actual number of Jews there must be stopped, and the crowding into certain distinct fields of work must be brought to an end. A determined effort has already been made to force the new immigrants into less crowded parts of the land to which they come. In this country this is being done by the United Hebrew Charities, and notably by the B'nai B'rith. A distinct clannish feeling has, however, to be overcome, and a fear of venturing into an unknown country where the immigrant will be surrounded by people who do not understand his peculiar social and religious customs.

That the Jew has taken by preference to certain branches of trade and work is due to the fact that anti-Jewish legislation has for centuries closed many walks of life to him, and the guild organization excluded him rigorously from many spheres of activity. Then, too, his richly developed home life has induced a certain distaste for occupations which take the wage-earner out of his home and away from his family. That, however, these inherited instincts can easily be overcome is clearly seen whenever the occasion offers. Even in Amsterdam, where three-fourths of the diamond industry is in the hands of Jews, there are to be found Jewish cobblers, cigar-makers, plumbers, carpet-weavers, mattress-makers, watchmakers, etc. In the East End of London there are, it is true, 10,000 Jews who are engaged in the clothes-making trades, but the rest of 40,000 Jewish wage-earners of this quarter are scattered over all possible branches of work—masonry, metal-working, textile industries, furniture-making, cap-making, and the like. The same is true of New York, where, although the number of Jews employed in the tailoring industries is disproportionately large, the following list of Hebrew unions shows how far afield the Jewish workman has gone: Cap-Makers, Cap-Blockers, Shirt-Makers, Mattress-Makers, Purse-Makers, Liberty Musical Union, Jewish Chorus Union, Jewellers' Union, Tin-Smithers' Union, Bill-Posters, Waiters' Alliance, Architectural Ironworkers, Hebrew Typographical Union, Tobacco Cutters, Paper-Makers, Bookbinders. The same is relatively true of all other countries where Jews live in large numbers.

It is a popular misconception that the Jew has an innate distaste for agriculture. His continued commercial life, forced upon him for many centuries, has, it is true, disaccustomed the Jew to the life of a tiller of the soil. But the Jewish state was largely an agricultural one; the legislation of the Bible and the later Law Books was clearly intended for an agricultural people; and Jews have never shown an unwillingness to return again to the soil. In Southern Russia there are to-day 225 Jewish colonies with a population of 100,000. In Palestine there are now more than twenty colonies with a population of more than 5,000, and similar agricultural colonies have been established at various times in the United States, Canada, and the Argentine Republic. In many cases, it is true, these colonies have not yet become self-supporting, but this has been due in a large measure to maladministration and to the popular conditions under which the colonies were founded.

It cannot be denied that a goodly part of the Jewish proletariat belongs to the Socialist party. The whole Biblical system is in itself not without a Socialist tinge; and the two great founders of the modern system, Lasalle and Marx, were Jews. But the Jew is by nature peace-loving; and under more favorable circumstances, and with the opportunity of a greater development of his faculties, Socialism in his midst has no very active life; the Jew very soon becoming an ardent partisan of the existing state of affairs.

The facility with which the Jews attach themselves to changed circumstances stands out characteristically through their whole history. It might, indeed, be said with some show of truth that this pliability is the weak side in the Jewish character. The readiness of the Jew to be almost anything and not simply his own self has been one of the factors producing a certain ill will against him. Disraeli was the most jingo of all imperialists in England; Lasker, the most ardent advocate of the newly constituted German Empire. This pliability is the result of the wandering life he has led and the various civilizations of which he has been a part. He has to find his way into Hellenism in Alexandria, into Moorish culture in Spain, into Slavism in Russia and Poland. When the first wave of the modern spirit commenced to break from France eastward over the whole of Europe, it reached the Jew also. While in France the new spirit was largely political in Germany it was more spiritual. In its political form as well as in its spiritual form it reacted not only upon the political condition of the Jew, but especially upon his mental attitude. The new spirit was intensely modern, intensely cosmopolitan, intensely Occidental, and intensely inductive. The Jew had preserved to a great degree his deductive, Oriental, particularistic, and ancient mode of thought and aspect of life. The two forces were bound to meet. As a great oak is met by the storm, so was Israel set upon by the fury of this terrible onslaught. It is of interest to see in what manner he emerged from this storm—whether he has been able to bend to its fury, to lose perhaps some of his leaves and even some of his branches, but to change only in such a way as to be able to stand upright again when the storm is past.

It was in the United States that the Reform movement developed its full capacity and bore its most perfect fruit. In a new land, which was untrammelled by traditions of the past, and where the congregational system became the basis of Jewish communal life, the ideas which the German Reformers had sown had a most fruitful ground in which to grow. It cannot be said that the Reform movement here was actually started by the Germans, for already, in 1825, one of the congregations in Charleston, S. C., made up almost entirely of Sefardic Jews, had developed "The Reformed Society of Israelites"; and the formation of the society seems to have been due, not only to the demand for an æsthetic service, but to an attempt to formulate a creed which should omit all reference to the coming of the Messiah, the return to Palestine, and the bodily resurrection. This attempt at formulating a Theistic Church, however, was unsuccessful; and it was not until the advent from Germany in the 50's and 60's of rabbis who had been influenced by the movement in Germany that reform commenced to make itself felt here. Merz-

bacher in New York, Isaac M. Wise in Albany and Cincinnati, S. Hirsch in Philadelphia, David Einhorn in Baltimore, are only a few of the names of those who fought in the thick of the fight. About the year 1843 the first real Reform congregations were established, the Temple Emanuel in New York and Har Sinai in Baltimore. It cannot be my purpose here to trace the history of the movement in this country; suffice it to say that the untrammelled freedom which existed here very soon played havoc with most of the institutions of the Jewish religion. Each congregation and each minister, being a law to itself, shortened the service, excised prayers, and did away with observances as it thought best. Not that the leaders did not try, from time to time, to regulate the measure of reform to be introduced, and to evolve a platform upon which the movement should stand. Rabbinical conferences were held for that purpose in Cleveland (1856), Philadelphia (1869), Cincinnati (1871), and Pittsburg (1885). While in the earlier conferences the attempt was made to find some authoritative statement upon which all parties could agree, in the subsequent ones the attempt was given up. They became more and more meeting-places simply for the advanced Reform wing of the Jewish Church. The position of this wing of the Reformed synagogue may best be seen in the declaration of principles which was published by the Pittsburg conference. It declared that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God idea; that the Bible contains the record of the consecration of the Jewish people; that it is a potent instrument of religious and moral instruction; that it reveals, however, the primitive ideas of its own age; that its moral laws only are binding; and that all ceremonies therein ordained which are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization are to be rejected; that all Mosaic and rabbinical laws regulating diet, priestly functions, and dress, are foreign to our present mental state; that the Jews are no longer a nation, and therefore do not expect a return to Palestine; that Judaism is a progressive religion, always striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason; that the belief in bodily resurrection, in the existence of a hell and a paradise, are to be rejected; and that it is the duty of Jews to participate in the great task of modern times to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness the problems presented by the transitions and evils of the present organization of society. Such a platform as this could not fail to arouse intense opposition on the part of the Orthodox Jews, and to lose for the conference even some of its more conservative adherents. As in Charleston, in 1825, a platform of Theism was here postulated, which was bereft of all distinctively Jewish characteristics, and which practically meant a breaking away from historic Judaism. This position of the advanced Reformers is also manifested in the stand which they have taken in regard to the necessity of the Abrahamic covenant. At a meeting of the Central Conference of American (Reformed) Rabbis, held at Baltimore in 1881, a resolution was passed to the effect that no initiatory rite or ceremony was necessary in the case of one desiring to enter the Covenant of Israel, and that such a one had merely to declare his or her intention to worship the one sole and eternal God, to be conscientiously governed in life by God's laws, and to adhere to the sacred cause and mission of Israel as marked out in Holy Writ.

The service in Reform synagogues in the United States has kept pace with this development of doctrine, or rather with this sloughing-off of so much that is distinctively Jewish. The observance of the second-day festivals has been entirely abolished, as well as the separation of the sexes and the covering of the head in prayer. The ritual has been gradually shortened, the ancient language of prayer (Hebrew) has been pushed further and further into the background, so that in some congregations the service is altogether English; and in a few congregations an additional service on Sunday, intended for those who cannot attend upon the regular Sabbath-day, has been introduced. Only one congregation, Sinai in Chicago, has followed the old Berlin Reform synagogue and has entirely abolished the service on Friday night and Saturday morning. But whatever criticism one might like to offer on the Reform movement in the United States, it deserves great praise for the serious attempt it has made to understand its own position

ENTRANCE TO TEMPLE BETH-EL, A JEWISH SYNAGOGUE IN NEW YORK CITY.

and to square its observance with that position. It has also been most active in its modern institutional development. It has certainly beautified and spiritualized the synagogue service; it has founded a Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and a seminary (Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati). It has published a Union Prayer-book and a Union Hymn-book, and has given great care to the development of the Confirmation and the bettering of the Sunday-school. It has tried to make the synagogue a centre for the religious and spiritual development of its members;

and it cannot be denied that the very large mass of educated Jews in this country, in so far as they have any affiliation with the synagogue, belong to the Reform wing. But at the same time it must not be forgotten that there is a very large body of Orthodox and conservative Jews, whose number has been greatly increased during the last twenty years through the influx of Russian, Galician, and Rumanian Jews.

Reform Judaism without some centrifugal force is bound to continue on the road it has once taken. The logical outcome of the principles formulated at the Pittsburg conference is a gradual development into an ethical Theism without any distinctive Jewish coloring. The leader of advanced Reform Judaism in this country has recently said that Judaism must be recast along the lines of a universal ethical religion; that then all distinctive Jewish elements of the synagogue symbolism will pass away, and that such a denationalized Jewish temple will seek a closer alliance with Unitarianism and Theism, and with them, perhaps in a few decades, will form a new church and a new religion for united humanity. That such a tendency is inherent in Reform Judaism is seen also in the formation of the Society of Ethical Culture in New York. The leader of this movement is the son of a former prominent rabbi of the leading Reform congregation in this country. In seeking to bring out the underlying ethical principles of Judaism, he has gone entirely outside the pale of the ancient faith; and the movement would not concern us here were it not that nearly all the members (at least of the parent society in New York) are Jews, whose evident desire it is not to be recognized as such, at least so far as religious ceremonies and social affiliations are concerned. The society does not even bear the name Jewish, but with a certain leaning towards liberal Christianity tries to find a basis for the morality and ethics of the old synagogue outside the sphere of supernatural religion. While the Ethical Culture Society has been quite a power in certain lines of charitable and educational work, it may reasonably be questioned whether it has any future as a form of church organization. The inborn longing of man for some hold upon things which are supernatural will lead many of its members to seek satisfaction elsewhere. That they will seek it in the Jewish synagogue is hardly probable, seeing how the racial and other ties have been broken or at least greatly loosened. They or their children will glide rather into some form of the dominant church, possibly, in the swinging of the pendulum, into some orthodox form of that church. I cannot help quoting the words of an intelligent outside observer of the Jewish question, the Right Hon. James Bryce, M. P.: "If Judaism becomes merely Theism, there will be little to distinguish its professors from the persons, now pretty numerous, who, while Christian in name, sit loose to Christian doctrine. The children of Jewish theists will be almost as apt as the children of other theists to be caught up by the movement which carries the sons and daughters of evangelical Anglicans and of Nonconformists towards, or all the way to, the Church of Rome."

Where, then, is this centrifugal force to be found, which will hold together the various elements in Israel, no matter what their theological opinions may be? Before attempting to answer this question, a word must be said in regard to the anti-Semitic movement, the recrudescence of which has so profoundly affected the Jewish people during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. A word only, because the facts are of too recent date to need a detailed statement here. The great mastermind, Zunz, writing in Germany in 1832, believed that persecution for religious belief could not withstand the onslaughts of the new era. Theodore Reinach, some fifty years later, asserted that anti-Semitism was impossible in France. How sadly has a *démenti* been given to the hopes thus expressed, especially in these two countries!

I pass over the outbreaks against the Jews during the early years of the nineteenth century, even the Damascus blood-accusation in 1840, and the forcible baptism of little Edgar Mortara in 1858; they were believed to belong to the old order of things, with which the new, at least in that direction, had nothing in common. Starting in Germany, perhaps as a political move on the part of Bismarck, it

spread into Russia, Galicia, Austria, Rumania, and France. In most of these countries it not only found expression in the exclusion of the Jews from all social intercourse with their fellows, but in Russia produced the riots of 1881 and 1882; in Austria and Bohemia the turbulent scene in the Reichstag, and even the pillaging of Jewish houses and Jewish synagogues; in Rumania it received the active support of the government and reduced the Jews there to practical penury; while in France it showed itself in accusations against the Jews which for barbarity could match any that were brought against them in the Middle Ages. The charges against the Jews are varied in their character. In Germany they have been blamed for exploiting the agricultural class and for serving the interests of the Liberal party, forgetting that Leo and Stahl, the founders of the Orthodox party in Prussia, were themselves Jews, and that Disraeli in England was born of the same race. The most foolish accusations on almost every conceivable subject have been lodged against them by such men as Ahlwart, Stöcker, Lueger, and Drumont; and in late years the old and foolish charge that the Jews use the blood of Christian children in the making of Passover bread has been revived, in order to infuriate the populace; despite the fact that popes, ecclesiastics, and hosts of Christian professors have declared the accusation to be purely imaginary and malignant. The false charge that a Jewish officer in France had betrayed secrets of his government was sufficient to unloosen the most savage attacks upon the Jews which the modern world has seen.

Among the few bright spots on the world's chart are those countries inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon race. Anti-Semitism is unknown in England (though the attempt has been made to fix the blame for the Boer war on the Jews); and the institutions of the United States have up till now prevented the entrance here of the disease, though in the mild form of social anti-Semitism which debars Jewish children from private schools and Jewish people from clubs and summer hotels, it has insinuated itself into some of the Eastern cities, notably into New York.

Jogues, Isaac, missionary; born at Orleans, France, Jan. 10, 1607; became a Jesuit at Rouen in 1624; was ordained in 1636; and, at his own request, was immediately sent to Canada. He was a most earnest missionary among the Indians on both sides of the Lakes. Caught, tortured, and made a slave by the Mohawks, he remained with them until 1643, when he escaped to Albany, and was taken to Manhattan. Returning to Europe, he was shipwrecked on the English coast. He returned to Canada in 1646, where he concluded a treaty between the French and the Mohawks. Visiting Lake George, he named it St. Sacrament, and, descending the Hudson River to Albany, he went among the Mohawks as a missionary, who seized and put him to death as a sorcerer, at Caughnawaga, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1646.

John Adams, The. The naval operations on the sea in 1814, though not so important as in the two preceding years in some respects, fully sustained the character of the American navy. The *John Adams* frigate had been cut down to a corvette of twenty-eight guns in 1813, and

PLACE WHERE THE JOHN ADAMS WAS DESTROYED.

was the first that figured after the opening of 1814. She started on a cruise from Washington in January, and on the night of the 18th passed the British blockading squadron in Lynn Haven Bay, put to sea, and ran to the northeast to cross the track of the West India merchantmen. She made a few prizes, and on March 25 she captured the Indiaman *Woodbridge*. While taking possession of her the commander of the *Adams* (Capt. Charles Morris) observed twenty-five merchant vessels, with two ships-of-war, bearing down upon her with a fair wind. Morris abandoned his prize, and gave the *Adams* wings for flight from danger. In April she entered the harbor of Savannah for supplies, and on May 5 sailed for the Manila Reef to watch for the Jamaica convoy, but the fleet passed her in the night. She gave chase in the morning, but was kept at bay by two vessels of war. She crossed the Atlantic, and on July 3 was off the Irish coast, where she was chased by British vessels, but always escaped. For nearly two months the weather was foggy, cold, and damp, because the ocean was dotted with icebergs. Her crew sickened, and Captain Morris determined to go into port. He entered Penobscot Bay, and was nearly disabled by striking a rock, Aug. 17, 1814, and made his way up the Penobscot River to Hampden. British vessels followed, and to prevent her falling into the hands of his enemy, Morris burned her.

John Doe and **Richard Roe,** names used in legal fictions, especially as standing pledges for the prosecution of suits. In early times real and substantial persons were required to pledge themselves to answer to the crown for an amercement, or fine, set upon the plaintiff, for raising a false accusation, if he brought action without cause, or failed in it; and in 1285, 13 Edward I., sheriffs and bailiffs were, before deliverance of a distress, to receive pledges for pursuing a suit, and for the return of the property, if awarded. But this becoming a matter of form, the fictitious names of Doe and Roe were used until the form was abolished by the common-law procedure act, 1852.

In the United States these names are used in place of the unknown real names of parties against whom legal proceedings have been undertaken; and the form Jane Doe is similarly applied in cases of women.

Johnes, Edward Rodolph, lawyer; born in Whitesboro, N. Y., Sept. 8, 1852; graduated at Yale College in 1873 and at Columbia Law School in 1876. He was the Venezuelan representative in the boundary dispute of that country and also counsel in the Nicaragua and Costa Rica boundary case. His publications include *The Monroe Doctrine as Applied to Venezuelan Boundary Question; English and American Bankruptcy and Insolvency Laws; History of Southampton, R. I.,* etc.

Johns Hopkins University, a nonsectarian institution in Baltimore, Md.; organized in 1876 with funds provided by Johns Hopkins (*q. v.*); coeducational in its medical department. At the close of 1900 the university had 131 professors and instructors; 645 students in all departments; 94,000 volumes in the library; 1,204 graduates; and an endowment of $3,000,000. Under the presidency of Daniel C. Gilman the institution achieved a large measure of success and influence, a distinctive feature being the original research conducted by the students. President Gilman resigned his charge in 1901, and was succeeded by Ira Remsen, LL.D., who had been Professor of Chemistry in the university since its opening.

Johnson, Alexander Bryan, banker; born in Gosport, England, May 29, 1786; came to the United States in 1801 and settled in Utica, N. Y.; was in the banking business over forty-five years. His publications include *The Nature of Value, Capital,* etc.; *Guide to Right Understanding of our American Union,* etc. He died in Utica, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1867.

JOHNSON, ANDREW

Johnson, Andrew, seventeenth President of the United States; born in Raleigh, N. C., Dec. 29, 1808. He learned the trade of a tailor, and taught himself to read. After working as a journeyman in South Carolina, he went to Greenville, Tenn., taking with him his mother, who was dependent on him. There he worked

at his trade, married, and was taught by his wife to write; became alderman and mayor; a member of the legislature (1832–33 and 1839); presidential elector (1840); State Senator in 1841; and member of Congress from 1843 to 1853. From 1853 to 1857 he was governor of Tennessee, and from 1857 to 1863 United States Senator. In 1862 he was appointed military governor of Tennessee, and in 1864 was elected Vice-President of the United States. On the death of President Lincoln he succeeded to the office, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. On the morning of the death of Mr. Lincoln, April 15, 1865, the cabinet officers, excepting Mr. Seward, who was suffering from a murderous assault, addressed a note to the Vice-President, officially notifying him of the decease of the President, and that the emergency of the government demanded that he should immediately enter upon the duties of the Presidency. Mr. Johnson appointed ten o'clock that morning, when he would be ready to take the oath of office. That oath was administered by Chief-Justice Chase, in the presence of the cabinet officers and several members of Congress. Then the President delivered a brief speech to the gentlemen present. There, in the midst of universal and unparalleled excitement, the authority of the nation was quietly transferred to other hands a few hours after the death of President Lincoln. Mr. Johnson requested Mr. Lincoln's cabinet to remain, and the government went on without a shock to its steady movement. See CABINET, PRESIDENT'S.

On Aug. 14, 1866, a convention was held in Philadelphia, composed largely of Confederate leaders and their sympathizers in the North, for the purpose of organizing a new political party, with President Johnson as its standard-bearer. Whereupon Johnson and a part of his cabinet made a circuitous journey to Chicago, ostensibly for the purpose of being present at the dedication of a monument to Senator Douglas. He harangued the people on the way in language so unbecoming the dignity of a chief magistrate of the republic that the nation felt a relief from mortification after his return in September. He had denounced Congress as an illegal body, deserving of no respect. The tour, made wholly for political effect, extended to St. Louis. His conduct at Cleveland and St. Louis was so offensive that the common councils of Cincinnati and Pittsburg refused to accord him a public reception. The attempt to establish a new party with President Johnson as a leader was a failure.

When the cabinet of President Johnson resigned, the friends of Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, urged him to retain the office, for it was believed the chief magistrate was contemplating some revolutionary movement. The tenure of office act seemed to guarantee Mr. Stanton against removal. The Fortieth Congress met immediately after the adjournment of the Thirty-ninth, and adjourned March 31, 1867, to meet on the first Wednesday in July following, for the express purpose of preventing the President from doing serious mischief. After removing obstructions cast in the way of reorganization by the President, Congress adjourned, July 20, to meet Nov. 21, hoping the President would no longer disturb the public peace by his conduct. They were mistaken. As soon as Congress adjourned, in violation of the tenure of office act he proceeded to remove Mr. Stanton from office. He first asked him, Aug. 5, to resign. "Grave public considerations," he said, "constrain me to request your resignation as Secretary of War." Stanton replied, "Grave public considerations constrain me to continue in the office of Secretary of War until the next meeting of Congress." He shared in the general suspicion that Johnson was contemplating a revolutionary movement in favor of the Confederates. A week later the President directed General Grant to assume the position and duties of Secretary of War. As a dutiful soldier, he obeyed his commander-in-chief. Stanton, knowing the firmness and incorruptible patriotism of Grant, withdrew under protest. This change was followed by such arbitrary acts on the part of the President that the country was thoroughly alarmed. Even the President's private friends were amazed and mortified by his conduct. He gave unsatisfactory reasons for dismissing Stan-

ton. On Jan. 13, 1868, the Senate reinstated Stanton, when Grant quietly withdrew. The enraged President reproached the latter for yielding to the Senate, charged him with having broken his promises, and tried to injure his reputation as a citizen and a soldier. A question of veracity between them arose, when the general-in-chief felt compelled to say, in a letter to the President: "When my honor as a soldier and my integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you have hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country." The President's conduct concerning Stanton led immediately to his impeachment.

On Feb. 22, 1868, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 126 to 47, "*Resolved*, that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." A committee presented nine articles of impeachment (see below). Managers were appointed, and on March 3 they presented two other charges. The Senate organized as a high court of impeachment, with Chief-Justice Chase presiding, on the 5th; the President was summoned to the bar on the 7th, and appeared by counsel on the 13th; and the trial was begun on the 30th. The examination of witnesses ended April 22; the arguments of counsel were concluded May 6; and twenty days were consumed in debates in the Senate. The votes of fifty-four Senators present were taken on the verdict on May 26, when thirty-five were for conviction, and nineteen for acquittal. As two-thirds of the votes were necessary for conviction, the President was acquitted by one vote.

Soon after the expiration of his term as President, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate; in 1872 he was defeated for Congressman-at-Large; and in January, 1875, he was elected a United States Senator. He died near Carter's Station, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

Impeachment Proceedings. — Articles exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States, in the name of themselves and all the people of the United States, against Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in maintenance and support of their impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE I.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, unmindful of the high duties of his office, of his oath of office, and of the requirement of the Constitution that he should take care that the laws be faithfully executed, did unlawfully, and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, issue an order in writing for the removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, said Edwin M. Stanton having been theretofore duly appointed and commissioned, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, as such Secretary, and said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 12th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1867, and during the recess of said Senate, having suspended by his order Edwin M. Stanton from said office; and within twenty days after the first day of the next meeting of said Senate—that is to say, on the 12th day of December, in the year last aforesaid—having reported to said Senate such suspension, with the evidence and reasons for his action in the case, and the name of the person designated to perform the duties of such office temporarily until the next meeting of the Senate, and said Senate thereafterward, on the 13th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1868, having duly considered the evidence and reasons reported by said Andrew Johnson for said suspension and having refused to concur in said suspension, whereby, and by force of the provisions of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, said Edwin M. Stanton did forthwith resume the functions of his office, whereof the said Andrew Johnson had then and there due notice, and said Edwin M. Stanton, by reason of the premises, on said 21st day of February, being lawfully entitled to

hold said office as Secretary for the Department of War, which said order for the removal of said Edwin M. Stanton is, in substance, as follows—that is to say:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Feb.* 21, 1868.

"SIR,—By virtue of the power and authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, and your function as such will terminate upon receipt of this communication.

"You will transfer to Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

"Respectfully yours,
"ANDREW JOHNSON.

"Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Washington, D. C."

Which order was unlawfully issued, with intent then and there to violate the act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867; and, with the further intent, contrary to the provisions of said act, in violation thereof, and contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, the said Senate then and there being in session, to remove said Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary of the Department of War, the said Edwin M. Stanton being then and there Secretary of War, and being then and there in due and lawful execution and discharge of the duties of said office, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE II.

That on the said 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, of his oath of office, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and contrary to the provisions of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, said Senate then and there being in session, and without authority of law, did, with intent to violate the Constitution of the United States and the act aforesaid, issue and deliver to one Lorenzo Thomas a letter of authority, in substance as follows, that is to say:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Feb.* 21, 1868.

"SIR,—Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having this day been removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, and will immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office.

"Mr. Stanton has been instructed to transfer to you all the records, books, papers, and other public property now in his custody and charge.

"Respectfully yours,
"ANDREW JOHNSON.

"To Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General United States Army, Washington, D. C."

then and there being no vacancy in said office of Secretary for the Department of War; whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE III.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office, in this, that, without authority of law, while the Senate of the United States was then and there in session, he did appoint one Lorenzo Thomas to be Secretary for the Department of War, *ad interim*, without the advice and consent of the Senate, and with intent to violate the Constitution of the United States, no vacancy having happened in said office of Secretary for the Department of War during the recess of the Senate, and no vacancy existing in said office at the time, and which said appointment, so made by said Andrew Johnson, of said Lorenzo Thomas, is in substance as follows, that is to say:

(Same as in Article II.)

ARTICLE IV.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the

high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, and with other persons, to the House of Representatives unknown, with intent by intimidation and threats unlawfully to hinder and prevent Edwin M. Stanton, then and there the Secretary for the Department of War, duly appointed under the laws of the United States, from holding said office of Secretary for the Department of War, contrary to and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and of the provisions of an act entitled "An act to define and punish certain conspiracies," approved July 31, 1861, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high crime in office.

ARTICLE V.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, and on divers other days and times in said year, before the 2d day of March, A.D. 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, and with other persons to the House of Representatives unknown, to prevent and hinder the execution of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, and in pursuance of said conspiracy did unlawfully attempt to prevent Edwin M. Stanton, then and there being Secretary for the Department of War, duly appointed and commissioned under the laws of the United States, from holding said office, whereby the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE VI.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office and of his oath of office, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas by force to seize, take, and possess the property of the United States in the Department of War, then and there in the custody and charge of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary for said Department, contrary to the provisions of an act entitled "An act to define and punish certain conspiracies," approved July 31, 1861, and with intent to violate and disregard an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit a high crime in office.

ARTICLE VII.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office and of his oath of office, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas with intent unlawfully to seize, take, and possess the property of the United States in the Department of War, in the custody and charge of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of said department, with intent to violate and disregard the act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE VIII.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office and of his oath of office, with intent unlawfully to control the disbursement of the moneys appropriated for the military service and for the Department of War, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully and contrary to the provisions of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and while the Senate was then and there in session,

there being no vacancy in the office of Secretary for the Department of War, with intent to violate and disregard the act aforesaid, then and there issue and deliver to one Lorenzo Thomas a letter of authority in writing, in substance as follows, that is to say:

(Same as in Article II.)

Whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE IX.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 22d day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, in disregard of the Constitution and the laws of the United States, duly enacted, as commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, did bring before himself then and there William H. Emory, a major-general by brevet in the army of the United States, actually in command of the Department of Washington and the military forces thereof, and did then and there, as such commander-in-chief, declare to and instruct said Emory that part of a law of the United States, passed March 2, 1867, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes," especially the second section thereof, which provides, among other things, that "all orders and instructions, relating to military operations, issued by the President or Secretary of War, shall be issued through the general of the army, and, in case of his inability, through the next in rank," was unconstitutional, and in contravention of the commission of said Emory, and which said provisions of law had been theretofore duly and legally promulgated by general order for the government and direction of the army of the United States, as the said Andrew Johnson then and there well knew, with intent thereby to induce said Emory, in his official capacity as commander of the Department of Washington, to violate the provisions of said act, and to take and receive, act upon, and obey such orders as he, the said Andrew Johnson, might make and give, and which should not be issued through the general of the army of the United States, according to the provisions of said act, and with the further intent thereby to enable him, the said Andrew Johnson, to prevent the execution of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, and to unlawfully prevent Edwin M. Stanton, then being Secretary for the Department of War, from holding said office and discharging the duties thereof, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE X.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office and the dignity and proprieties thereof, and of the harmony and courtesies which ought to exist and be maintained between the executive and legislative branches of the government of the United States, designing and intending to set aside the rightful authority and powers of Congress, did attempt to bring into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach the Congress of the United States and the several branches thereof, to impair and destroy the regard and respect of all the good people of the United States for the Congress and legislative power thereof (which all officers of the government ought inviolably to preserve and maintain), and to excite the odium and resentment of all the good people of the United States against Congress and the laws by it duly and constitutionally enacted; and, in pursuance of said design and intent, openly and publicly, and before divers assemblages of the citizens of the United States convened in divers parts thereof to meet and receive said Andrew Johnson, as the chief magistrate of the United States, did, on the 18th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1866, and on divers other days and times, as well before as afterwards, make and deliver, with a loud voice, certain intemperate, inflammatory, and scandalous harangues, and did therein utter loud threats and bitter menaces as well against Congress as the laws of the United States duly enacted thereby, amid the cries, jeers, and laughter of the multitudes then assembled and within hearing, which are

set forth in the several specifications hereinafter written, in substance and effect, that is to say:

[Here are set out three specifications, quoting parts of speeches alleged to have been made by the President, Aug. 15, Sept. 3, and Sept. 8, 1866.]

Which said utterances, declarations, threats, and harangues, highly censurable in any, are peculiarly indecent and unbecoming to the chief magistrate of the United States, by means whereof said Andrew Johnson has brought the high office of the President of the United States into contempt, ridicule, and disgrace, to the great scandal of all good citizens, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did commit and was then and there guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ARTICLE XI.

That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office and of his oath of office, and in disregard of the Constitution and laws of the United States, did heretofore, to wit: on the 18th day of August, 1866, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, by public speech, declare and affirm in substance that the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States was not a Congress of the United States authorized by the Constitution to exercise legislative power under the same, but, on the contrary, was a Congress of only part of the States, thereby denying and intending to deny that the legislation of said Congress was valid or obligatory upon him, the said Andrew Johnson, except in so far as he saw fit to approve the same, and also thereby denying and intending to deny the power of said Thirty-ninth Congress to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and, in pursuance of said declaration, the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, afterwards, to wit: on the 21st day of February, 1868, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully and in disregard of the requirements of the Constitution, that he should take care that the laws be faithfully executed, attempt to prevent the execution of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, by unlawfully devising and contriving, and attempting to devise and contrive, means by which he should prevent Edwin M. Stanton from forthwith resuming the functions of the office of Secretary for the Department of War, notwithstanding the refusal of the Senate to concur in the suspension theretofore made by Andrew Johnson of said Edwin M. Stanton from said office of Secretary for the Department of War, and also by further unlawfully devising and contriving, and attempting to devise and contrive, means then and there to prevent the execution of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1867, and also to prevent the execution of an act entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States," passed March 2, 1867; whereby the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then, to wit: on the 21st day of February, 1868, at the city of Washington, commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

And the House of Representatives by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any further articles or other accusation, or impeachment against the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and also of replying to his answers which he shall make unto the articles herein preferred against him, and of offering proof to the same and every part thereof, and to all and every other article, accusation, or impeachment which shall be exhibited by them, as the case shall require, do demand that the said Andrew Johnson may be put to answer the high crimes and misdemeanors in office herein charged against him, and that such proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments may be thereupon had and given as may be agreeable to law and justice.

Senate of the United States, sitting as a court of impeachment for the trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

The answer of the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, to

Andrew Johnson

the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the House of Representatives of the United States.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE I.

For answer to the first article he says: that Edwin M. Stanton was appointed Secretary for the Department of War on the 15th day of January, A.D. 1862, by Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States, during the first term of his Presidency, and was commissioned, according to the Constitution and laws of the United States, to hold the said office during the pleasure of the President; that the office of Secretary for the Department of War was created by an act of the First Congress, in its first session, passed on the 7th day of August, A.D. 1789, and in and by that act it was provided and enacted that the said Secretary for the Department of War shall perform and execute such duties as shall from time to time be enjoined on and intrusted to him by the President of the United States, agreeably to the Constitution, relative to the subjects within the scope of the said department; and furthermore, that the said Secretary shall conduct the business of the said department in such a manner as the President of the United States shall, from time to time, order and instruct.

And this respondent, further answering, says that, by force of the act aforesaid, and by reason of his appointment aforesaid, the said Stanton became the principal officer in one of the executive departments of the government within the true intent and meaning of the second section of the second article of the Constitution of the United States, and according to the true intent and meaning of that provision of the Constitution of the United States; and in accordance with the settled and uniform practice of each and every President of the United States, the said Stanton then became, and, so long as he should continue to hold the said office of Secretary for the Department of War, must continue to be, one of the advisers of the President of the United States, as well as the person intrusted to act for and represent the President in matters enjoined upon him or intrusted to him by the President, touching the department aforesaid, and for whose conduct in such capacity, subordinate to the President, the President is, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, made responsible. And this respondent, further answering, says he succeeded to the office of President of the United States upon, and by reason of, the death of Abraham Lincoln, then President of the United States, on the 15th day of April, 1865, and the said Stanton was then holding the said office of Secretary for the Department of War, under and by reason of the appointment and commission aforesaid; and, not having been removed from the said office by this respondent, the said Stanton continued to hold the same under the appointment and commission aforesaid, at the pleasure of the President, until the time hereinafter particularly mentioned; and at no time received any appointment or commission save as above detailed.

And this respondent, further answering, says that on and prior to the 5th day of August, A.D. 1867, this respondent, the President of the United States, responsible for the conduct of the Secretary for the Department of War, and having the constitutional right to resort to and rely upon the person holding that office for advice concerning the great and difficult public duties enjoined on the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, became satisfied that he could not allow the said Stanton to continue to hold the office of Secretary for the Department of War, without hazard of the public interest; that the relations between the said Stanton and the President no longer permitted the President to resort to him for advice, or to be, in the judgment of the President, safely responsible for his conduct of the affairs of the Department of War, as by law required, in accordance with the orders and instructions of the President; and thereupon, by force of the Constitution and laws of the United States, which devolve on the President the power and the duty to control the conduct of the business of that executive department of the government, and by reason of the constitutional duty of the President to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, this respondent did necessarily

consider, and did determine, that the said Stanton ought no longer to hold the said office of Secretary for the Department of War. And this respondent, by virtue of the power and authority vested in him as President of the United States, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, to give effect to such his decision and determination, did, on the 5th day of August, A.D. 1867, address to the said Stanton a note, of which the following is a true copy:

"SIR,—Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted."

To which note the said Stanton made the following reply:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"WASHINGTON, *Aug.* 5, 1867.

"SIR,—Your note of this day has been received, stating that 'public considerations of a high character constrain you' to say 'that my resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted.'

"In reply I have the honor to say, that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this Department, constrain me not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress.

"Very respectfully yours,
"EDWIN M. STANTON."

This respondent, as President of the United States, was thereon of opinion that, having regard to the necessary official relations and duties of the Secretary for the Department of War to the President of the United States, according to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and having regard to the responsibility of the President for the conduct of the said Secretary, and having regard to the paramount executive authority of the office which the respondent holds under the Constitution and laws of the United States, it was impossible, consistently with the public interests, to allow the said Stanton to continue to hold the said office of Secretary for the Department of War; and it then became the official duty of the respondent, as President of the United States, to consider and decide what act or acts should and might lawfully be done by him, as President of the United States, to cause the said Stanton to surrender the said office.

This respondent was informed and verily believed that it was practically settled by the First Congress of the United States, and had been so considered and, uniformly and in great numbers of instances, acted on by each Congress and President of the United States, in succession, from President Washington to and including President Lincoln, and from the First Congress to the Thirty-ninth Congress, that the Constitution of the United States conferred on the President, as part of the executive power, and as one of the necessary means and instruments of performing the executive duty expressly imposed on him by the Constitution, of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, the power at any and all times of removing from office all executive officers, for cause, to be judged by the President alone. This respondent had, in pursuance of the Constitution, required the opinion of each principal officer of the executive departments, upon this question of constitutional executive power and duty, and had been advised by each of them, including the said Stanton, Secretary for the Department of War, that under the Constitution of the United States this power was lodged by the Constitution in the President of the United States, and that, consequently, it could be lawfully exercised by him, and the Congress could not deprive him thereof; and this respondent, in his capacity of President of the United States, and because in that capacity he was both enabled and bound to use his best judgment upon this question, did, in good faith, and with an earnest desire to arrive at the truth, come to the conclusion and opinion, and did make the same known to the honorable the Senate of the United States, by a message dated on the 2d day of March, 1867 (a true copy whereof is hereunto annexed and marked A), that the power last mentioned was conferred and the duty of exercising it, in fit cases, was imposed on the President by the Constitution of the United States, and that the President could not be deprived of this power or relieved of this duty, nor could the same be vested by law in the President and the Senate jointly, either in part or whole; and this has ever since remained, and was the opinion of this respondent at the time when he was forced, as aforesaid, to consider and decide what

act or acts should and might lawfully be done by this respondent, as President of the United States, to cause the said Stanton to surrender the said office.

This respondent was also then aware that by the first section of "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices" passed March 2, 1867, by a constitutional majority of both Houses of Congress, it was enacted as follows:

That every person holding any civil office to which he has been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and every person who shall hereafter be appointed to any such office, and shall become duly qualified to act therein, is and shall be entitled to hold such office until a successor shall have been in like manner appointed and duly qualified, except as herein otherwise provided; *Provided*, that the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, the Postmaster-General, and the Attorney-General, shall hold their offices respectively for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

This respondent was also aware that this act was understood and intended to be an expression of the opinion of the Congress by which that act was passed, that the power to remove executive officers for cause might, by law, be taken from the President and vested in him and the Senate jointly; and although this respondent had arrived at and still retained the opinion above expressed and verily believed, as he still believes, that the said first section of the last-mentioned act was and is wholly inoperative and void by reason of its conflict with the Constitution of the United States, yet, inasmuch as the same had been enacted by the constitutional majority in each of the two Houses of that Congress, this respondent considered it to be proper to examine and decide whether the particular case of the said Stanton, on which it was this respondent's duty to act, was within or without the terms of that first section of the act; or, if within it, whether the President had not the power, according to the terms of the act, to remove the said Stanton from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, and having, in his capacity of President of the United States, so examined and considered, did form the opinion that the case of said Stanton and his tenure of office were not affected by the section of the last-named act.

And this respondent, further answering, says that, although a case thus existed which, in his judgment as President of the United States, called for the exercise of the executive power to remove the said Stanton from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, and although this respondent was of opinion, as is above shown, that under the Constitution of the United States the power to remove the said Stanton from the said office was vested in the President of the United States; and although this respondent was also of the same opinion, as is above shown, that the case of the said Stanton was not affected by the first section of the last-named act; and although each of the said opinions had been formed by this respondent upon an actual case, requiring him, in his capacity of President of the United States, to come to some judgment and determination thereon, yet this respondent, as President of the United States, desired and determined to avoid, if possible, any question of the construction and effect of the said first section of the last-named act, and also the broader question of the executive power conferred on the President of the United States by the Constitution of the United States to remove one of the principal officers of one of the executive departments for cause seeming to him sufficient; and this respondent also desired and determined that if, from causes over which he could exert no control, it should become absolutely necessary to raise and have in some way determined either or both of the said last-named questions, it was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and was required of the President thereby, that questions of so much gravity and importance, upon which the legislative and executive departments of the government had disagreed, which involved powers considered by all branches of the government, during its entire history down to the year 1867, to have been confided by the Constitution of the United States to the President and to be neces-

sary for the complete and proper execution of his constitutional duties, should be in some proper way submitted to that judicial department of the government intrusted by the Constitution with the power, and subjected by it to the duty, not only of determining finally the construction and effect of all acts of Congress, but of comparing them with the Constitution of the United States, and pronouncing them inoperative when found in conflict with that fundamental law which the people have enacted for the government of all their servants. And to these ends, first, that, through the action of the Senate of the United States, the absolute duty of the President to substitute some fit person in place of Mr. Stanton as one of his advisers, and as a principal subordinate officer whose official conduct he was responsible for, and had lawful right to control, might, if possible, be accomplished without the necessity of raising any one of the questions aforesaid; and, second, if this duty could not be so performed, then that these questions, or such of them as might necessarily arise, should be judicially determined in manner aforesaid, and for no other end or purpose, this respondent, as President of the United States, on the 12th day of August, 1867, seven days after the reception of the letter of the said Stanton, of the 5th of August, hereinbefore stated, did issue to the said Stanton the order following, namely:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, *Aug.* 12, 1867.

"SIR,—By virtue of the power and authority vested in me, as President, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby suspended from office as Secretary of War, and will cease to exercise any and all functions pertaining to the same.

"You will at once transfer to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

"Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War."

To which said order the said Stanton made the following reply:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"WASHINGTON CITY, *Aug.* 12, 1867.

"SIR,—Your note of this date has been received, informing me that by virtue of the powers vested in you as President, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, I am suspended from office as Secretary of War, and will cease to exercise any and all functions pertaining to the same; and also directing me at once to transfer to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in my custody and charge. Under a sense of public duty, I am compelled to deny your right, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, without the advice and consent of the Senate, and without legal cause, to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, or the exercise of any or all functions pertaining to the same, or without such advice and consent to compel me to transfer to any person the records, books, papers, and public property in my custody as Secretary. But, inasmuch as the general commanding the armies of the United States has been appointed, *ad interim*, and has notified me that he has accepted the appointment, I have no alternative but to submit, under protest, to superior force.

"To the President."

And this respondent, further answering, says, that it is provided, in and by the second section of "An act to regulate the tenure of certain civil offices," that the President may suspend an officer from the performance of the duties of the office held by him, for certain causes therein designated, until the next meeting of the Senate, and until the case shall be acted on by the Senate; that this respondent, as President of the United States, was advised, and he verily believed and still believes, that the executive power of removal from office, confided to him by the Constitution aforesaid, includes the power of suspension from office at the pleasure of the President, and this respondent, by the order aforesaid, did suspend the said Stanton from office, not until the next meeting of the Senate, or until the Senate should have acted upon the case, but by force of the power and authority vested in him by the Constitution and laws of the United States, indefinitely, and at the pleasure of the President, and the order, in form aforesaid, was made known to the Senate of the United States on the 12th day of December, A.D. 1867, as will be more fully hereinafter stated.

And this respondent, further answering, says that, in and by the act of Feb. 13, 1795, it was, among other things, provided and enacted that, in case of vacancy in the office of Secretary for the Department of War, it shall be lawful for the

President, in case he shall think it necessary, to authorize any person to perform the duties of that office until a successor be appointed or such vacancy filled, but not exceeding the term of six months; and this respondent, being advised and believing that such law was in full force and not repealed, by an order dated Aug. 12, 1867, did authorize and empower Ulysses S. Grant, general of the armies of the United States, to act as Secretary for the Department of War, *ad interim*, in the form in which similar authority had theretofore been given, not until the next meeting of the Senate, and until the Senate should act on the case, but at the pleasure of the President, subject only to the limitation of six months, in the said last-mentioned act contained; and a copy of the last-named order was made known to the Senate of the United States, on the 12th day of December, A.D. 1867, as will be hereinafter more fully stated; and, in pursuance of the design and intention aforesaid, if it should become necessary, to submit the said questions to a judicial determination, this respondent, at or near the date of the last-mentioned order, did make known such his purpose to obtain a judicial decision of the said questions, or such of them as might be necessary.

And this respondent, further answering, says that, in further pursuance of his intentions and design, if possible, to perform what he judged to be his imperative duty, to prevent the said Stanton from longer holding the office of Secretary for the Department of War, and at the same time avoiding, if possible, any question respecting the extent of the power of removal from executive office confided to the President, by the Constitution of the United States, and any question respecting the construction and effect of the first section of the said "act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," while he should not, by any act of his, abandon and relinquish, either a power which he believed the Constitution had conferred on the President of the United States, to enable him to perform the duties of his office, or a power designedly left to him by the first section of the act of Congress last aforesaid, this respondent did, on the 12th day of December, 1867, transmit to the Senate of the United States a message, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed and marked B, wherein he made known the orders aforesaid, and the reasons which had induced the same, so far as this respondent then considered it material and necessary that the same should be set forth, and reiterated his views concerning the constitutional power of removal vested in the President, and also expressed his views concerning the construction of the said first section of the last-mentioned act, as respected the power of the President to remove the said Stanton from the said office of Secretary for the Department of War, well hoping that this respondent could thus perform what he then believed, and still believes, to be his imperative duty in reference to the said Stanton, without derogating from the powers which this respondent believed were confided to the President, by the Constitution and laws, and without the necessity of raising, judicially, any question concerning the same.

And this respondent, further answering, says that, this hope not having been realized, the President was compelled either to allow the said Stanton to resume the said office and remain therein contrary to the settled convictions of the President, formed as aforesaid, respecting the powers confided to him, and the duties required of him by the Constitution of the United States, and contrary to the opinion formed as aforesaid, that the first section of the last-mentioned act did not affect the case of the said Stanton, and contrary to the fixed belief of the President that he could no longer advise with or trust or be responsible for the said Stanton, in the said office of Secretary for the Department of War, or else he was compelled to take such steps as might, in the judgment of the President, be lawful and necessary to raise, for a judicial decison, the questions affecting the lawful right of the said Stanton to resume the said office, or the power of the said Stanton to persist in refusing to quit the said office, if he should persist in actually refusing to quit the same; and to this end, and to this end only, this respondent did, on the 21st day of February, 1868, issue the order for the removal of the said Stanton, in the said first article mentioned and set forth, and the order authorizing

the said Lorenzo Thomas to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim,* in the said second article set forth.

And this respondent, proceeding to answer specifically each substantial allegation in the said first article, says: He denies that the said Stanton, on the 21st day of February, 1868, was lawfully in possession of the said office of Secretary for the Department of War. He denies that the said Stanton, on the day last mentioned, was lawfully entitled to hold the said office against the will of the President of the United States. He denies that the said order for the removal of the said Stanton was unlawfully issued. He denies that said order was issued with intent to violate the act entitled, "An act to regulate the tenure of certain civil offices." He denies that the said order was a violation of the last-mentioned act. He denies that the said order was a violation of the Constitution of the United States, or of any law thereof, or of his oath of office. He denies that the said order was issued with an intent to violate the Constitution of the United States, or any law thereof, or this respondent's oath of office; and he respectfully, but earnestly, insists that not only was it issued by him in the performance of what he believed to be an imperative official duty, but in the performance of what this honorable court will consider was, in point of fact, an imperative official duty. And he denies that any and all substantive matters, in the said first article contained, in manner and form as the same are therein stated and set forth, do, by law, constitute a high misdemeanor in office, within the true intent and meaning of the Constitution of the United States.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE II.

And for answer to the second article, this respondent says that he admits he did issue and deliver to said Lorenzo Thomas the said writing set forth in said second article, bearing date at Washington, District of Columbia, Feb. 21, 1868, addressed to Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general United States army, Washington, District of Columbia; and he further admits that the same was so issued without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, then in session; but he denies that he thereby violated the Constitution of the United States, or any law thereof, or that he did thereby intend to violate the Constitution of the United States, or the provisions of any act of Congress; and this respondent refers to his answer to said first article for a full statement of the purposes and intentions with which said order was issued, and adopts the same as part of his answer to this article; and he further denies that there was then and there no vacancy in the said office of Secretary for the Department of War, or that he did then and there commit, or was guilty of, a high misdemeanor in office; and this respondent maintains and will insist:

1. That at the date and delivery of said writing there was a vacancy existing in the said office of Secretary for the Department of War.

2. That, notwithstanding the Senate of the United States was then in session, it was lawful and according to long and well-established usage to empower and authorize the said Thomas to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim.*

3. That, if the said act regulating the tenure of civil offices be held to be a valid law, no provision of the same was violated by the issuing of said order, or by the designation of said Thomas to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim.*

ANSWER TO ARTICLE III.

And for answer to said third article, this respondent says that he abides by his answer to said first and second articles, in so far as the same are responsive to the allegations contained in the said third article, and, without here again repeating the same answer, prays the same be taken as an answer to this third article as fully as if here again set out at length; and as to the new allegation contained in said third article, that this respondent did appoint the said Thomas to be Secretary for the Department of War, *ad interim,* this respondent denies that he gave any other authority to said Thomas than such as appears in said written authority, set out in said article, by which he authorized and empowered said Thomas to act as

Secretary for the Department of War, *ad interim;* and he denies that the same amounts to an appointment, and insists that it is only a designation of an officer of that department to act temporarily as Secretary for the Department of War, *ad interim,* until an appointment should be made. But, whether the said written authority amounts to an appointment, or to a temporary authority or designation, this respondent denies that in any sense he did thereby intend to violate the Constitution of the United States, or that he thereby intended to give the said order the character or effect of an appointment in the constitutional or legal sense of that term. He further denies that there was no vacancy in said office of Secretary for the Department of War existing at the date of said written authority.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE IV.

And for answer to said fourth article this respondent denies that on the said 21st day of February, 1868, at Washington aforesaid, or at any other time or place, he did unlawfully conspire with the said Lorenzo Thomas, or with the said Thomas and any other person or persons, with intent by intimidations and threats unlawfully to hinder and prevent the said Stanton from holding said office of Secretary for the Department of War, in violation of the Constitution of the United States or of the provisions of the said act of Congress in said article mentioned, or that he did then and there commit or was guilty of a high crime in office. On the contrary thereof, protesting that the said Stanton was not then and there lawfully the Secretary for the Department of War, this respondent states that his sole purpose in authorizing the said Thomas to act as Secretary for the Department of War, *ad interim* was, as is fully stated in his answer to the said first article, to bring the question of the right of the said Stanton to hold said office, notwithstanding his said suspension, and notwithstanding the said order of removal, and notwithstanding the said authority of the said Thomas to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim,* to the test of a final decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in the earliest practicable mode by which the question could be brought before that tribunal.

This respondent did not conspire or agree with the said Thomas or any other person or persons, to use intimidation or threats to hinder or prevent the said Stanton from holding the said office of Secretary for the Department of War, nor did this respondent at any time command or advise the said Thomas or any other person or persons to resort to or use either threats or intimidation for that purpose. The only means in the contemplation of purpose of respondent to be used are set forth fully in the said orders of Feb. 21, the first addressed to Mr. Stanton, and the second to the said Thomas. By the first order the respondent notified Mr. Stanton that he was removed from the said office, and that his functions as Secretary for the Department of War were to terminate upon the receipt of that order, and he also thereby notified the said Stanton that the said Thomas had been authorized to act as Secretary for the Department of War *ad interim,* and ordered the said Stanton to transfer to him all the records, books, papers, and other public property in his custody and charge; and by the second order this respondent notified the said Thomas of the removal from office of the said Stanton, and authorized him to act as Secretary for the department, *ad interim,* and directed him to immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office, and to receive the transfer of all the records, books, papers, and other public property from Mr. Stanton, then in his custody and charge.

Respondent gave no instructions to the said Thomas to use intimidation or threats to enforce obedience to these orders. He gave him no authority to call in the aid of the military, or any other force to enable him to obtain possession of the office, or of the books, papers, records, or property thereof. The only agency resorted to or intended to be resorted to was by means of the said executive orders requiring obedience. But the Secretary for the Department of War refused to obey these orders, and still holds undisturbed possession and custody of that department, and of the records, books, papers, and other public property

therein. Respondent further states that, in execution of the orders so by this respondent given to the said Thomas, he, the said Thomas, proceeded in a peaceful manner to demand of the said Stanton a surrender to him of the public property in the said department, and to vacate the possession of the same, and to allow him, the said Thomas, peaceably to exercise the duties devolved upon him by authority of the President. That, as this respondent has been informed and believes, the said Stanton peremptorily refused obedience to the orders so issued. Upon each refusal no force or threat of force was used by the said Thomas, on authority of the President, or otherwise, to enforce obedience, either then or at any subsequent time.

This respondent doth here except to the sufficiency of the allegations contained in said fourth article, and states for ground of exception that it was not stated that there was any agreement between this respondent and the said Thomas, or any other person or persons, to use intimidation and threats, nor is there any allegation as to the nature of said intimidation and threats, or that there was any agreement to carry them into execution, or that any step was taken or agreed to be taken to carry them into execution, and that the allegation in said article that the intent of said conspiracy was to use intimidation and threats is wholly insufficient, inasmuch as it is not alleged that the said intent formed the basis or became a part of any agreement between the said alleged conspirators, and, furthermore, that there is no allegation of any conspiracy or agreement to use intimidation or threats.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE V.

And for answer to said fifth article, this respondent denies that on said 21st day of February, 1868, or at any other time or times, in the same year, before the said 2d day of March, 1868, or at any prior or subsequent time, at Washington aforesaid, or at any other place, this respondent did unlawfully conspire with the said Thomas, or with any other person or persons, to prevent or hinder the execution of the said act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," or that, in pursuance of said alleged conspiracy, he did unlawfully attempt to prevent the said Edwin M. Stanton from holding said office of Secretary for the Department of War, or that he was thereby guilty of a high misdemeanor in office. Respondent, protesting that said Stanton was not then and there Secretary for the Department of War, begs leave to refer to his answer given to the fourth article and to his answer given to the first article as to his intent and purpose in issuing the orders for the removal of Mr. Stanton, and the authority given to the said Thomas, and prays equal benefit therefrom as if the same were here again repeated and fully set forth.

And this respondent excepts to the sufficiency of the said fifth article, and states his ground for such exception, that it is not alleged to what means or by what agreement the said alleged conspiracy was formed or agreed to be carried out, or in what way the same was attempted to be carried out, or what were the acts done in pursuance thereof.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE VI.

And for answer to the said sixth article, this respondent denies that on the said 21st day of February, 1868, at Washington aforesaid, or at any other time or place, he did unlawfully conspire with the said Thomas by force to seize, take, or possess, the property of the United States in the Department of War, contrary to the provisions of the said acts referred to in the said article, or either of them, or with intent to violate either of them. Respondent, protesting that said Stanton was not then and there Secretary for the Department of War, not only denies the said conspiracy as charged, but also denies unlawful intent in reference to the custody and charge of the property of the United States in the said Department of War, and again refers to his former answers for a full statement of his intent and purpose in the premises.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE VII.

And for answer to the said seventh article, respondent denies that on the said 21st day of February, 1868, at Washington aforesaid, or at any other time and place, he did unlawfully conspire with the

said Thomas with intent unlawfully to seize, take, or possess the property of the United States in the Department of War, with intent to violate or disregard the said act in the said seventh article referred to, or that he did then and there commit a high misdemeanor in office. Respondent, protesting that the said Stanton was not then and there Secretary for the Department of War, again refers to his former answers, in so far as they are applicable, to show the intent with which he proceeded in the premises, and prays equal benefit therefrom as if the same were here again fully repeated. Respondent further takes exception to the sufficiency of the allegations of this article as to the conspiracy alleged, upon the same ground as stated in the exceptions set forth in his answer to said article fourth.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE VIII.

And for answer to said eighth article, this respondent denies that on the 21st day of February, 1868, at Washington aforesaid, or at any other time or place, he did issue and deliver to the said Thomas the said letter of authority set forth in the said eighth article, with the intent unlawfully to control the disbursements of the money appropriated for the military service and for the Department of War. This respondent, protesting that there was a vacancy in the office of Secretary for the Department of War, admits that he did issue the said letter of authority, and he denies that the same was with any unlawful intent whatever, either to violate the Constitution of the United States or any act of Congress. On the contrary, this respondent again affirms that his sole intent was to vindicate his authority as President of the United States, and by peaceful means to bring the question of the right of the said Stanton to continue to hold the office of Secretary of War to a final decision before the Supreme Court of the United States, as has been hereinbefore set forth; and he prays the same benefit from his answer in the premises as if the same were here again repeated at length.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE IX.

And for answer to the said ninth article, the respondent states that on the said 22d day of February, 1868, the following note was addressed to the said Emory by the private secretary of the respondent:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Feb.* 22, 1868.
"GENERAL,—The President directs me to say that he will be pleased to have you call upon him as early as practicable.
"Respectfully and truly yours,
"WILLIAM G. MOORE, U. S. A."

General Emory called at the Executive Mansion according to this request. The object of respondent was to be advised by General Emory, as commander of the Department of Washington, what changes had been made in the military affairs of the department. Respondent had been informed that various changes had been made which in nowise had been brought to his notice or reported to him from the Department of War, or from any other quarter, and desired to ascertain the facts. After the said Emory had explained in detail the changes which had taken place, said Emory called the attention of respondent to a general order which he referred to and which this respondent then sent for, when it was produced. It is as follows:

"(GENERAL ORDERS, No. 17.)
"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE.
"WASHINGTON, *March* 14, 1867.
"The following acts of Congress are published for the information and government of all concerned:

"11-PUBLIC-No. 85.
"An act making appropriations for support of the army for the year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes.

. . . . . .

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* that the headquarters of the general of the army of the United States shall be at the city of Washington, and all orders and instructions relating to military operations, issued by the President or Secretary of War, shall be issued through the general of the army, and, in case of his inability, through the next in rank. The general of the army shall not be removed, suspended, or relieved from command or assigned to duty elsewhere than at said headquarters, except at his own request, without the previous approval of the Senate; and any orders or instructions relating to military operations issued contrary to the requirements of this section shall be null and void; and any officer, who shall issue orders or instructions contrary to the provisions of this section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office; and any officer of the army who shall

transmit, convey, or obey any orders or instructions so issued, contrary to the provisions of this section, knowing that such orders were so issued, shall be liable to imprisonment for not less than two or more than twenty years, upon conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction.

. . . . . .

"Approved March 2, 1867.

. . . . . .

"By order of the Secretary of War,
"E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.
"Official:
"————, Assistant Adjutant-General."

General Emory not only called the attention of respondent to this order, but to the fact that it was in conformity with a section contained in an appropriation act passed by Congress. Respondent, after reading the order, observed, "This is not in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, which makes me Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, nor with the language of the commission which you hold." General Emory then stated that this order had met respondent's approval. Respondent then said in reply, in substance, "Am I to understand that the President of the United States cannot give an order but through the general-in-chief?" General Emory again reiterated the statement that it had met respondent's approval, and that it was the opinion of some of the leading lawyers of the country that this order was constitutional. With some further conversation, respondent then required the names of the lawyers who had given the opinion, and he mentioned the names of two. Respondent then said that the object of the law was very evident, referring to the clause in the appropriation act upon which the order purported to be based. This, according to respondent's recollection, was the substance of the conversation held with General Emory.

Respondent denies that any allegations in the said article of any instructions or declarations given to the said Emory, then or at any other time, contrary to or in addition to what is hereinbefore set forth, are true. Respondent denies that, in said conversation with said Emory, he had any other intent than to express the opinions then given to the said Emory, nor did he then nor at any other time request or order the said Emory to disobey any law or any order issued in conformity with any law, or intend to offer any inducement to the said Emory to violate any law. What this respondent then said to General Emory was simply the expression of an opinion which he then fully believed to be sound, and which he yet believes to be so, and that is that, by the express provisions of the Constitution, this respondent, as President, is made the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and as such he is to be respected, and that his orders, whether issued through the War Department or through the general-in-chief, or by other channels of communication, are entitled to respect and obedience, and that such constitutional power cannot be taken from him by virtue of any act of Congress. Respondent doth therefore deny that by the expression of such opinion he did commit or was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office; and this respondent doth further say that the said article nine lays no foundations whatever for the conclusion stated in the said article, that the respondent, by reason of the allegations therein contained, was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

In reference to the statement made by General Emory, that this respondent had approved of said act of Congress containing the section referred to, the respondent admits that his formal approval was given to said act, but accompanied the same by the following message, addressed and sent with the act to the House of Representatives, in which House the said act originated, and from which it came to respondent:

"To the House of Representatives,—The act entitled 'An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes,' contains provisions to which I must call attention. These provisions are contained in the second section, which, in certain cases, virtually deprives the President of his constitutional functions as commander-in-chief of the army, and in the sixth section, which denied to ten States in the Union their constitutional right to protect themselves, in any emergency, by means of their own militia. These provisions are out of place in an appropriation act, but I am

compelled to defeat these necessary appropriations if I withhold my signature from the act. Pressed by these considerations, I feel constrained to return the bill with my signature, but to accompany it with my earnest protest against the sections which I have indicated.

"Washington, D. C., March 2, 1867."

Respondent, therefore, did no more than to express to said Emory the same opinion which he had so expressed to the House of Representatives.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE X.

And in answer to the tenth article and specifications thereof, the respondent says that, on the 14th and 15th days of August, in the year 1866, a political convention of delegates from all, or most, of the States and Territories of the Union was held in the city of Philadelphia, under the name and style of the National Union Convention, for the purpose of maintaining and advancing certain political views and opinions before the people of the United States, and for their support and adoption in the exercise of the constitutional suffrage in the election of representatives and delegates in Congress, which were soon to occur in many of the States and Territories of the Union; which said convention, in the course of its proceedings, and in furtherance of the objects of the same, adopted a "declaration of principles" and "an address to the people of the United States," and appointed a committee of two of its members from each State, and of one from each Territory, and one from the District of Columbia, to wait upon the President of the United States and present to him a copy of the proceedings of the convention; that, on the 18th day of the said month of August, this committee waited upon the President of the United States, at the Executive Mansion, and was received by him in one of the rooms thereof, and by their chairman, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, then and now a Senator of the United States, acting and speaking in their behalf, presented a copy of the proceedings of the convention, and addressed the President of the United States in a speech, of which a copy (according to a published report of the same, and as the respondent believes substantially a correct report) is hereto annexed as part of this answer, and marked Exhibit C.

That, thereupon, and in reply to the address of said committee by their chairman, this respondent addressed the said committee so waiting upon him in one of the rooms of the Executive Mansion; and this respondent believes that this, his address to said committee, is the occasion referred to in the first specification of the tenth article; but this respondent does not admit that the passage therein set forth, as if extracts from a speech or address of this respondent upon said occasion, correctly or justly present his speech or address upon said occasion; but, on the contrary, this respondent demands and insists that if this honorable court shall deem the said article and the said first specification thereof to contain allegation of matter cognizable by this honorable court as a high misdemeanor in office, within the intent and meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and shall receive or allow proof in support of the same, that proof shall be required to be made of the actual speech and address of this respondent on said occasion, which this respondent denies that said article and specification contain or correctly or justly represent.

And this respondent, further answering the tenth article and specifications thereof, says that at Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, and on the 3d day of September, in the year 1866, he was attended by a large assembly of his fellow-citizens, and, in deference and obedience to their call and demand, he addressed them upon matters of public and political consideration; and this respondent believes that said occasion and address are referred to in the second specification of the tenth article; but this respondent does not admit that the passages therein set forth as if extracts from a speech of this respondent on said occasion, correctly or justly present his speech or address upon said occasion; but, on the contrary, this respondent demands and insists that, if this honorable court shall deem the said article and the said second specification thereof to contain allegation of matter cognizable by this honorable court as a

high misdemeanor in office, within the intent and meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and shall receive or allow proof in support of the same, that proof shall be required to be made of the actual speech and address of this respondent on said occasion, which this respondent denies that said article and specification contain or correctly or justly represent.

And this respondent, further answering the tenth article and the specifications thereof, says that at St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, and on the 8th day of September, in the year 1866, he was attended by a numerous assemblage of his fellow-citizens, and in deference and obedience to their call and demand he addressed them upon matters of public and political consideration; and this respondent believes that said occasion and address are referred to in the third specification of the tenth article; but this respondent does not admit that the passages therein set forth, as if extracts from a speech of this respondent on said occasion, correctly or justly present his speech or address upon said occasion; but, on the contrary, this respondent demands and insists that if this honorable court shall deem the said article and the said third specification thereof to contain allegation of matter cognizable by this honorable court as a high misdemeanor in office, within the intent and meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and shall receive or allow proof in support of the same, that proof shall be required to be made of the actual speech and address of this respondent on said occasion, which this respondent denies that the said article and specification contain or correctly or justly represent.

And this respondent, further answering the tenth article, protesting that he has not been unmindful of the high duties of his office, or of the harmony or courtesies which ought to exist and be maintained between the executive and legislative branches of the government of the United States, denies that he has ever intended or designed to set aside the rightful authority or powers of Congress, or attempted to bring into disgrace, rdicule, hatred, contempt, or reproach, the Congress of the United States, or either branch thereof, or to impair or destroy the regard or respect of all or any of the good people of the United States for the Congress or the rightful legislative power thereof, or to excite the odium or resentment of all or any of the good people of the United States, against Congress, and the laws by it duly and constitutionally enacted. This respondent further says that at all times he has, in his official acts as President, recognized the authority of the several Congresses of the United States, as constituted and organized during his administration of the office of President of the United States.

And this respondent, further answering, says that he has, from time to time, under his constitutional right and duty as President of the United States, communicated to Congress his views and opinions in regard to such acts or resolutions thereof, as, being submitted to him as President of the United States, in pursuance of the Constitution, seemed to this respondent to require such communications; and he has, from time to time, in the exercise of that freedom of speech which belongs to him as a citizen of the United States, and, in his political relations as President of the United States, to the people of the United States, is upon fit occasions a duty of the highest obligation, expressed to his fellow-citizens his views and opinions respecting the measures and proceedings of Congress; and that in such addresses to his fellow-citizens, and in such his communications to Congress, he has expressed his views, opinions, and judgment of and concerning the actual constitution of the two Houses of Congress without representation therein of certain States of the Union, and of the effect that in wisdom and justice, in the opinion and judgment of this respondent, Congress in its legislation and proceedings shall give to this political circumstance; and whatsoever he has thus communicated to Congress or addressed to his fellow-citizens or any assemblage thereof, this respondent says was and is within and according to his right and privilege as an American citizen, and his right and duty as President of the United States.

And this respondent not waiving or at all disparaging his right of freedom of opinion and of freedom of speech, as hereinbefore or hereinafter more particu-

larly set forth, but claiming and insisting upon the same, further answering the said tenth article, says that the views and opinions expressed by this respondent in his said addresses to the assemblages of his fellow-citizens, as in said article or in this answer thereto mentioned, are not and were not intended to be other or different from those expressed by him in his communications to Congress—that the eleven States lately in insurrection never had ceased to be States of the Union, and that they were then entitled to representation in Congress by local Representatives and Senators as fully as the other States of the Union, and that, consequently, the Congress, as then constituted, was not, in fact, a Congress of all the States, but a Congress of only a part of the States. This respondent always protesting against the unauthorized exclusion therefrom of the said eleven States, nevertheless gave his assent to all laws passed by said Congress, which did not, in his opinion and judgment, violate the Constitution, exercising his constitutional authority of returning bills to said Congress with his objections when they appeared to him to be unconstitutional or inexpedient.

And, further, this respondent has also expressed the opinion, both in his communications to Congress, and in his addresses to the people, that the policy adopted by Congress in reference to the States lately in insurrection did not tend to peace, harmony, and union, but, on the contrary, did tend to disunion and the permanent disruption of the States, and that, in following its said policy, laws had been passed by Congress in violation of the fundamental principles of the government, and which tended to consolidation and despotism; and, such being his deliberate opinions, he would have felt himself unmindful of the high duties of his office if he had failed to express them in his communications to Congress or in his addresses to the people when called upon by them to express his opinions on matters of public and political consideration.

And this respondent, further answering the tenth article, says that he has always claimed and insisted, and now claims and insists, that both in his personal and private capacity of a citizen of the United States, and in the political relations of the President of the United States, to the people of the United States, whose servant, under the duties and responsibilities of the Constitution of the United States, the President of the United States is and should always remain, this respondent had and has the full right, and in his office of President of the United States is held to the high duty, of forming, and on fit occasions expressing, opinions of and concerning the legislation of Congress, proposed or completed, in respect of its wisdom, expediency, justice, worthiness, objects, purposes, and public and political motives and tendencies; and within and as a part of such right and duty to form, and on fit occasions to express, opinions of and concerning the public character and conduct, views, purposes, objects, motives, and tendencies of all men engaged in the public service, as well in Congress as otherwise, and under no other rules or limits upon this right of freedom of opinion and of freedom of speech, or of responsibility and amenability for the actual exercise of such freedom of opinion and freedom of speech than attend upon such rights and their exercise on the part of all other citizens of the United States and on the part of all their public servants.

And this respondent, further answering said tenth article, says that the several occasions on which, as is alleged in the several specifications of said article, this respondent addressed his fellow-citizens on subjects of public and political considerations were not, nor was any one of them, sought or planned by this respondent; but, on the contrary, each of said occasions arose upon the exercise of a lawful and accustomed right of the people of the United States to call upon their public servants, and express to them their opinions, wishes, and feelings upon matters of public and political consideration, and to invite from such, their public servants, an expression of their opinions, views, and feelings on matters of public and political consideration; and this respondent claims and insists before this honorable court, and before all the people of the United States, that of or concerning this his right of freedom of opinion, and of freedom of speech, and this his exercise of such right on all matters of

public and political consideration, and in respect of all public servants, or persons whatsoever engaged in or connected therewith, this respondent, as a citizen, or as President of the United States, is not subject to question, inquisition, impeachment, or inculpation, in any form or manner whatsoever.

And this respondent says that neither the said tenth article, nor any specification thereof, nor any allegation therein contained, touches or relates to any official act or doing of this respondent in the office of President of the United States, or in the discharge of any of its constitutional or legal duties or responsibilities; but said article and the specifications and allegations thereof, wholly and in every part thereof, question only the discretion or propriety of freedom of opinion or freedom of speech, as exercised by this respondent as a citizen of the United States in his personal right and capacity, and without allegation or imputation against this respondent of the violation of any law of the United States, touching or relating to freedom of speech or its exercise by the citizens of the United States, or by this respondent as one of the said citizens or otherwise; and he denies that, by reason of any matter in said article or its specifications alleged, he has said or done anything indecent or unbecoming in the chief magistrate of the United States, or that he has brought the high office of the President of the United States into contempt, ridicule, or disgrace, or that he has committed or has been guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

ANSWER TO ARTICLE XI.

And in answer to the eleventh article this respondent denies that on the 18th day of August, in the year 1866, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, he did, by public speech or otherwise, declare or affirm, in substance or at all, that the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States was not a Congress of the United States authorized by the Constitution to exercise legislative power under the same, or that he did then and there declare or affirm that the said Thirty-ninth Congress was a Congress of only part of the States in any sense or meaning other than that ten States of the Union were denied representation therein; or that he made any or either of the declarations or affirmations in this behalf, in the said article alleged, as denying or intending to deny that the legislation of said Thirty-ninth Congress was valid or obligatory upon this respondent, except so far as this respondent saw fit to approve the same; and as to the allegation in said article, that he did thereby intend or mean to be understood that the said Congress had not power to propose amendments to the Constitution, this respondent says that in said address he said nothing in reference to the subject of amendments of the Constitution, nor was the question of the competency of the said Congress to propose such amendments, without the participation of said excluded States, at the time of said address, in any way mentioned or considered or referred to by this respondent, nor in what he did say had he any intent regarding the same, and he denies the allegation so made to the contrary thereof. But this respondent, in further answer to, and in respect of the said allegations of the said eleventh article hereinbefore traversed and denied, claims and insists upon his personal and official right of freedom of opinion and freedom of speech, and his duty in his political relations as President of the United States, to the people of the United States, in the exercise of such freedom of opinion and freedom of speech, in the same manner, form, and effect as he has in his behalf stated the same in his answer to the said tenth article, and with the same effect as if he here repeated the same; and he further claims and insists, as in said answer to said tenth article he has claimed and insisted, that he is not subject to question, inquisition, impeachment, or inculpation, in any form or manner, of or concerning such rights of freedom of opinion or freedom of speech, or his said alleged exercise thereof.

And this respondent further denies that, on the 21st day of February, in the year 1868, or at any other time, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, in pursuance of any such declaration as is in that behalf in said eleventh article alleged, or otherwise, he did unlawfully, and in disregard of the require-

ment of the Constitution that he should take care that the laws should be faithfully executed, attempt to prevent the execution of an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, by unlawfully devising or contriving, or attempting to devise or contrive, means by which he should prevent Edwin M. Stanton from forthwith resuming the functions of Secretary for the Department of War; or by unlawfully devising or contriving, or attempting to devise or contrive, means to prevent the execution of an act entitled, "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1867, or to prevent the execution of an act entitled, "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States," passed March 2, 1867.

And this respondent, further answering the said eleventh article, says that he has, in answer to the first article, set forth in detail the acts, steps, and proceedings done and taken by this respondent to and towards or in the matter of the suspension or removal of the said Edwin M. Stanton in or from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, with the times, modes, circumstances, intents, views, purposes, and opinions of official obligation and duty under and with which such acts, steps, and proceedings were done and taken; and he makes answer to this eleventh article, of the matters in his answer to the first article, pertaining to the suspension or removal of said Edwin M. Stanton, to the same intent and effect as if they were here repeated and set forth.

And this respondent further answering the said eleventh article denies that by means or reason of anything in said article alleged this respondent, as President of the United States, did on the 21st day of February, 1868, or at any other day or time, commit or that he was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

And this respondent, further answering the said eleventh article, says that the same and the matters therein contained do not charge or allege the commission of any act whatever by this respondent, in his office of President of the United States, nor the omission by this respondent of any act of official obligation or duty in his office of President of the United States; nor does the said article nor the matters therein contained name, designate, describe, or define any act or mode or form of attempt, device, contrivance, or means, or of attempt at device, contrivance, or means, whereby this respondent can know or understand what act or mode or form of attempt, device, contrivance, or means, or of attempt at device, contrivance, or means, are imputed to or charged against this respondent in his office of President of the United States, or intended so to be, or whereby this respondent can more fully or definitely make answer unto the said article than he hereby does.

And this respondent, in submitting to this honorable court this his answer to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, respectfully reserves leave to amend and add to the same from time to time, as may become necessary or proper, and when and as such necessity and propriety shall appear.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

HENRY STANBERY,
B. R. CURTIS,
THOMAS A. R. NELSON,
WILLIAM M. EVARTS,
W. S. GROESBECK,
Of Counsel.

Johnson, BRADLEY TYLER, lawyer; born in Frederick, Md., Sept. 29, 1829; graduated at Princeton in 1849; studied law at the Harvard Law School in 1850–51, and began practice in Frederick. In 1851 he was State attorney of Frederick county. In 1860 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Conventions in Charleston and Baltimore; voted for the States' Rights platform; and, with most of the Maryland delegates, withdrew from the convention, and gave his support to the Breckinridge and Lane ticket. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate army, rising from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general. After the war he practised law in Richmond, Va., till 1879, and then in Baltimore till 1890. He was a member of the State Senate in 1875–79. His publications include *Chase's Decisions; The Foundation of Maryland; Life of General*

Washington; Memoirs of Joseph E. Johnston; Confederate History of Maryland; etc.

Johnson, BUSHROD RUST, military officer; born in Belmont county, O., Sept. 6, 1817; graduated at West Point in 1840; he served in the Florida and Mexican wars; and was Professor of Mathematics in military academies in Kentucky and Tennessee. He joined the Confederate army in 1861; was made a brigadier-general early in 1862; was captured at Fort Donelson, but soon afterwards escaped; was wounded in the battle of Shiloh; and was made major-general in 1864. He was in command of a division in Lee's army at the time of the surrender at Appomattox Court-house, and after the war was chancellor of the University of Nashville. He died in Brighton, Ill., Sept. 11, 1880.

Johnson, CAVE, jurist; born in Robertson county, Tenn., Jan. 11, 1793; elected circuit judge in 1820; served in Congress, 1829–37; and appointed Postmaster-General in 1845. He died in Clarksville, Tenn., Nov. 23, 1866.

Johnson, CLIFTON, author; born in Hadley, Mass., Jan. 25, 1865; received a common-school education. He is the author of *The New England Country; What They Say in New England; Studies of New England Life and Nature,* etc.

Johnson, EASTMAN, artist; born in Lovell, Me., July 29, 1824; was educated in the public schools of Augusta, Me.; studied in the Royal Academy of Düsseldorf for two years, and was elected an academician of the National Academy of Design in 1860. He has painted many notable pictures, including *The Kentucky Home; Husking Bee; The Stage Coach; Pension Agent; Prisoner of State,* etc. His portraits include *Two Men,* ex-Presidents Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison, Commodore Vanderbilt, W. H. Vanderbilt, Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, John D. Rockefeller, Mrs. Dolly Madison, Mrs. August Belmont, Mrs. Hamilton Fish, and many others.

Johnson, EDWARD, author; born in Herne Hill, England, in 1599; emigrated to the United States in 1630; elected speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1655. He is the author of a history of New England which was published in 1654 under the title of *Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England.* He died in Woburn, Mass., April 23, 1672.

Johnson, FORT, a former protective work on the Cape Fear River, near Wilmington, N. C. On June 14, 1775, the royal governor, Joseph Martin, took refuge in the fort, as the indignant people had begun to rise in rebellion against royal rule. From that stronghold he sent forth a menacing proclamation, and soon afterwards preparations for a servile insurrection were discovered. The rumor went abroad that Martin had incited the slaves. The exasperated people determined to drive him from the fort and demolish it. A body of 500 men, led by John Ashe and Cornelius Harnett, marched to the fort. Martin had fled on board a British vessel of war in the river. The munitions of war had all been removed on board of a transport, and the garrison also had fled. The people burned the barracks and demolished the walls.

Johnson, FRANKLIN, educator; born in Frankfort, O., Nov. 2, 1836; graduated at Colgate Theological Seminary in 1861. He held pastorates in Michigan and New Jersey in 1862–73, and in Cambridge, Mass., in 1874–88. In 1890 he became president of the Ottawa University, Kansas, and remained there two years, when he was called to the chair of History and Homiletics in the University of Chicago.

Johnson, GUY, military officer; born in Ireland in 1740; married a daughter of SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (*q. v.*), and in 1774 succeeded him as Indian agent. He served against the French from 1757 to 1760. At the outbreak of the Revolution he fled to Canada, and thence went with the British troops who took possession of New York City in September, 1776; he remained there some time, and became manager of a theatre. He joined Brant, and participated in some of the bloody outrages in the Mohawk Valley. In 1779 he fought with the Indians against Sullivan. He died in London, March 5, 1788.

Johnson, HALE, lawyer; born in Montgomery county, Ind., Aug. 21, 1847; admitted to the bar of Illinois in 1875; has been actively identified with the Prohibition party for twenty years, and

has been its candidate for governor of the State of Illinois and for Vice-President in 1896.

Johnson, HELEN KENDRICK, author; born in Hamilton, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1843; daughter of Asahel C. Kendrick, the Greek scholar and author; was educated at the Oread Institute, Worcester, Mass. She has edited *Our Familiar Songs, and Those Who Made Them; The American Woman's Journal*, etc. Her original works are *The Roddy Books; Raleigh Westgate;* and *Woman and the Republic.* She has contributed many articles to periodicals, and is specially known as an opponent of woman suffrage.

Johnson, HENRY PHELPS, historian; born in 1842; became Professor of History in the College of the City of New York. He is the author of *Loyalist History of the Revolution; The Campaign of 1776 Around New York; The Yorktown Campaign; Yale and the Honor Roll in the American Revolution,* etc.

Johnson, HERSCHEL VESPASIAN, legislator; born in Burke county, Ga., Sept. 18, 1812; graduated at the University of Georgia in 1834; appointed for an unexpired term to the United States Senate in 1848; elected judge of the Superior Court of Georgia in 1849; governor in 1853 and 1855. In the Civil War he was a member of the Confederate Senate; was elected to the United States Senate during the reconstruction period, but was not allowed to take his seat, and was appointed judge of the circuit court in 1873. In 1860 Mr. Johnson was the candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Stephen A. Douglas. He died in Jefferson county, Ga., Aug. 16, 1880.

Johnson, JOHN, educator; born in Bristol, Me., Aug. 23, 1806; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1832; Professor of Natural Sciences at Wesleyan University in 1837–73, when he was made professor emeritus. He was the author of *A History of the Towns of Bristol and Bremen in the State of Maine,* etc. He died in Clifton, S. I., Dec. 2, 1879.

Johnson, JOHN, Indian agent; born in Ballyshannon, Ireland, in March, 1775; came to the United States in 1786 and settled in Cumberland county, Pa. He participated in the campaign against the Indians in Ohio in 1792–93; was agent of Indian affairs for thirty-one years; served in the War of 1812, becoming quartermaster. In 1841–42 he was commissioner to arrange with the Indians of Ohio for their emigration from that district. He was the author of an *Account of the Indian Tribes of Ohio.* He died in Washington, D. C., April 19, 1861.

Johnson, SIR JOHN, military officer; born in Mount Johnson, N. Y., Nov. 5, 1742; son of Sir William Johnson; was a stanch loyalist, and in 1776 the Whigs tried to get possession of his person. He fled to Canada with about 700 followers, where he was commissioned a colonel, and raised a corps chiefly among the loyalists of New York, known as the Royal Greens. He was among the most active and bitter foes of the patriots. While investing Fort Stanwix in 1777, he defeated General Herkimer at Oriskany, but was defeated himself by General Van Rensselaer in 1780. After the war Sir John went to England, but returned to Canada, where he resided as superintendent of Indian affairs until his death, in Montreal, Jan. 4, 1830. He married a daughter of John Watts, a New York loyalist.

Johnson, JOHN BUTLER, educator; born in Marlboro, O., June 11, 1850; graduated at the University of Michigan in 1878, and became a civil engineer in the United States Lake and Mississippi River surveys. In 1883–98 he was Professor of Civil Engineering in Washington University, St. Louis. Later he was made dean of the College of Mechanics and Engineering in the University of Wisconsin. He was director of a testing laboratory in St. Louis, where all the United States timber tests were made. He also had charge of the index department of the journal published by the Association of Engineering Societies, and compiled two volumes of *Index Notes to Engineering Literature.* He is author of *Theory and Practice of Surveying; Modern Framed Structures; Engineering Contracts and Specifications; Materials of Construction,* etc.

Johnson, JOSIAH STODDARD, author; born in New Orleans, Feb. 10, 1833; graduated at Yale College in 1853 and at the University Law School in 1854. He joined the Confederate army in 1863, and served till the close of the war. Later he engaged in the practice of law and in jour-

nalism. He is the author of *Memorial History of Louisville; First Explorations of Kentucky; Confederate History of Kentucky*, etc.

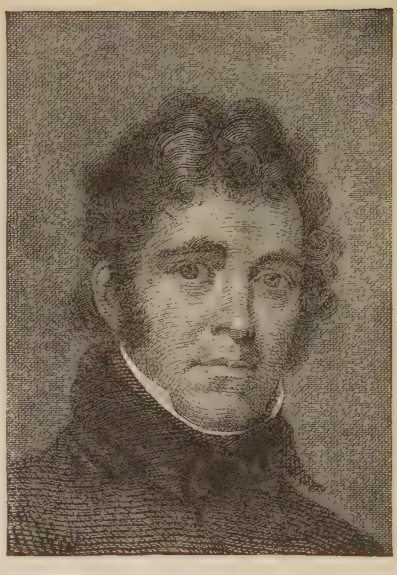
Johnson, Sir Nathaniel, colonial governor of South Carolina in 1703–9. During his administration he defeated the French who had attacked the colony in 1706. He died in Charleston in 1713.

Johnson, Oliver, journalist; born in Peacham, Vt., Dec. 27, 1809; was managing editor of *The Independent* in 1865–70; and later was editor of the *Christian Union*. He was the author of *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times, or Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America*. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 10, 1889.

Johnson, Reverdy, statesman; born in Annapolis, Md., May 21, 1796; was admitted to the bar in 1815. After serving two terms in his State Senate, he was United States Senator from 1845 to 1849, when he became United States Attorney-General under President Taylor. Mr. Johnson was a delegate to the Peace Convention; United States Senator from 1863 to 1868; and minister to Great Britain in 1868–69, negotiating a treaty for the settlement of the Alabama Claims (*q. v.*)

REVERDY JOHNSON.

question, which was rejected by the United States Senate. He was recalled by President Grant in 1869; supported Horace Greeley in the Presidential campaign of 1872. He died in Annapolis, Md., Feb. 10, 1876.



RICHARD MENTOR JOHNSON.

Johnson, Richard Mentor, Vice-President of the United States; born in Bryant's Station, Ky., Oct. 17, 1781; graduated at Transylvania University; became a lawyer and State legislator, and raised a regiment of cavalry in 1812. With them he served under Harrison, and was in the battle of the Thames in 1813, where he was dangerously wounded. From 1807 to 1819 and 1829 to 1837 he was a member of Congress. He was United States Senator from 1819 to 1829, and Vice-President of the United States from 1837 to 1841. He died in Frankfort, Ky., Nov. 19, 1850.

Johnson, Richard W., military officer; born in Livingston county, Ky., Feb. 7, 1827; graduated at West Point in 1849. He was a captain of cavalry in the Civil War until August, 1861, when he was made lieutenant-colonel of a Kentucky cavalry regiment. In October he was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers, and served under Buell. In the summer of 1862 he commanded a division of the Army of the Tennessee, and

afterwards had the same command in the Army of the Cumberland. In the battles at Stone River and near Chickamauga, and in the Atlanta campaign, he was a most useful officer. He was severely wounded at New Hope Church, and commanded a division of cavalry in the battle of Nashville, in December, 1864. He was brevetted major-general, U. S. V. and U. S. A., for gallant services during the war; was retired in 1867; and was Professor of Military Science in the Missouri State University in 1868–69, and in the University of Minnesota in 1869–71. He died in St. Paul, Minn., April 21, 1897.

Johnson, ROBERT, colonial governor; born in England in 1682; was appointed governor of South Carolina in 1717; and royal governor in 1731. He died in Charleston, S. C., May 3, 1755.

Johnson, ROBERT UNDERWOOD, editor; born in Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1853; graduated at Earlham College, Indiana, in 1871. He became connected with the editorial staff of the *Century* in 1873; edited the *Century War Series* (with Clarence Clough Buel), and subsequently extended the work by 4 volumes, covering the battles and leaders of the Civil War. It was he who induced General Grant to write his *Memoirs*, the first part of which was published in the *Century War Series*. He originated the movement which resulted in the establishment of the Yosemite National Park; and was secretary of the American Copyright League. His works include *The Winter Hour; Songs of Liberty*, etc.

Johnson, ROSSITER, author and editor; born in Rochester, N. Y., Jan. 27, 1840; graduated at the University of Rochester in 1863. In 1864–68 he was an associate editor of the Rochester *Democrat;* in 1869–72 was editor of the Concord (N. H.) *Statesman;* and in 1873–77 was an associate editor of the *American Cyclopædia.* In 1879–80 he assisted Sydney Howard Gay in preparing the last two volumes of the Bryant and Gay *History of the United States.* Since 1883 he has been the sole editor of *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia.* He edited *The Authorized History of the World's Columbian Exposition* (4 vols., 1898); and *The World's Great Books* (1898–1901). He is also an associate editor of the *Standard Dictionary.* His original books are *A History of the War Between the United States and Great Britain, 1812–15; A History of the French War, Ending in the Conquest of Canada; A History of the War of Secession* (1888; enlarged and illustrated, under the title *Camp-fire and Battle-field,* 1894); *The Hero of Manila,* etc. He has been president of the Quill Club, the Society of the Genesee, the New York Association of Phi Beta Kappa, and of the People's University Extension Society. He received the degree of Ph.D. in 1888, and that of LL.D. in 1893.

Johnson, SAMUEL, jurist; born in Dundee, Scotland, Dec. 15, 1733; was taken to North Carolina by his father when he was three years of age, and was in civil office there under the crown until he espoused the cause of the patriots. In 1773 he was one of the North Carolina committee of correspondence and an active member of the Provincial Congress. He was chairman of the provincial council in 1775, and during 1781–82 was in the Continental Congress. In 1788 he was governor of the State, and presided over the convention that adopted the national Constitution. From 1789 to 1793 he was United States Senator, and from 1800 to 1803 was judge of the Supreme Court. He died near Edenton, N. C., Aug. 18, 1816.

Johnson, THOMAS, jurist; born in St. Leonards, Calvert co., Md., Nov. 4, 1732; was an eminent lawyer, and was chosen a delegate to the second Continental Congress in 1775. He had the honor of nominating George Washington for the post of commander-in-chief of the Continental armies. He was chosen governor of the new State of Maryland in 1777, and was associate-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1791 to 1793, when he resigned. He was offered the post of chief-justice of the District of Columbia in 1801, but declined it. He died at Rose Hill, near Frederickton, Oct. 26, 1819.

Johnson, THOMAS CARY, clergyman; born in Fishbok Hill, Va., July 19, 1859; graduated at Hampden-Sidney College in 1881 and at Union Theological Seminary, Va., in 1887; was ordained in the Presbyterian Church; became Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity at Union Theological Seminary, Va., in 1892. He

is the author of *A History of the Southern Presbyterian Church; A Brief Sketch of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, etc.

Johnson, WILLIAM, jurist; born in Charleston, S. C., Dec. 27, 1771; graduated at Princeton in 1790; admitted to the bar in 1793; elected to the State legislature in 1794; appointed an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1804; served until his death, in Brooklyn, N. Y., Aug. 11, 1834. He is the author of the *Life and Correspondence of Maj.-Gen. Nathanael Greene.*

Johnson, WILLIAM, lawyer; born in Middletown, Conn., about 1770; graduated at Yale College in 1788; reporter of the Supreme Court of New York in 1806–23, and of the New York Court of Chancery in 1814–23. He was the author of *New York Supreme Court Reports, 1799–1803; New York Chancery Reports 1814–23*; and *Digest of Cases in the Supreme Court of New York.* He died in New York City in July, 1848.

Johnson, SIR WILLIAM, military officer; born in Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, in 1715; was educated for a merchant, but an unfortunate love affair changed the tenor of his life. He came to

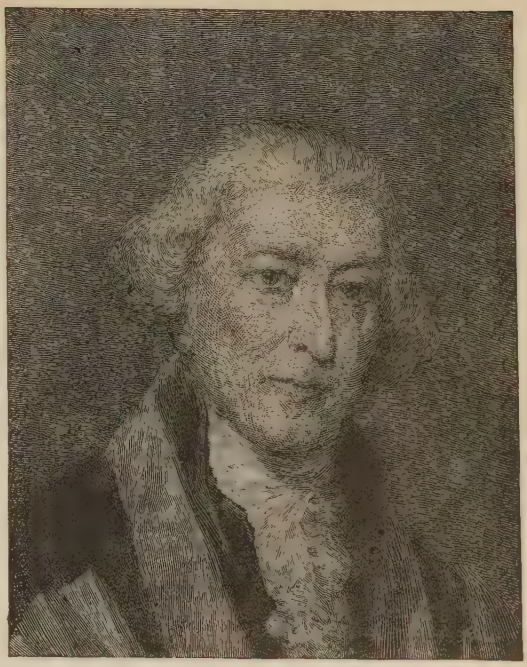
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

America in 1738 to take charge of landed property of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, in the region of the Mohawk Valley, and seated himself the e, about 24 miles west of Schenectady, ɛ ıgaging in the Indian trade. Dealing honestly with the Indians and learning their language, he became a great favorite with them. He conformed to their manners, and, in time, took Mary, a sister of Brant, the famous Mohawk chief, to his home as his wife. When the French and Indian War broke out Johnson was made sole superintendent of Indian affairs, and his great influence kept the Six Nations steadily from any favoring of the French. He kept the frontier from injury until the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).

In 1750 he was a member of the provincial council. He withdrew from his post of superintendent of Indian affairs in 1753, and was a member of the convention at Albany in 1754. He also attended grand councils of the Indians, and was adopted into the Mohawk tribe and made a sachem. At the council of governors, convened by Braddock at Alexandria in 1755, Johnson was appointed sole superintendent of the Six Nations, created a major-general, and afterwards led an expedition intended for the capture of Crown Point. The following year he was knighted, and the King gave him the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs in the North; he was also made a colonial agent. He continued in the military service during the remainder of the war, and was rewarded by his King with the gift of 100,000 acres of land north of the Mohawk River, which was known as "Kingsland," or the "Royal Grant." Sir William first introduced sheep and blooded horses into the Mohawk Valley. He married a German girl, by whom he had a son and two daughters; also eight children by Mary (or Mollie) Brant, who lived with him until his death. Sir William lived in baronial style and exercised great hospitality. He died in Johnstown, N. Y., July 11, 1774.

Johnson, WILLIAM SAMUEL, jurist; born in Stratford, Conn., Oct. 7, 1727; graduated at Yale College in 1744; became a lawyer; and was distinguished for his eloquence. He was a delegate to the STAMP ACT CONGRESS (*q. v.*), and for five years (from 1766 to 1771) was agent for Connecticut in England. He corresponded with the eminent Dr. Johnson several years. He was a judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut and a com-

missioner for adjusting the controversy between the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna Company. Judge Johnson was in Congress (1784 to 1787), and was also a member of the convention that framed the national Constitution, in which he was the first to propose the organization of the Senate as a distinct branch of the national legislature. He was United States Senator from 1789 to 1791, and, with his colleague, Oliver Ellsworth, drew up the bill for establishing the judiciary system of the United States. He was president of Columbia College from 1787 to 1800. He died in Stratford, Nov. 14, 1819.



WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Johnson-Clarendon Convention, the treaty negotiated by Reverdy Johnson, while minister to England, dated Jan. 14, 1869. This treaty proposed a mixed commission for the consideration of all claims, including the *Alabama* claims. The treaty, which was the foundation of the subsequent successful one, was rejected by the United States Senate, as the provision made in it for national losses was not satisfactory. See JOHNSON, REVERDY.

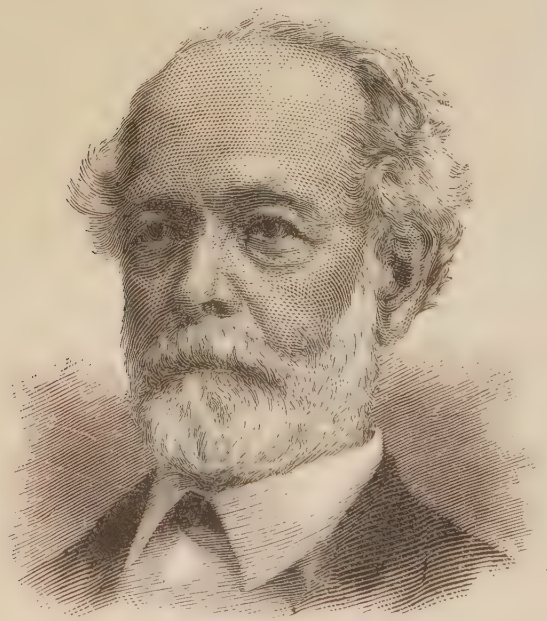
Johnston, ALBERT SIDNEY, military officer; born in Washington, Mason co., Ky., Feb. 3, 1803; graduated at West Point in 1826; served in the Black Hawk War, and resigned in 1834. He entered the Texan army as a private in 1836 and was soon made a brigadier-general, and in 1838 became commander-in-chief of the army and Secretary of War. He retired to private life in Texas. He served in the war with Mexico, and became paymaster in the United States army in 1849. In 1860–61 he commanded the Pacific Department, and, sympathizing with the Confederates, was superseded by General Sumner and entered the Confederate service, in command of the Division of the West. At his death, in the battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, General Beauregard succeeded him.

Johnston, ALEXANDER, historian; born in Brooklyn, N. Y., April 2, 1849; graduated at Rutgers College, studied law, and became a few years later Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Princeton University. His contributions to American history were valuable. They include a *History of American Politics,* histories of Connecticut and the United States, the political articles in Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science,* and the political sketch under the article "United States" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* He died in Princeton, N. J., July 20, 1889.

Johnston, JOSEPH EGGLESTON, military officer; born in Longwood, Va., Feb. 3, 1809; graduated at West Point in 1829, and entered the artillery. He served in the wars with the Florida Indians, and with Mexico, in which he was twice wounded. He became lieutenant-colonel of cavalry in 1855, and quartermaster-general, with the rank of brigadier-general, in June, 1860. He joined the Confederates in the spring of 1861, and was commissioned a major-general in

the Army of Virginia. He was in command at the battle of Bull Run, and fought gallantly on the Virginia peninsula, until wounded at the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines (1862), when he was succeeded by Lee. He afterwards opposed Grant and Sherman in the Mississippi Valley. He was in command during the Atlanta campaign in 1864 until July, when he was superseded by General Hood.

When Johnston heard of Sherman's raid, and perceived that Polk could not resist him, he sent two divisions of Hardee's corps, under Generals Stewart and Anderson, to assist Polk. Grant, in command at Chattanooga (February, 1864), sent General Palmer with a force to counteract this movement. Palmer moved with his corps directly upon Dalton (Feb. 22),



JOSEPH EGGLESTON JOHNSTON.

where Johnston was encamped. The Confederates were constantly pushed back and there was almost continual heavy skirmishing. In the centre of Rocky Face Valley, on a rocky eminence, the Confederates made a stand, but were soon driven from the crest by General Turchin, after a severe struggle. The Confederates rallied, and, returning with an overwhelming force, retook the hill. Palmer, finding his adversaries gathering in force larger than his own, and learning that the object of his expedition had been accomplished, in the calling back of Hardee by Johnston, fell back and took post (March 10) at Ringgold. In this short campaign the Nationals lost 350 killed and wounded; the Confederates about 200.

With the surrender of Lee, the Civil War was virtually ended. Although he was general-in-chief, his capitulation included only the Army of Northern Virginia. That of Johnston, in North Carolina, and smaller bodies, were yet in the field. When Sherman, who confronted Johnston, heard of the victory at Five Forks and the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, he moved on Johnston (April 10, 1865), with his whole army. The latter was at Smithfield, on the Neuse River, with fully 30,000 men. Jefferson Davis and the Confederate cabinet were then at Danville, on the southern border of Virginia, and had just proposed to Johnston a plan whereby they might secure their own personal safety and the treasures they had brought with them from Richmond. It was to disperse his army, excepting two or three batteries of artillery, the cavalry, and as many infantry as he could mount, with which he should form a guard for the "government," and strike for the Mississippi and beyond, with Mexico as their final objective. Johnston spurned the proposition, and, deprecating the bad example of Lee in continuing what he knew to be a hopeless war, had the moral courage to do his duty according to the dictates of his conscience and his nice sense of honor. He refused to fight any more, or to basely desert his

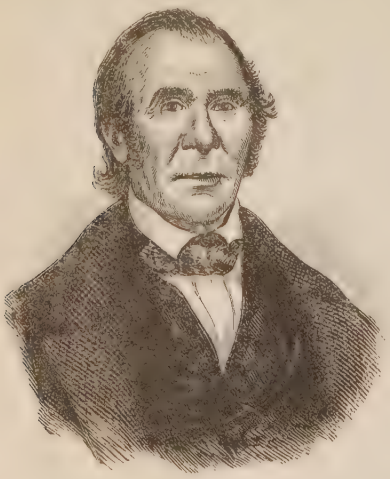
army far away from their home, as the "government" proposed, and stated frankly to the people of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, included within his military department, that "war could not be longer continued by them, except as robbers," and that he should take measures to stop it and save the army and people from further evil, and "avoid the crime of waging a hopeless war." Sherman was pushing Johnston with great vigor, when the former received a note from the latter (April 14, 1865), asking if a temporary suspension of active hostilities might be arranged to allow the "civil authorities to enter into the needful arrangements to terminate the existing war." Sherman promptly replied that he would do so, and was willing to hold a conference. He said that, as a basis of action, he would undertake to abide by the terms made by Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court-house. Sherman and Johnston met at Durham's Station, half-way between Raleigh and Hillsboro, at ten o'clock, April 17. Johnston said he regarded the Confederate cause as lost, and admitted that Grant's terms were magnanimous; but he insisted upon conditions involving political guarantees, which Sherman had no authority to grant. At a second conference the next day, Sherman consented to a memorandum of agreement as a basis for the consideration of the government, which, if carried out, would have instantly restored to all persons engaged in the rebellion every right and privilege, social and political, which they had enjoyed before the war, without any liability of punishment. It was adroitly drawn up by Breckinridge, and was signed by the respective commanding generals. The national government instantly rejected it, and General Grant was sent to Raleigh to declare that rejection, which he did April 24, and proclaimed that the truce would end in forty-eight hours. This notification was accompanied by a demand for the surrender of Johnston's army, on the terms granted to Lee. The capitulation was agreed upon at the house of James Bennett, near Durham's Station, April 26. About 25,000 troops were surrendered. The capitulation included all the troops in Johnston's military department. General Taylor surrendered at Citronelle, Ala., to General Canby, on the same terms, and the Confederate navy on the Tombigbee River was surrendered by Commander Farrand to Rear-Admiral Thatcher. After the war he engaged in the fire insurance business; was a Democratic member of Congress in 1876–78; and United States commissioner of railroads in 1885–89. He died in Washington, D. C., March 21, 1891.

PLACE OF JOHNSTON'S SURRENDER TO SHERMAN.

Johnston, Richard Malcolm, author; born in Powelton, Ga., March 8, 1822; graduated at Mercer University, Georgia, in 1841, and a year later was admitted to the bar. In 1857–61 he was Professor of Literature in the University of Georgia. He was an officer in the Confederate army throughout the Civil War. In 1867 he moved to Baltimore, and engaged in authorship. His works include *Georgia Sketches; Dukesborough Tales; Historical Sketch of English Literature* (with W. H. Browne); *Old Mark Langston; Two Gray*

Tourists; Mr. Absalom Billingslea, and Other Georgia Folk; Ogeechee Cross Firings; Widow Guthrie; The Primes and Their Neighbors; Studies: Literary and Social; Old Times in Middle Georgia; Pearse Amerson's Will, etc. He died in Baltimore, Md., Sept. 23, 1898.

Johnston, WILLIAM, revolutionist; born in Canada, in 1780; was an American spy on the Canada frontier during the War of 1812–15. He was living at Clayton, N. Y., on the bank of the St. Lawrence, when the "patriot" war in Canada broke out in 1837. Being a bold and adventurous man, and cordially hating the British, Johnston was easily persuaded by the American sympathizers in the movement to join in the strife. The leaders regarded him as a valuable assistant, for he was thoroughly acquainted with the whole region of the Thousand Islands, in the St. Lawrence, from Kingston to Ogdensburg. He was employed to capture the steamboat *Robert Peel*, that carried passengers and the mail between Prescott and Toronto, and also to seize the *Great Britain*, another steamer, for the use of the "patriots." With a desperate band, Johnston rushed on board of the *Peel* at Wells's



WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

Island, not far below Clayton, on the night of May 29, 1838. They were armed with muskets and bayonets and painted like Indians, and appeared with a shout, "Remember the *Caroline!*"—a vessel which some persons from Canada had cut loose at Schlosser (on Niagara River), set on fire, and sent blazing over Niagara

JOHNSTON'S COMMISSION.

Falls. The passengers and baggage of the *Peel* were put on shore and the vessel was burned, because her captors could not manage her. Governor Marcy, of New York, declared Johnston an outlaw, and offered a reward of $500 for his person. The governor of Canada (Earl of Durham) offered $5,000 for the conviction of any person concerned in the "infamous outrage." Johnston, in a proclamation issued from "Fort Watson," declared himself the leader of the band; that his companions were nearly all Englishmen; and that his headquarters were on an island within the jurisdiction of the United States. Fort Watson was a myth. It was wherever Johnston was seated among the Thousand Islands, where for a long time he was concealed, going from one island to another to avoid arrest. His daughter, a handsome maiden of eighteen years, who was an expert rower, went to his retreat at night with food. At length he was arrested, tried at Syracuse on a charge of violating the neutrality laws, and acquitted. Again arrested and put in jail, he managed to escape, when a reward of $200 was offered for him. He gave himself up at Albany, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the jail there and to pay a fine of $250. His faithful daughter, who had acquired the title of "The Heroine of the Thousand

Islands," hastened to Albany and shared the prison with her father. He procured a key that would unlock his prison-door. His daughter departed and waited for him at Rome. He left the jail, walked 40 miles the first night, and soon joined her. They went home, and Johnston was not molested afterwards. The "patriots" urged him to engage in the struggle again. He had had enough of it. They sent him the commission of a commodore, dated at "Windsor, U. C., Sept. 5, 1839," and signed "H. S. Hand, Commander-in-Chief of the Northwestern Army, on Patriot Service in Upper Canada." On that commission was the device seen in the engraving—the American eagle carrying off the British lion. The maple-leaf is an emblem of Canada. He refused to serve, and remained quietly at home. President Pierce appointed him light-house keeper on Rock Island, in the St. Lawrence, in sight of the place where the *Peel* was burned.

Johnston, WILLIAM PRESTON, educator; born in Louisville, Ky., Jan. 5, 1831; son of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston. He graduated at Yale University in 1852, and at the Louisville Law School in the following year, and began practice in Louisville. When the Civil War broke out, he entered the Confederate army as major of the 1st Kentucky Regiment. In 1862 he was appointed by President Davis his aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel. When Lee surrendered Colonel Johnston remained with the President, and was captured with him. After his release he lived a year in Canada and then resumed law practice in Louisville. In 1867, when General Lee was made president of Washington and Lee University, Colonel Johnston was appointed Professor of English History and Literature there, where he remained till 1877. During 1880–83 he was president of the Louisiana State University and the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Baton Rouge. In 1883, when Tulane University, in New Orleans, was founded, he was elected its president, and served as such till his death, in Lexington, Va., July 16, 1899. His publications include *Life of Albert Sidney Johnston; The Prototype of Hamlet; The Johnstons of Salisbury;* also the poems, *My Garden Walk; Pictures of the Patriarchs;* and *Seekers After God.*

Johnstone, GEORGE, diplomatist; born in Dumfries, Scotland; entered the British navy; became post-captain 1762, and governor of West Florida in 1763; and was one of the commissioners sent to the United States to treat with Congress in 1778. He had been an advocate of the Americans in the House of Commons, and brought letters of introduction to Robert Morris, Joseph Reed, and other leading patriots. Finding the commissioners could do nothing, officially, with Congress, Johnstone attempted to gain by bribery what could not be acquired by diplomacy. To Morris and others he wrote letters, urging the expediency of making arrangements with the government, and suggesting, in some of his letters, that those persons who should be instrumental in bringing it about would not fail of high honors and rewards from the government. An American lady in Philadelphia, whose husband was in the British service, and who was a relative of Ferguson, the secretary of the commission, was induced by Johnstone to approach Joseph Reed with a proposition. Mrs. Ferguson was a daughter of Dr. Græme, of Pennsylvania, a bright woman, in whose prudence and patriotism the Whigs had such confidence that the interchange of visits among them and the Tories never led to a suspicion that she would betray the cause of her country. Johnstone made her believe he was a warm friend of the Americans, and he entreated her to go to General Reed and say to him that if he could, conscientiously, exert his influence in bringing about a reconciliation, he might command $50,000 and the highest post in the government. "That," said Mrs. Ferguson, "General Reed would consider the offer of a bribe." Johnstone disclaimed any such intention, and Mrs. Ferguson carried the message to Reed as soon as the British left Philadelphia. Reed indignantly replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the King of England is not rich enough to do it." These facts being made known to Congress, resolutions were passed, Aug. 11, 1778, accusing the commissioner of an attempt at bribery and corruption, and declining to hold any further communication with him. He died Jan. 8, 1787.

Johnstown Flood. See INUNDATIONS.

John the Painter. While SILAS

DEANE (*q. v.*), commissioner of the Continental Congress, was in Paris (1777), a stranger, advanced in years, called upon him one day, and requested a strictly private interview. It was granted, when the stranger told Deane that he was a native of Scotland, but was an American citizen, and had lived at Amboy, N. J., where he had a comfortable house. The British troops stationed there, suspecting him of being a Whig, had greatly abused him, and finally burned his house to ashes. He told Deane he had resolved on revenge; that he had determined to kill King George, and had come to Europe for the purpose. He had been to England, had laid his plans, and was ready to execute them. He thought it right to acquaint Deane, the United States minister, with his scheme. He said he passed by the name of "John the Painter." Mr. Deane opposed the assassination of the King as cowardly and unjust. He was innocent of wrong in the matter. If he must have revenge, he should take it in a manly, generous way; he should go into the American army, and meet his enemy as a soldier, and not as a vulgar assassin; and if he could so meet King George, at the head of his army, he could kill him with propriety. It would be lawful to so kill his generals. The man was finally persuaded by Deane to abandon his regicidal plan, and left. He soon returned, thanked Deane for persuading him not to lay violent hands on "the Lord's Anointed," and said he was determined to seek revenge by burning the naval stores at Portsmouth, England. Deane said that would tend to weaken the enemy in carrying on the war, and was legitimate business. He was astonished at the wisdom of the man's plans. He warned him, however, that if he should be caught his life would pay the penalty of his crime. "I am an old man," was the reply, "and it matters little whether I die now or five years hence." He borrowed a guinea from Deane, and crossed the channel.

At Portsmouth he took lodgings at the house of a very poor woman on the outskirts of the town. While he was absent, she had the curiosity to examine a bundle which he had brought with him. It contained some clothing and a tin box, with some sort of a machine inside. John wanted a top to it, and had one made by a tinman. The same evening the naval storehouses were fired by this "infernal machine," and $500,000 worth of property was destroyed. Strict search was made for the incendiary in the morning at every house in the town. The old woman told them of John the Painter and his mysterious tin box. The tinman reported making a top for it. John was fixed upon as the incendiary. Not doubting he had been sent by the enemy for the purpose, and that relays of horses had been furnished for his escape, horsemen were sent out on every road, with orders to pursue any person they should find riding very fast. John, meanwhile, was trudging on foot towards London. Men came up to him and asked him if he had seen any person riding post-haste. "Why do you inquire?" asked John. He was properly answered, when John told the pursuers they were mistaken, for he—"John the Painter"—was the incendiary, and gave them his reasons for the act. They took him back to Portsmouth, where he was recognized by the old woman and the tinman. He candidly told them that he should certainly have killed the King had not Mr. Deane dissuaded him, and that he was revenged, and was ready to die. He was tried, condemned, and hung. A false and unfair account of his trial was published, and no mention was made of Mr. Deane's having saved the life of the King. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1777 contains the English account of the affair, with a portrait. The above is compiled from manuscript notes made from the lips of Deane by Elias Boudinot.

Joint High Commission. The government of the United States, in behalf of its citizens, claimed from Great Britain damages inflicted on the American shipping interests by the depredations of the ALABAMA (*q. v.*) and other Anglo-Confederate cruisers. To effect a peaceful solution of the difficulty, REVERDY JOHNSON (*q. v.*), of Maryland, was sent to England, in 1868, to negotiate a treaty for that purpose. His mission was not satisfactory. The treaty which he negotiated was almost universally condemned by his countrymen, and was rejected by the Senate. His successor, JOHN LO-

THROP MOTLEY (*q. v.*), appointed minister at the British Court, was charged with the same mission, but failed in that particular, and was recalled in 1870. The matter was finally settled by arbitration. Much correspondence succeeded the efforts to settle by treaty. Finally, in January, 1871, the British minister at Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, in a letter to Secretary Fish, proposed, under instructions from his government, a Joint High Commission, to be appointed by the two governments, respectively, to settle disputes of every kind between the United States and Great Britain, and so establish a permanent friendship between the two nations. Mr. Fish proposed that the commission should embrace in its inquiries the matter of the "*Alabama* Claims," so that nothing should remain to disturb amicable relations. The suggestion was approved, and each government appointed commissioners. The President appointed, for the United States, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; Samuel Nelson, associate-justice of the United States Supreme Court; Robert C. Schenck, minister to England; Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, late United States Attorney-General; and George H. Williams, United States Senator from Oregon. Queen Victoria appointed George Frederick Samuel, Earl de Gray and Earl of Ripon; Sir Stratford Henry Northcote; Sir Edward Thornton, her minister at Washington; Sir Alexander McDonald, of the privy council of Canada, and attorney-general of that province; and Montague Bernard, Professor of International Law in Oxford University. The commissioners first met in Washington, Feb. 27, 1871. Lord Tenterden, secretary of the British commission, and J. C. Bancroft Davis, assistant Secretary of State of the United States, were chosen clerks of the Joint High Commission. The commissioners of the United States were instructed to consider: (1) the fisheries; (2) the navigation of the St. Lawrence River; (3) reciprocal trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada; (4) the Northwest water boundary and the island of San Juan; (5) the claims of the United States against Great Britain for compensation for injuries committed by Confederate cruisers; (6) claims of British subjects against the United States for losses and injuries arising out of acts committed during the Civil War. A treaty was agreed to, and was signed May 8, 1871, which provided for the settlement, by arbitration, by a mixed commission, of all claims on both sides for injuries by either government to the citizens of the other, during the Civil War, and for the permanent settlement of all questions in dispute between the two nations (see WASHINGTON, TREATY OF). Arbitrators were appointed, who, at Geneva, Switzerland, formed what was known as the Tribunal of Arbitration, and reached a decision in which both parties acquiesced. See ARBITRATION, TRIBUNAL OF.

Joliet, LOUIS, discoverer; born in Quebec, Canada, Sept. 21, 1645; was educated at the Jesuit college in his native city, and afterwards engaged in the fur-trade in the Western wilderness. In 1673 Intendant Talon, at Quebec, with the sanction of Governor Frontenac, selected Joliet to find and ascertain the direction of the course of the Mississippi and its mouth. Starting from Mackinaw, in May, 1673, with Father Marquette and five other Frenchmen, they reached the Mississippi June 17. They studied the country on their route, made maps, and gained much information. After intercourse with Indians on the lower Mississippi, near the mouth of the Arkansas, who had trafficked with Europeans, they were satisfied that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, and made their way back to Green Bay, where Joliet started alone for Quebec to report to his superiors. His canoe was upset in Lachine Rapids, above Montreal, and his journals and charts were lost, but he wrote out his narrative from memory, which agreed, in essentials, with that of Marquette. Joliet afterwards went on an expedition to Hudson Bay, in the service of his King, and was rewarded by his sovereign with the appointment of hydrographer to his Majesty, and was favored with the seigniory of the island of Anticosti in 1680. La Salle's pretensions denied him the privilege of making explorations in the West. He died in Canada in May, 1700.

Jonathan, BROTHER, the name popularly applied to the United States, as JOHN BULL is to Great Britain; originated in Washington's humorous allusion to JONATHAN TRUMBULL (*q. v.*), governor of Connecticut, the only colonial governor who favored independence.

Joncaire, or **Jonquière,** JACQUES PIERRE DE TAFFANEL, MARQUIS DE LA, naval officer; born in La Jonquière, France, in 1686; entered the navy in 1698, and in 1703 was adjutant in the French army. He was a brave and skilful officer, and was in many battles. He became captain in the navy in 1736, and accompanied D'Anville in his expedition against Louisburg in 1745. In 1747 he was appointed governor of Canada, but, being captured by the British, he did not arrive until 1749. He died in Quebec, May 17, 1752.

Jones, CHARLES COLCOCK, clergyman; born in Liberty county, Ga., Dec. 20, 1804; received his theological training at Andover and Princeton Theological Seminaries; was ordained in the Presbyterian Church, and became active in the work of educating the negro race. His publications include *Religious Instruction for Negroes in the Southern States; Suggestions on the Instruction of Negroes in the South;* and a *History of the Church of God.* He died in Liberty county, Ga., March 16, 1863.

Jones, CHARLES COLCOCK, lawyer; born in Savannah, Ga., Oct. 28, 1831; graduated at Princeton in 1852; admitted to the bar of Georgia in 1856; during the Civil War he served as colonel of artillery. Among his historical works are *Monumental Remains of Georgia; Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery; Life of Gen. Henry Lee; Commodore Josiah Tatnall; Jean Pierre Purry; Richard Henry Wilde; Siege of Savannah in 1779; De Soto and His March through Georgia,* etc.

Jones, HORATIO GATES, lawyer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 9, 1822; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1841; was admitted to the bar in 1847; became connected with many historical societies. His publications include *History of Roxborough and Manayunk; Report of the Committee of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the Bradford Bicentenary; Andrew Bradford, Founder of the Newspaper Press in the Middle States of America,* etc.

Jones, JACOB, naval officer; born near Smyrna, Del., in March, 1768; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania,

JACOB JONES.

and entered the navy as a midshipman in 1799. He was an officer of the *Philadelphia* when she was captured at Tripoli. In 1810 he was made commander, and when the War of 1812–15 broke out he was in charge of the sloop-of-war *Wasp,* in which he gained a victory. He commanded the *Macedonian,* in Decatur's squadron, as post-captain. After the war he commanded the Mediterranean squadron; was a commissioner of the navy board; and governor of the naval asylum at Philadelphia. Congress voted him thanks and a gold medal and several States presented him with swords. He died in Philadelphia, Aug. 3, 1850.

Jones, JAMES ATHEARN, author; born in Tisbury, Mass., June 4, 1790; received a common-school education, and engaged in journalism in Philadelphia in 1826; later was editor in Baltimore, Md., and in Buffalo, N. Y. His publications include *Traditions of the North American Indians, or Tales of an Indian Camp; Letter to an English Gentleman on Eng-*

GOLD MEDAL AWARDED BY CONGRESS TO JACOB JONES.

lish Libels of America; and *Haverhill, or Memoirs of an Officer in the Army of Wolfe.* He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., in August, 1853.

Jones, JOHN MATHER, journalist; born in Bangor, North Wales, June 9, 1826; came to the United States in 1849; was the founder of the Welsh town of New Cambria, Mo., and also of Avonia, in Kansas. In 1865–74 he was the owner and publisher of *The Mirror,* the first Welsh newspaper established in the United States. He was the author of a *History of the Rebellion* (in Welsh). He died in Utica, N. Y., Dec. 21, 1874.

Jones, JOHN PAUL, naval officer; born in Kirkbean, Scotland, July 6, 1747. Before he was eighteen years old he commanded a vessel that traded with the West Indies. Jones came to Virginia in 1773, inheriting the estate of his brother, who died there. Offering his services to Congress, he was made first lieutenant in the navy in December, 1775, when, out of gratitude to General Jones, of North Carolina, he assumed his name. Before that he was John Paul. He was a bold and skilful sea-rover, gathering up many prizes. Made captain in the fall of 1776, he raised the first flag ever displayed on a United States ship-of-war the *Alfred.* He destroyed the Port Royal (N. S.) fisheries, capturing all the vessels and freight. In the summer of 1777 he sailed in the *Ranger* to Europe, and in February, 1778, received from a French commander the first salute ever given to the American flag by a foreign man-of-war. In April he scaled the walls of Whitehaven, in England, on the borders of the Irish Sea, and spiked thirty-eight cannon.

In 1779, while cruising up and down the east coast of Scotland, between the Solway and the Clyde, he tried to capture the Earl of Selkirk, in order to secure a notable prisoner for exchange. He had been an early friend of Jones's father. His seat was at the mouth of the Dee.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

Jones anchored his vessel, the *Ranger,* in the Solway at noon, and with a few men, in a single boat, he went to a

wooded promontory on which the earl's fine estate lay, where he learned that his lordship was not at home. Disappointed, he ordered his men back to the boat, when his lieutenant, a large and fiery man, proposed to go to the mansion and plunder it of the family plate. Jones would not listen to the proposition, for the memory of old associations made his heart tender towards Lady Selkirk, who had been very kind to him. Again he ordered his men back, but they and the lieutenant, eager for prize-money, in defiance of his expostulations, went to the house and demanded the plate. The frightened Lady Selkirk surrendered it with her own hands. When the prizes of the *Ranger* were sold Jones bought this plate, and sent it back to Lady Selkirk with a letter in which he expressed his regret because of the annoyance she had suffered.

GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

During the spring and summer of 1779, American cruisers were very active, both in American and European waters. At the middle of August Jones was sent out from the French port of L'Orient, with five vessels, to the coast of Scotland. His flag-ship was the *Bon Homme Richard*. As he was about to strike some armed British vessels in the harbor of Leith a storm arose, which drove him into the North Sea. When it ceased, he cruised along the Scottish coast, capturing many prizes and producing great alarm. Late in September, while Jones's squadron lay a few leagues north of the mouth of the Humber, he discovered the Baltic fleet of forty merchantmen (convoyed by the *Serapis*, a 44-gun ship, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty-two guns), stretching out from Flamborough Head. Jones signalled for a chase, and all but the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, obeyed. While the opposing war-ships were manœuvring for advantage, night fell upon the scene. At seven o'clock in the evening of Sept. 23, 1779, one of the most desperate of recorded sea-fights began. The *Bon Homme Richard* and *Serapis*, Captain Pearson, came so close to each other that their spars and rigging became entangled, and Jones attempted to board his antagonist. A short contest with pike, pistol, and cutlass ensued, and Jones was repulsed. The vessels separated, and were soon placed broadside to broadside, so close that the muzzles of their guns touched each other. Both vessels were dreadfully shattered; and, at one time, the *Serapis* was on fire in a dozen places. Just as the moon rose, at half-past nine o'clock, the *Richard*, too, caught fire. A terrific hand-to-hand fight now ensued. Jones's ship, terribly damaged, could not float much longer. The flames were creeping up the rigging of the *Serapis*, and by their light Jones saw that his double-headed shot had cut the mainmast

THE HAND-TO-HAND FIGHT ON THE DECK OF THE SERAPIS.

of the *Serapis* almost in two. He hurled another, and the tall mast fell. Pearson saw his great peril, hauled down his flag, and surrendered. As he handed his sword to Jones he said, in a surly tone, "It is painful to deliver up my sword to a man who has fought with a rope around his neck!" (Jones had been declared a

pirate by the British government.) The battle ceased, after raging three hours. The vessels were disengaged, and the *Richard* soon went to the bottom of the North Sea. For this victory Congress gave Jones the thanks of the nation, a gold medal and a commission as commander of

JONES RAISING THE FIRST FLAG EVER DISPLAYED ON A UNITED STATES SHIP-OF-WAR.

the *America*, which ship was soon presented to France. The King of France made Jones a knight of the Order of Merit, and presented him with a gold sword. Jones entered the service of Russia as rear-admiral in 1787, and, in consequence of a victory over the Turks, was made vice-admiral and knighted. He resigned from the Russian service, and was appointed consul of the United States at Algiers in 1792, but he died before the commission reached him. He died in Paris, July 18, 1792. His body was brought back to the United States by a squadron of war-ships in June, 1905.

Jones, JOHN PERCIVAL, United States Senator; born in Hay, Wales, in 1830; came to the United States while a child; removed to California in 1849; served several terms in the State legislature. Mr. Jones removed to Nevada in 1867, and was elected to the United States Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1873, and several times re-elected. Originally a Republican, he was one of the founders of the "Silver" Republican party, which acted with the Democratic party in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900.

Jones, JOHN WINSTON; born in Chesterfield, Va., Nov. 22, 1791; graduated at William and Mary College in 1803; elected to Congress in 1835; served until March, 1845; during his last term he was speaker of the House. He died Jan. 29, 1848.

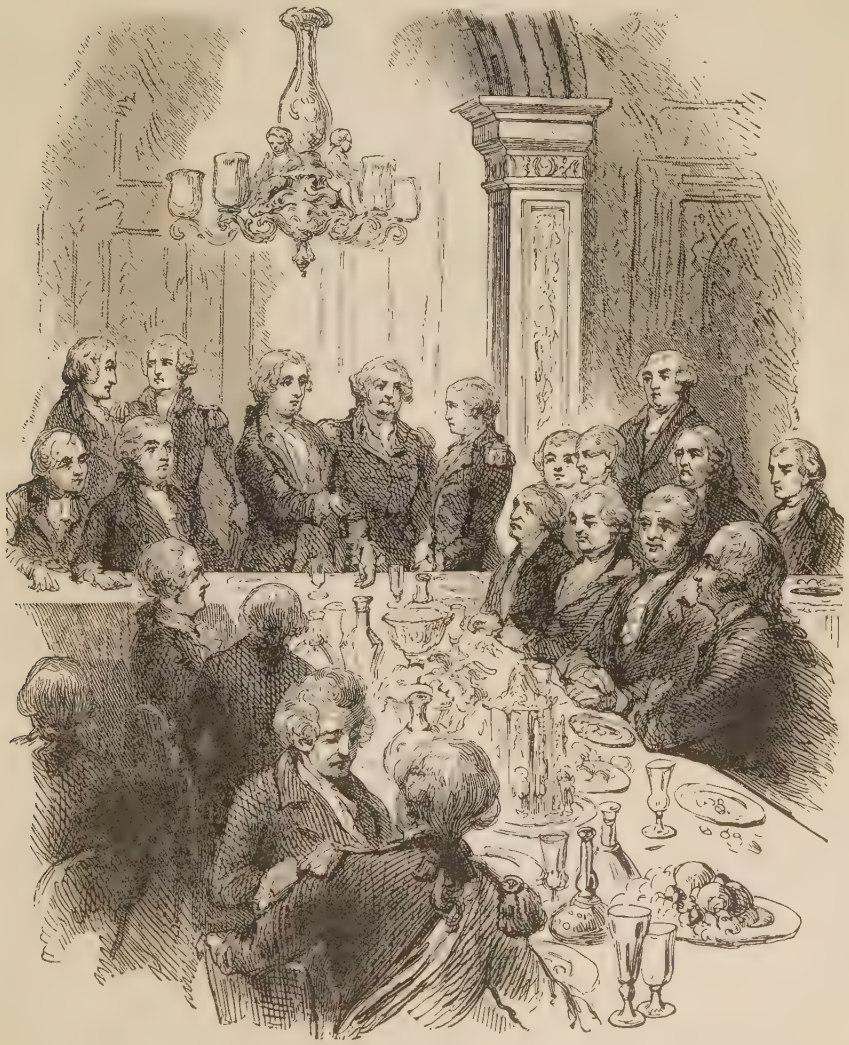
Jones, JOSEPH, jurist; born in Virginia in 1727; elected a member of the House of Burgesses; to the Continental Congress in 1778; also to the convention of 1778; in 1778 he was appointed judge of the general court of Virginia; resigned in 1779, but accepted a reappointment the same year. He died at his home in Virginia, Oct. 28, 1805.

Jones, LEONARD AUGUSTUS, author; born in Templeton, Mass., Jan. 13, 1832; graduated at Harvard College in 1855, and at its Law School in 1858; began practice in Boston. His publications include *A Treatise on the Law of Mortgages of Real Property; A Treatise on the Law of Railroads and Other Corporate Securities; Pledges, including Collateral Securities; An Index to Legal Periodical Literature*, etc.

Jones, MARCUS EUGENE, scientist; born in Jefferson, O., April 25, 1852; graduated at Iowa College, in 1875; instructor there in 1876–77; Professor of Natural Science in Colorado College in 1879–80; the same in Salt Lake City in 1880–81. He was appointed a special expert in the

United States Treasury Department in 1889, and was geologist for the Rio Grande Valley Railroad in 1890–93. Subsequently he established himself as an expert in botany, geology, and mining. He is author of *Excursion Botanique; Salt Lake City; Ferns of the West; Some Phases of Mining in Utah; Botany of the Great Plateau;* and *Geology of Utah.*

Jones, SAMUEL PORTER, clergyman; born in Chambers county, Ala., Oct. 16, 1847; was admitted to the Georgia bar in 1869; but after beginning practice under bright prospects his health failed; and in 1872 he was ordained to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. For eight years he served in various pastorates in the North Georgia Conference, and for twelve years was agent of the North Georgia Orphanage. Popularly



JONES INVESTED WITH THE ORDER OF MILITARY MERIT.

known as "Sam Jones," he has engaged extensively in evangelistic work and in lecturing, in all parts of the United States. His publications include *Sermons and Sayings by Sam Jones; Music Hall Sermons; Quit Your Meanness; St. Louis Series; Sam Jones's Own Book;* and *Thunderbolts.*

Jones, THOMAS, lawyer; born in Fort Neck, L. I., April 30, 1731; graduated at Yale in 1750; admitted to the bar of New York in 1755, and practised in New York; was recorder of New York City in 1769–73, when he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court. He was arrested a number of times as a loyalist, and was exchanged for General Silliman in 1780; went to England in 1781; was included in the New York State act of attainder in 1782. His estate on Long Island, Tryon Hall, descended to his daughter, who had married Richard Floyd, upon condition that the name Jones be added to that of Floyd. The estate is still in the Floyd-Jones family. Judge Jones wrote a *History of New York During the Revolutionary War,* a valuable contribution to history, as it is the only one from the view-point of a loyalist who participated in the events of that time. He died in England, July 25, 1792.

Jones, THOMAS AP CATESBY, naval officer; born in Virginia, in 1789; entered the navy in 1805. From 1808 to 1812 he was engaged in the Gulf of Mexico in the suppression of piracy, smuggling, and the slave-trade. He fought the British flotilla on Lake Borgne late in 1814, when he was wounded and made captive. He commanded the Pacific squadron in 1842. He died in Georgetown, D. C., May 30, 1858.

Jones, WILLIAM; born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1760; served throughout the Revolutionary War, at first in the army and later in the navy; elected to Congress in 1801; appointed Secretary of the Navy in 1813. He died in Bethlehem, Pa., Sept. 5, 1831.

Jones, WILLIAM ALFRED; born in New York City, June 26, 1817; graduated at Columbia College in 1836; appointed librarian of Columbia College in 1851. He is the author of *The Library of Columbia College; The First Century of Columbia College,* etc.

Jonesboro, BATTLE AT. Sherman began his flanking when he raised the siege of ATLANTA (*q. v.*), on the night of Aug. 25, 1864. General Slocum, with the 20th Corps, proceeded to the protection of the sick, wounded, and stores near the Chattahoochee, and Howard and the rest of the army moved for the West Point Railway. General Stanley's corps was on the extreme left, and the armies of Howard, Thomas, and Schofield pressed forward so secretly that Hood was not informed of the movement until the Nationals were destroying that road. This was done, Aug. 28, for 12 miles, and the next day they struck the Macon road. Schofield reached the road at Rough-and-Ready Station, 10 miles from Atlanta. Thomas struck it at Couch's; and Howard, crossing the Flint River half a mile from Jonesboro, approached it at that point. There he was met by one-half of Hood's army, under Hardee. With the remainder Hood was holding the defences of Atlanta, but he was too weak to attempt to strike Schofield. There was a severe fight at the passage of the Flint River, on the morning of Aug. 31, between the forces of Howard and Hardee. Howard's army was disposed with Blair's corps in the centre, and rude breastworks were cast up. The contest was renewed very soon, when Hardee attempted to crush Howard before he could receive reinforcements. He failed. The Nationals thus attacked were veterans. For two hours there was a desperate strife for victory, which was won by Howard. Hardee recoiled, and in his hasty retreat left 400 of his dead on the field and 300 of his badly wounded at Jonesboro. His loss was estimated at 2,500 men. Howard's loss was about 500. Meanwhile Sherman had sent relief to Howard. Kilpatrick and Garrard were very active, and General Davis's corps soon touched Howard's left. At four o'clock in the afternoon Davis charged and carried the Confederate works covering Jonesboro on the north, and captured General Govan and a greater part of his brigade. In the morning Hardee had fled, pursued by the Nationals to Lovejoy's.

Jordan, DAVID STARR, educator; born in Gainesville, N. Y., Jan. 19, 1851; graduated at Cornell University in 1872; and at the Indiana Medical College in 1875. He was Professor of Biology in Butler University, Indiana, in 1875–79; held

the same chair in Indiana University in 1879–85; and was president there in 1885–91. In the latter year he was elected president of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University. Since 1877 he has held several appointments under the United States government in connection with the fisheries and the fur-seal industry. He is author of *A Manual of Vertebrate Animals of Northern United States; Science Sketches; Fisheries of North and Middle America; Factors of Organic Evolution; Matka and Kotik; Care and Culture of Men; The Innumerable Company;* and many papers on ichthyology.

Jordan, JOHN WOOLF, antiquarian; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 14, 1840; graduated at Nazareth Hall in 1856; became editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* He is the author of *Friedensthal and Its Stockaded Mill; A Moravian Chronicle, 1749–67; Bethlehem During the Revolution; The Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz During the Revolution; Occupation of New York by the British, 1775–83,* etc.

Jordan, THOMAS, military officer; born in Luray, Va., Sept. 30, 1819; graduated at West Point in 1840; took part in the Seminole War, and in the war with Mexico; he entered the Confederate army in 1861 as lieutenant-colonel, but was made adjutant-general; served on the staff of General Beauregard, and on that of General Bragg. In 1869 he joined the Cuban insurgents, but resigned the next year and returned to the United States.

Josselyn, JOHN, author; born in England early in the seventeenth century; travelled in America in 1638–39 and 1663–71. He is the author of *New England's Rarities Discovered; An Account of Two Voyages to New England,* etc.

Jouett, JAMES EDWARD, naval officer; born in Lexington, Ky., Feb. 27, 1828. He entered the navy as midshipman in 1841; fought in the war with Mexico, and graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1847. He went with the expedition to Paraguay and served in the Berriby war. Later he was promoted passed midshipman and in 1855 became master and lieutenant. In 1861 he destroyed the Confederate war vessel *Royal Yacht,* in Galveston Harbor, while in command of the frigate *Santee.* For this exploit he was given command of the *Montgomery.* On July 16, 1862, he was promoted to lieutenant-commander. In 1864 when the entrance to Mobile Bay was forced he took a conspicuous part. In 1866 he was promoted commander; in 1874, captain; in 1883, commodore; in 1886, rear-admiral; and in 1890 was retired. He had charge of the operations on the Isthmus of Panama in 1885 and succeeded in obtaining a free transit across the isthmus and in restoring peace between the rebels and the government of Colombia, for which he was thanked by the President of that country. Congress voted him full pay for life.

Journal of Congress, the official name of the authorized record of the proceedings of the Congress of the United States; has regularly been kept and published from the first meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, September, 1774.

Joutel, HENRY, explorer; born in Rouen, France, in the seventeenth century; took part in La Salle's expedition; built Fort St. Louis, and was made its commander; escaped assassination at the time La Salle was killed; and later returned to France by way of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. He wrote a *History of the La Salle Expedition,* which was published in Paris in 1713.

Juarez, BENITO PABLO, statesman; born in San Pablo Guelatao, Oaxaca, Mexico, March 21, 1806; was descended from the ancient Indian race. Well educated, he gained distinction as a lawyer. He was a legislator, and was governor of his native state from 1848 to 1852. Banished by Santa Ana in 1853, he lived in New Orleans until 1855, when he returned, and became minister of justice. Experiencing the vicissitudes of public life in that country, he was elected President of Mexico in June, 1861. Then came the French usurpation and the short-lived empire of MAXIMILIAN (*q. v.*). He defeated the imperial forces in 1867 and caused the Emperor to be shot. In October Juarez was re-elected President, and for five years Mexico was distracted by revolutions. Peace was restored in 1872, but Juarez, then President, worn down with perplexities, died of apoplexy in the city of Mexico, July 18 of that year.

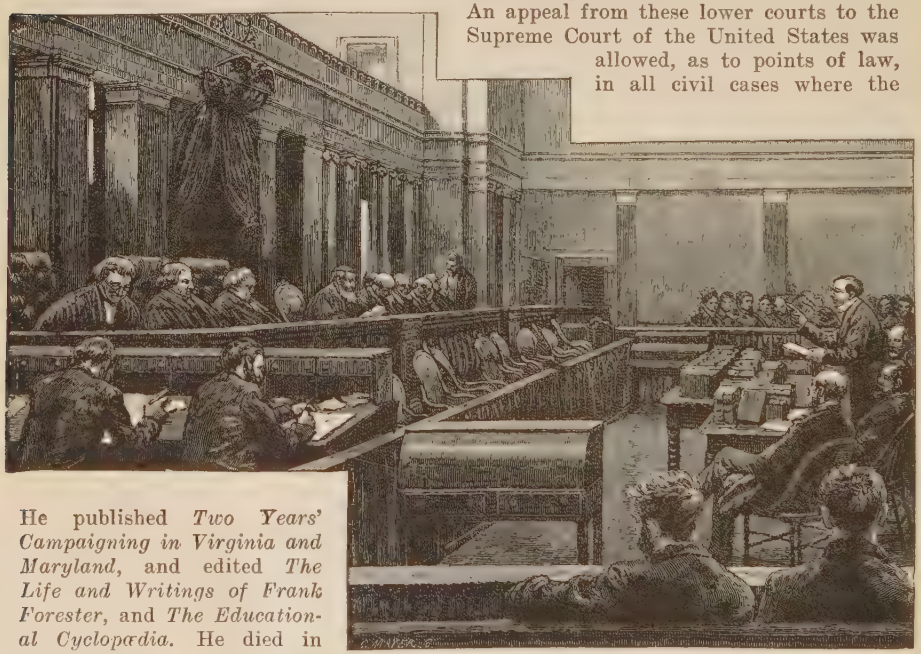
Judaism. See JEWS.

Judd, Albert Francis, jurist; born in the Hawaiian Islands, Jan. 7, 1838; graduated at Yale University in 1862; elected to the Hawaiian legislature in 1868; appointed attorney-general of the Hawaiian Islands in 1873; a justice of the Supreme Court of the islands in 1874; chief-justice in 1881. He died in Honolulu, May 20, 1900.

Judd, David Wright, journalist; born in Lockport, N. Y., Sept. 1, 1838; graduated at Williams College in 1860; later became proprietor and editor of *Hearth and Home.* He served in the National army during a part of the Civil War. He published *Two Years' Campaigning in Virginia and Maryland,* and edited *The Life and Writings of Frank Forester,* and *The Educational Cyclopædia.* He died in New York City, Feb. 6, 1888.

Judd, Sylvester, author; born in Westhampton, Mass., April 23, 1789; was a member of the State legislature in 1817, and owner of the *Hampshire Gazette* in 1822–34. He is the author of *History of Hadley,* and *Thomas Judd and His Descendants.* He died in Northampton, Mass., April 18, 1860.

Judiciary, First National. While the House of Representatives of the first Congress was employed (1789) in providing means for a sufficient revenue, the Senate was busy in organizing a judiciary. A bill drafted by Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, which embodied a plan of a judiciary, was, after several amendments, adopted by both Houses and became a law. It provided for a Supreme Court, having one chief-justice and five associate justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the national capital. Circuit and district courts were also established, which had jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State was made a district, as were also the Territories of Kentucky and Maine. The districts, excepting Kentucky and Maine, were grouped together into three circuits. An appeal from these lower courts to the Supreme Court of the United States was allowed, as to points of law, in all civil cases where the matter in dispute amounted to $2,000. A marshal for each was to be appointed by the President, having the general powers of a sheriff; and a district attorney, to act for the United States in all cases in which the national government might be interested, was also appointed. John Jay was made the first chief-justice of the United States.



SUPREME COURT IN SESSION, WASHINGTON.

Judiciary of the United States. Su-

preme Court. Under the confederation there was no national judicial department. The Supreme Court was organized in 1789, with one chief-justice and five associate judges. There are now eight associate justices. It holds one term annually at the seat of government, commencing on the second Monday in October. The United States are divided for judicial purposes into nine circuits, and these circuits are subdivided into two or more districts. The 1st circuit consists of the States of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island; 2d, Connecticut, New York, and Vermont; 3d, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; 4th, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia; 5th, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas; 6th, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Tennessee; 7th, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin; 8th, Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming; 9th, California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Montana, and Washington. Each judge of the Supreme Court is allotted a circuit, and is required to attend that circuit at least one term every two years. Salary of chief-justice, $13,000; each justice, $12,500 a year. Circuit courts, established and organized by Congress. Each of the circuits has allotted to it one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and has a local judge appointed, termed circuit judge. There are twenty-seven circuit judges, all excepting two circuits having three judges each; salary, $7,000 a year. Circuit court of appeals, established and organized by Congress, 1891, for the relief of the Supreme Court. The justice of the Supreme Court presiding over the circuit, the circuit judge, and a judge appointed for this special court constitute it; salary, $7,000 a year. District courts, established and organized by Congress. Of these districts there are eighty-five, each presided over by a judge, termed district judge; salary, $6,000 a year. Court of claims, established and organized by Congress, 1855, to hear and determine claims against the United States. It consists of one chief-justice and four associate judges. The solicitor-general appears before this court; salary of judges, $6,000 per annum. Court of private land claims, established and organized by Congress, consists of one chief-justice and four associate judges; salary, $6,000 per annum. Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, established and organized by Congress, consists of one chief-justice and four associate judges; salary of chief-justice, $6,500; associate judges, $6,000. Territorial courts, established and organized by Congress. Arizona, one chief-justice and three associate judges; Indian Territory, one judge; New Mexico, one judge and four associate judges; Oklahoma, one chief-justice and two associate judges; salary, $4,000 per annum. When any judge of any court of the United States resigns his office, after having held his commission as such at least ten years, and having reached seventy years of age during his service, he shall receive during life the same salary as at the time of his resignation. This right is given to no other class of civil officers under the government of the United States. The Attorney-General appears in the Supreme Court of the United States in behalf of the government. There is also a United States district attorney appointed for each district in which circuit and district courts are held, to look after the interest of the government in all cases that concern it. Women were admitted to practise in the Supreme Court of the United States by act of Congress, approved Feb. 15, 1879.

In addition to the above, there are special courts created from time to time for specific purposes, as the court on Spanish War claims.

In 1900 Congress established a district court for Alaska, with judges residing in Juneau, St. Michael's, and Eagle City, and also provided a civil code for the Territory. In cases where constitutional questions are involved, appeals and writs of error from this court may be taken to the United States Supreme Court; where other questions are involved they may be taken to the United States Circuit Court of the 9th District.

For a full list of the judges of the Supreme Court, Circuit Courts, District Courts, Court of Claims, etc., see FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Judson, ADONIRAM, missionary; born in Malden, Mass., Aug. 9, 1788; graduated at Brown University in 1807,

and Andover Theological Seminary in 1810. He was ordained on Feb. 6, 1812, and with his wife, Anne Hasseltine, sailed for Calcutta on the 19th. In Rangoon, Burma, he toiled nearly forty years, gathering around him thousands of converts and many assistants, Americans and Burmese. He translated the Bible into the Burmese language, and had nearly completed a dictionary of that language at the time of his death. His wife dying in 1826, he married (April, 1834) the widow of a missionary (Mrs. Sarah H. Boardman), who died in September, 1845. While on a visit to the United States in 1846, he married Miss Emily Chubbuck ("Fanny Forester," the poet), who accompanied him back to Burma. His first wife, Anne Hasseltine, was the first American woman missionary in the East Indies. He died at sea, April 12, 1850.

Judson, Edward, clergyman; born in Maulmain, Burma, Dec. 27, 1844; son of Adoniram Judson. He was brought to the United States in 1850; studied in Hamilton and Madison (now Colgate) universities; graduated at Brown University in 1865. In 1867–74 he was Professor of Latin and Modern Languages in Madison University; in 1874–75 travelled in foreign countries; and, returning to the United States, was pastor of the North Baptist Church in Orange, N. J., till 1881, when he resigned to take up mission work in New York. He became pastor of the Berean Baptist Church, and afterwards built the Judson Memorial on Washington Square. In 1897 he was appointed instructor in pastoral theology at Colgate Theological Seminary, and in 1903 was called to the University of Chicago. He has published a *Life of Adoniram Judson.*

Judson, Harry Pratt, educator; born in Jamestown, N. Y., Dec. 20, 1849; graduated at Williams College in 1870; called to the chair of History at the University of Minnesota in 1885; and was made head Professor of Political Science, and dean of the faculties of Arts, Literature, and Science at the University of Chicago in 1892. He is the author of *History of the Troy Citizens' Corps; Cæsar's Army; Europe in the Nineteenth Century; The Growth of the American Nation; The Higher Education as a Training for Business; The Latin in English; The Mississippi Valley* (in the *United States of America,* by Shaler); and *The Young American,* etc.

Julian, George Washington, legislator; born near Centreville, Ind., May 5, 1817. He was self-educated; and was admitted to the bar in 1840. After practising for five years, he was elected to the legislature, and in 1849–51 represented the Free-soil party in Congress, and in 1852 was the candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Free-soil ticket. He also received five votes for Vice-President in the electoral college of 1872. He was a strong opponent of slavery, and a stanch supporter of the homestead policy. He was again a member of Congress in 1861–71. During the last period he was a member of the committees on conduct of the war, on reconstruction, and on the preparation of articles of impeachment against President Johnson. In 1872 he joined the Liberal Republican party. In 1885–89 he was surveyor-general of New Mexico. His publications include *Speeches on Political Questions; Political Recollections; Later Speeches;* and *Life of Joshua H. Giddings.* He died in Irvington, Ind., July 7, 1899.

Julian, Isaac Hoover; born in Centreville, Ind., June 19, 1823; editor and proprietor of *The True Republican* at Richmond, Ind., and subsequently of the *People's Era* at San Marco, Texas; he is the author of the early history of the White Water Valley.

Julien, Alexis Anastay, geologist; born in New York, Feb. 13, 1840; graduated at Union College in 1859, and the following year went as chemist to the guano island of Sombrero, where he studied geology and natural history. While there he also collected birds and shells and made meteorological observations for the Smithsonian Institution. Returning to New York in 1864, he soon after became assistant in charge of the quantitative laboratory in the newly founded Columbia School of Mines. In 1885–97 he had charge of the department of biology in the same institution, and in the latter year became instructor in geology. In 1875–78 he was connected with the North Carolina Geological Survey. He is a fellow of the American Geological Society, the Geological Society of

America, the American Society of Naturalists, and other organizations, and a past vice-president of the New York Academy of Sciences.

Julio, E. B. D. Fabrino, artist; born on the island of St. Helena in 1843; educated in Paris; came to the United States about 1861, and after living in the North a number of years settled in New Orleans, where he engaged in portrait-painting. He is principally known through his painting, *The Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson.* He died in Georgia, Sept. 15, 1879.

Jumel, Eliza Bowen, society leader; born at sea in 1769. She married Col. Peter Croix in 1786, and, after his death, Stephen Jumel, a wealthy merchant in New York City, in 1801. Upon Jumel's death she married Aaron Burr in 1830, whom she sued for a divorce, which was not granted. She died in New York, July 16, 1865.

Juneau, Laurent Solomon, pioneer; born near Montreal, Canada, Aug. 9, 1793; was the first white settler in Milwaukee, where he traded in furs. He was the first postmaster and mayor of Milwaukee. He died in Shawano, Wis., Nov. 14, 1856. His remains were removed to Milwaukee, Wis., in 1887, and a statue of heroic size erected in honor of his memory.

Jungman, John George, clergyman; born in Hockheimer, Germany, April 19, 1720; became a lay evangelist to the Indians in 1742; ordained a deacon in the Moravian Church in 1770. Jungman was one of the earliest pioneers in the territory of the Ohio. In 1781 Jungman was taken prisoner by the Hurons and confined in the fort at Detroit. At the close of the war of the Revolution Jungman continued his missions among the Indians in Michigan, but, broken in health, he was obliged to give up his labors in 1785. He died in Bethlehem, Pa., July 17, 1808.

Junipero, Miguel José Serra, missionary; born in the island of Majorca, Nov. 24, 1713; entered the order of St. Francis in 1729; was sent to Mexico in 1750, where he was assigned to labor among the Indians of Sierra Gorda. When the Jesuits were expelled from Lower California in 1767, the Franciscans, under Junipero, were appointed to take charge of all the California missions. He founded the following missions: San Diego, Cal., July 16, 1769; San Carlos, at Monterey, June 3, 1770; San Antonio, July 14, 1771; San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, Sept. 8, 1771; San Luis Obispo, Sept. 1, 1772; San Francisco, June 27, 1776; San Juan Capistrano, Nov. 1, 1776; Santa Clara, Jan. 18, 1777; San Buenaventura, March 31, 1782. He died in Monterey, Cal., Aug. 28, 1784.

Junius, Letters of. During the quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies (1765–75), a series of letters addressed to King George III., his ministers, and other distinguished public men in England, were published in the *Public Advertiser*, and were generally signed "Junius" or "Philo-Junius." In the first authorized collection of these letters there were forty-four by "Junius" and fifteen by "Philo-Junius." They treated of public men and public measures of that day in a style that produced a profound impression and interest in the public mind, and excited the hottest indignation of those who felt the lash. The style was condensed but lucid; full of studied epigrammatic sarcasm, brilliant metaphor, and fierce personal attack. The government and those interested in the matter tried in vain to ascertain the name of the author. It was evident that he was a man of wealth and refinement, and possessing access to minute information respecting ministerial measures and intrigues. The most eminent legal advisers of the crown tried in vain to get a clew to the secret of his identity; and the mystery which has ever since enveloped the name of the author of the letters of "Junius" has kept up an interest in them, which, because of the remoteness of their topics, could not otherwise have been kept alive. Some afterwards claimed their authorship, but without a particle of proof in favor of the claim. The names of more than fifty persons have been mentioned as the suspected authors. An array of facts, circumstances, and fair inferences has satisfied the most careful inquirers that Sir Philip Francis was "Junius." The letters were chiefly written between 1769 and 1772.

Juries. Trial by jury was introduced

into England during the Saxon heptarchy, six Welsh and six Anglo-Saxon freemen being appointed to try causes between Englishmen and Welshmen of property, and made responsible with their whole estates, real and personal, for false verdicts. By most authorities the institution is ascribed to Alfred about 886. In Magna Charta, juries are insisted on as a bulwark of the people's liberty. An act for trial by jury in civil cases in Scotland was passed in 1815. The constitution of 1791 established trial by jury in France. An imperial decree abolished trial by jury throughout the Austrian Empire Jan. 15, 1852. Trial by jury began in Russia Aug. 8, 1866; in Spain, 1889. In Scotland, Guernsey, Jersey, and France juries decide by a majority; in France, since 1831, a majority of two-thirds is required. Under the original Constitution of the United States provision is made for the trial of criminal cases by jury, but not of civil cases. This caused dissatisfaction, people claiming that the omission was intended to abolish trial by jury in civil cases, hence the Seventh Amendment was adopted at an early day, securing the rights of trial by jury in suits at common-law where the value in controversy exceeds $20. Grand juries (of not less than twelve or more than twenty-three persons) decide whether sufficient evidence is adduced to put the accused on trial. In the United States, owing to many striking instances of the miscarriage of justice, there has been in recent years an influential sentiment in favor of having verdicts of juries rendered on the majority vote of the jurors.

Justice, DEPARTMENT OF. See CABINET, PRESIDENT'S.

Justices of the Supreme Court. A complete list of all the justices will be found in the article on the SUPREME COURT.

K.

Kalb, Johann, Baron de, military officer; born in Hüttendorf, Bavaria, June 29, 1721; entered the French military service in 1743, and in 1747 rose to the rank of brigadier-general under Marshal Broglie, and obtained the order of military merit in 1761. The next year he visited the English-American colonies as a secret agent of the French government, to ascertain their political temper. He was a brigadier-general in the French army when (November, 1776) he was engaged by Franklin and Deane to serve in the Continental army. He accompanied Lafayette to America in 1777, and was appointed major-general, Sept. 15, 1777, by the Continental Congress. He served under the immediate command of Washington until after the evacuation of Philadelphia, June, 1778; then in New Jersey and Maryland until April, 1780, when he was sent to assist Lincoln, besieged in Charleston. He arrived too late. De Kalb became chief commander in the South after the fall of

Baron de Kalb.

Charleston, but was soon succeeded by General Gates, when he became that officer's second in command. In the disastrous battle at Sander's Creek, near Camden, S. C., he was mortally wounded, and died three days afterwards, Aug. 19, 1780.

De Kalb's Monument.

His body was pierced with eleven wounds. It was buried at Camden. A marble monument was erected to his memory in front of the Presbyterian Church at Camden, the corner-stone of which was laid by Lafayette in 1825.

Kanakas. See Hawaii.

Kanawha, the name which was proposed for the State consisting of the western portion of Virginia, which had refused to ratify the State ordinance of secession. See West Virginia.

Kanawha, Battle of the Great. See Dunmore, John Murray.

Kane, Elisha Kent, explorer; born in Philadelphia, Feb. 20, 1820; was educated at the universities of Virginia and Pennsylvania, taking his medical degree in 1843. Ill-health led to his entering the navy, and he sailed as physician to the embassy to China in 1843. He travelled extensively in Asia and Europe, traversed Greece on foot, explored western Africa to some extent, was in the war with Mex-

ELISHA KENT KANE.

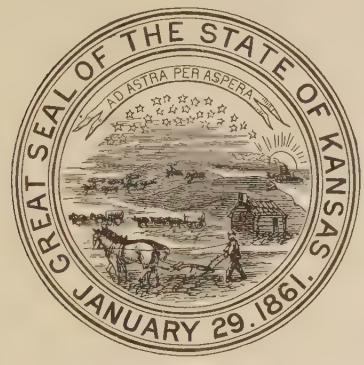
ico, and in May, 1850, sailed as surgeon and naturalist under Lieut. Edwin J. De Haven, in search of Sir John Franklin. Sir John, an English navigator, had sailed on a voyage of discovery and exploration with two vessels, in May, 1845. Years passed by, and no tidings of him or his companions came. Expeditions were sent from England in search of him. Public interest in the fate of Sir John was excited in Europe and the United States, and in May, 1850, Henry Grinnell, a merchant of New York, fitted out two ships, the *Advance* and *Rescue*, and placed them in charge of Lieutenant De Haven, to assist in the effort. These vessels returned, after remarkable adventures in the polar seas, in the autumn of 1851, without success. In connection with the United States government, Mr. Grinnell fitted out another expedition for the same purpose in 1853. Two vessels, under the command of Dr. Kane, sailed from New York in May. Kane and his party made valuable discoveries, among others, of an "open polar sea," long suspected and sought for by scientific men and navigators. But they failed to find Sir John Franklin. The companies of these two vessels suffered much, and were finally compelled to abandon the ships and make their way in open boats to a Danish settlement in Greenland. Their long absence created fears for their safety, and a relief expedition was sent in search of them. They returned home in the vessels of the latter in the autumn of 1855. Gold medals were awarded Dr. Kane by Congress, the legislature of New York, and the Royal Geographical Society of London; but his own life and those of most of his companions were sacrificed. His health failed, and he went first to London and then to Havana, Cuba, where he died, Feb. 16, 1857.

THE ADVANCE IN THE ICE.

KANSAS, STATE OF

Kansas, STATE OF, was part of the Louisiana purchase in 1803. The Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were established in 1854 by act of Congress, which really repealed the Missouri Compromise act. This produced great agitation throughout the country, and great commotion among the settlers in Kansas. On Jan.

29, 1861, Kansas was admitted into the Union as a State. During the war Kansas furnished to the National army more than 20,000 soldiers. It is very rapidly increasing in population and wealth. Its population in 1890 was 1,427,096; in 1900, 1,470,495. Much of the State is a fine grazing country, well supplied with rivers and watered by numerous creeks.



STATE SEAL OF KANSAS.

On its eastern border the navigable Missouri River presents a waterfront of almost 150 miles. It has a coal-bearing region which occupies the whole of the eastern part of the State, and embraces about 17,000 square miles. The climate of Kansas is beautiful and healthy, and probably no other Western State of the Union has so many bright, sunny days. The raising of cattle is a prominent industry. Kansas is a very attractive State for enterprising settlers, and promises to be one of the finest portions of the Union. In 1903 the aggregate assessed valuation of taxable property was $388,724,480, the State tax rate was 6.40 per $1,000; and the bonded debt (July 1) was $632,000, all held in State funds. See UNITED STATES, KANSAS, vol. ix.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.

Name.	Term.
Andrew H. Reeder, Pa.	1854 to 1855
Wilson Shannon, O.	1855 " 1856
John W. Geary, Pa.	1856 " 1857
Robert J. Walker, Miss.	1857 " 1858
J. W. Denver	1858
Samuel Medary	1858 to 1861
George M. Bebee	1861

STATE GOVERNORS.

Name.	Term.
Charles Robinson	1861 to 1862
Thomas Carney	1862 " 1864
S. J. Crawford	1864 " 1868
James M. Harvey	1868 " 1872
Thomas A. Osborn	1873 " 1875
George T. Anthony	1876 " 1878
John P. St. John	1879 " 1883
George W. Glick	1883 " 1885
John A. Martin	1885 " 1887
Lyman U. Humphreys	1887 " 1893
L. D. Lewelling	1893 " 1895
E. N. Morrill	1895 " 1897
John W. Leedy	1897 " 1899
William E. Stanley	1899 " 1903
Willis J. Bailey	1903 " 1905
Edward W. Hoch	1905 " 1907

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
James H. Lane	37th to 39th	1861 to 1866
Samuel C. Pomeroy	37th " 43d	1861 " 1873
Edmund G. Ross	39th " 41st	1866 " 1871
Alexander Caldwell	42d	1871 " 1873
Robert Crozier	43d	1873 " 1874
James M. Harvey	43d to 44th	1874 " 1877
John J. Ingalls	43d " 51st	1873 " 1891
Preston B. Plumb	45th " 52d	1877 " 1891
William A. Peffer	52d " 55th	1891 " 1897
Bishop W. Perkins	52d	1892 " 1893
John Martin	53d	1893
Lucien Baker	54th to 56th	1895 to 1901
William A. Harris	55th " 57th	1897 " 1903
Joseph Ralph Burton	57th " ——	1901 " ——
Chester I. Long	58th " ——	1903 " ——

The Kansas-Nebraska Act.—The compromise of 1850 (see OMNIBUS BILL) did not stop the agitation of the slavery question. The following resolution was introduced in Congress in 1852: "That the series of acts passed during the first session of the Thirty-first Congress, known as compromises, are regarded as a final adjustment and a permanent settlement of the questions therein embraced, and should be maintained and executed as such." In January, 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, presented a bill in the Senate for the erection of two vast Territories in mid-continent, to be called, respectively, Kansas and Nebraska.

The following are some of the principal provisions of this act:

The executive power is vested in a governor appointed by the President and Senate.

A secretary of the Territory, appointed for five years.

The legislative power to be vested in the governor and a legislative Assembly, consisting of a council and a House of Rep-

resentatives; the council to consist of thirteen members, and the House of twenty-six. The latter may be increased, but may not exceed thirty-nine.

The first election of members of the legislature was to be held at such time and place, and was to be conducted in such manner, as the governor should prescribe. He was also to appoint the inspectors of election, and to direct the manner of making the returns.

All free white male inhabitants, twenty-one years of age and upward, actual residents of the Territory and citizens of the United States, or having declared on oath their intention to become citizens, were entitled to vote at the first election; the qualifications of voters at subsequent elections to be prescribed by the legislative Assembly.

Bills passed by the legislature were to be submitted to the governor, but might be passed against the veto by two-thirds majorities.

THE CAPITOL, TOPEKA.

The judicial power was to be vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and in justices of the peace. The supreme court to consist of three judges, one in each judicial district, and one of them to be chief-justice. They were to be appointed by the President and Senate.

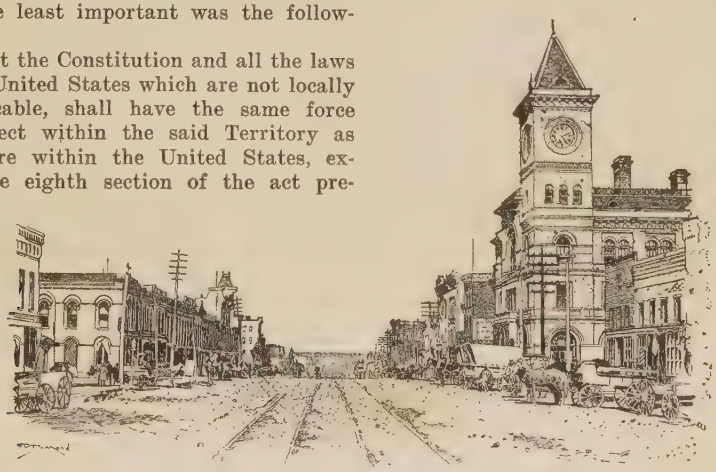
The first election of delegates to Congress, and the time and places of election, were subject to the appointment and direction of the governor.

The act also provided that the acts of Congress for the reclamation of fugitive slaves should extend to the Territories. Not the least important was the following:

"That the Constitution and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; *Provided*, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of the 6th of March, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery."

After long and bitter discussions in both Houses of Congress, the bill was passed, and became a law by receiving the signature of the President, May 31, 1854. From that day the question of slavery was a subject of discussion and sectional irritation, until it was abolished in 1863.

Civil War in Kansas.—The Kansas-Nebraska act left all the Territories of the United States open to the establishment in them of the social institutions of every State in the Union, that of slavery among others. It was a virtual repeal of the MISSOURI COMPROMISE (*q. v.*). The question immediately arose, Shall the domain of the republic be the theatre of all *free* or all *slave* labor, with the corresponding civilization of each condition as a consequence? This question was succeeded by positive action by the friends of each labor system. Those in favor of the slave system, viewing the willingness of those in the free-labor States to accede to the wishes of the Southern politicians so as to secure Southern trade, felt confident that their supremacy was secure. That party sounded the trumpet for battle, and the Territory of Kansas was the chosen battle-field. The fugitive slave law had created an intense and wide-spread feel-



KANSAS AVENUE, TOPEKA, SHOWING POST-OFFICE.

ing of hostility to slavery in the free-labor States, and when the advocates of slavery began to assert their exclusive right to the government of Kansas, and thus cast down the gauntlet before their opponents, the latter gladly took it up. They resolved to carry on the contest with the peaceful weapons of the ballot-box. Suddenly, emigration began to flow in a steady, copious, and ever-increasing stream from the free-labor States, especially from New England, into the new Territory. It soon became evident that the settlers from those States in Kansas would soon outnumber and outvote those from the slave-labor States.

The dominant power in politics was pro-slavery in its proclivities. Alarmed by this emigration, it proceeded to organize physical force in Missouri to counteract the moral force of its opponents if necessary. Combinations were formed under various names—"Social Band," "Friends' Society," "Blue Lodge," "The Sons of the South," etc. A powerful organization under the title of the "Emigrant Aid Society" had been formed in Boston under the sanction of the legislature of Massachusetts immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill (May, 1854); and the Southern societies just mentioned were organized to oppose this "Emigrant Aid Society." At a meeting at Westport, Mo., early in July, 1854, it was resolved that Missourians who formed the associations represented there should be ready at all times to assist, when called upon by pro-slavery citizens of Kansas, in removing from the Territory by force every person who should attempt to settle under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society. Both parties planted the seeds of their respective systems in Kansas. They founded towns: those from the free-labor States founded Lawrence, Topeka, Boston, Grasshopper Falls, Pawnee, and one or two others. Those from the slave-labor States founded Kickapoo, Doniphan, Atchison, and others on or near the Missouri River. Immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, hundreds of Missourians went to Kansas and selected a tract of land, and put a mark upon it for the purpose of establishing a sort of pre-emption title to it, and at a public meeting resolved, "That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler of this Territory; that we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this Territory, and ad-

STREET SCENE, WICHITA.

vise slave-holders to introduce their property as soon as possible."

The national government appointed A. H. Reeder governor of the new Territory. He arrived in October, 1854, and took measures for the election of a territorial legislature. With the close of this election (March, 1855), the struggle for supremacy in Kansas between the friends and opponents of the slave system began in dead earnest. The pro-slavery men had an overwhelming majority in the legislature, for Missourians had gone over the border by hundreds and voted. When, in November, 1854, a delegate to Congress for Kansas was elected, of nearly 2,900 votes cast, over 1,700 were put in by Missourians who had no right there. At the election of the legislature, there were only 1,410 legal votes in the Territory of Kansas; but there were 6,218 votes polled, mostly illegal ones by Missourians. Fully 1,000 men came from Missouri, armed with deadly weapons, two cannon, tents, and other paraphernalia of war, led by Claiborne F. Jackson, and encamped around the little town of Lawrence, and in like manner such intruders controlled every poll in the Territory. Then a reign of terror was begun in Kansas. All classes of men carried deadly weapons. The illegally chosen legislature met at a point on the border of Missouri, and proceeded to enact barbarous laws for upholding slavery in the Territory. These Governor Reeder vetoed, and they were instantly passed over his veto. He was so obnoxious to the pro-slavery party that, at the request of the latter, President Pierce removed him, and sent Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, to fill his place.

The actual settlers in Kansas, who were chiefly anti-slavery men, held a convention, Sept. 5, 1855, when they resolved not to recognize the laws of the illegal legislature as binding upon them. They refused to vote for a delegate to Congress at an election appointed by the legislature, and they called a delegate convention at Topeka on Oct. 19. At that convention Governor Reeder was elected delegate to Congress by the legal votes of the Territory. On the 23d another convention of legal voters assembled at Topeka and framed a State constitution. It was approved by the legal vote of the Territory. It made Kansas a free-labor State, and under this constitution they asked for admission into the Union, as such. The strife between freedom and slavery was then transferred to the national capital. Reeder made a contest for a seat in Congress with the delegate chosen by the illegal votes. Meanwhile, elections had been held (Jan. 17, 1856) in Kansas under the legally adopted new State constitution, and matters seemed very dark for the pro-slavery party in Kansas, when President Pierce, in a message to Congress (Jan. 24, 1856), represented the action of the legal voters in the Territory in framing a State constitution as rebellion. All through the ensuing spring violence and bloodshed prevailed in the unhappy Territory.

Seeing the determination of the actual settlers to maintain their rights, armed men flocked into the Territory from the slave-labor States and attempted to coerce the inhabitants into submission to the laws of the illegally chosen legislature. Finally Congress sent thither a committee of investigation. The majority reported, July 1, 1856, that every election had been controlled by citizens from Missouri; that the action of the legal voters of Kansas was valid, and that the State constitution was the choice of the majority of the people. The canvass for a new President was now in operation, and so absorbed public attention that Kansas had rest for a while. James Buchanan was elected by the Democratic party. At the beginning of his administration the Dred Scott case greatly intensified the strife between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, especially in Kansas. Mr. Buchanan favored the views of the pro-slavery men, and his strong support gave them, in Kansas, renewed courage. Then the opposing parties were working with energy for the admission of Kansas as a State, with opposing ends in view. The pro-slavery party, in convention at Lecompton early in September, 1857, framed a constitution in which was a clause providing that the "rights of property in slaves now in the Territory shall in no manner be interfered with," and forbade any amendments of the instrument until 1864. It was submitted to the votes of the people on Dec. 21, but by the terms of the election law

passed by the illegal legislature no one might vote against that constitution. The vote was taken, "For the constitution *with* slavery," or "For the constitution *without* slavery"; so in either case a constitution that protected and perpetuated slavery would be voted for. Meanwhile, at an election for a territorial legislature, the friends of free labor succeeded in electing a delegate to Congress.

The legally elected legislature ordered the Lecompton constitution to be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. It was rejected by over 10,000 majority. Notwithstanding this strong popular condemnation of the Lecompton constitution, President Buchanan sent it in to Congress (Feb. 2, 1858), wherein was a large Democratic majority, with a message in which he recommended its acceptance and ratification. In that message, referring to the opinion of Chief-Justice Taney, the President said: "It has been solemnly adjudged, by the highest judicial tribunal known to our laws, that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States; Kansas is, therefore, at this moment, as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." The constitution was accepted by the Senate by a vote of 32 against 25, but in the House a substitute was adopted, which provided for the resubmission of the Lecompton constitution. It was done, and that instrument was again rejected by 10,000 majority, Aug. 2, 1858. A convention at Wyandotte adopted a new constitution, which was framed by the opponents of slavery. This was accepted, Oct. 4, 1859, by a vote of 10,421 against 5,530, under which, Jan. 21, 1861, Kansas was admitted into the Union as a free-labor State.

During the political excitement in Kansas there was actual civil war, and some blood was shed. Early in April, 1856, armed men from Southern States, under Colonel Buford, arrived in Kansas. The United States marshal there took Buford's men into the pay of the government, and armed them with government muskets. Lawrence was again besieged (May 5), and on the 21st the inhabitants, under a promise of safety to persons and property, were induced to give up their arms to the sheriff. The invaders immediately entered the town, blew up and burned the hotel, destroyed two printing-offices, and plundered stores and houses. The free-labor party were furnished with arms from the free-labor States. Collisions occurred, and on May 26 a fight took place at Ossawatomie, in which the anti-slavery men were led by JOHN BROWN (*q. v.*), where five men were killed. There was another skirmish at Black Jack (June 2), which resulted in the capture of Captain Pots and thirty of his men. Emigrants from the free-labor States, on their way through Missouri, were turned back by armed parties. On Aug. 14, anti-slavery men captured a fort near Lecompton, occupied by Colonel Titus with a party of pro-slavery men, and made prisoners the commander and twenty of his men. On Aug. 25 the acting-governor (Woodin) declared the Territory in a state of rebellion. He and David R. Atchison, late United States Senator from Missouri, gathered a considerable force, and, on Aug. 29, a detachment sent by the latter attacked Ossawatomie, which was defended by a small band under John Brown. The latter was defeated, with the loss of two killed, five wounded, and seven made prisoners. The assailants lost five killed, and thirty buildings were burned. At the annual election at Leavenworth, a party from Missouri killed and wounded several of the anti-slavery men, burned their houses, and forced about 150 to embark for St. Louis. John W. Geary, who had been appointed governor, arrived in Kansas early in September, and ordered all armed men to lay down their weapons; but Missouri men, in number about 2,000, and forming three regiments of artillery, marched to attack Lawrence. Geary, with United States troops, prevailed upon them to desist, and near the close of the year (1856) he was enabled to report that peace and order prevailed in Kansas.

The Author on His Bill.—The following is the substance of the speech of Senator Stephen A. Douglas on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, delivered in the Senate on March 3, 1854:

The principle which we propose to

carry into effect by the bill is this: That Congress shall neither legislate slavery into any Territories or State, nor out of the same; but the people shall be left free to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

In order to carry this principle into practical operation, it becomes necessary to remove whatever legal obstructions might be found in the way of its free exercise. It is only for the purpose of carrying out this great fundamental principle of self-government that the bill renders the eighth section of the Missouri act inoperative and void.

Now, let me ask, will these Senators who have arraigned me, or any one of them, have the assurance to rise in his place and declare that this great principle was never thought of or advocated as applicable to territorial bills, in 1850; that from that session until the present, nobody ever thought of incorporating this principle in all new territorial organizations; that the committee on Territories did not recommend it in their report; and that it required the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky to bring us up to that point? Will any one of my accusers dare to make the issue, and let it be tried by the record? I will begin with the compromises of 1850. Any Senator who will take the trouble to examine our journals, will find that on March 25 of that year I reported from the committee on Territories two bills including the following measures: the admission of California, a territorial government for New Mexico, and the adjustment of the Texas boundary. These bills proposed to leave the people of Utah and New Mexico free to decide the slavery question for themselves, in the precise language of the Nebraska bill now under discussion. A few weeks afterwards the committee of thirteen took these two bills and put a wafer between them, and reported them back to the Senate as one bill with some slight amendments. One of these amendments was that the territorial legislatures should not legislate upon the subject of African slavery. I objected to that provision on the ground that it subverted the great principle of self-government upon which the bill had been originally framed by the territorial committee. On the first trial, the Senate refused to strike it out, but subsequently did so, after full debate, in order to establish that principle as the rule of action in territorial organizations. . . . But my accusers attempt to raise up a false issue, and thereby divert public attention from the real one, by the cry that the Missouri Compromise is to be repealed or violated by the passage of this bill. Well, if the eighth section of the Missouri act, which attempted to fix the destinies of future generations in those Territories for all time to come, in utter disregard of the rights and wishes of the people when they shall be received into the Union as States, be inconsistent with the great principles of self-government and the Constitution of the United States, it ought to be abrogated. The legislation of 1850 abrogated the Missouri compromise, so far as the country embraced within the limits of Utah and New Mexico was covered by the slavery restriction. It is true that those acts did not in terms and by name repeal the act of 1820, as originally adopted, or as extended by the resolutions annexing Texas in 1845, any more than the report of the committee on Territories proposed to repeal the same acts this session. But the acts of 1850 did authorize the people of those Territories to exercise "all rightful powers of legislation consistent with the Constitution," not excepting the question of slavery; and did provide that, when those Territories should be admitted into the Union, they should be received with or without slavery as the people thereof might determine at the date of their admission. These provisions were in direct conflict with a clause in the former enactment, declaring that slavery should be forever prohibited in any portion of said Territories, and hence rendered such clause inoperative and void to the extent of such conflict. This was an inevitable consequence, resulting from the provisions in those acts, which gave the people the right to decide the slavery question for themselves, in conformity with the Constitution. It was not necessary to go further and declare that certain previous enactments, which were incompatible with the exercise of the powers conferred in the bills, are hereby repealed. The

very act of granting those powers and rights has the legal effect of removing all obstructions to the exercise of them by the people, as prescribed in those territorial bills. Following that example, the committee on Territories did not consider it necessary to declare the eighth section of the Missouri act repealed. We were content to organize Nebraska in the precise language of the Utah and New Mexico bills. Our object was to leave the people entirely free to form and regulate their domestic institutions and internal concerns in their own way, under the Constitution; and we deemed it wise to accomplish that object in the exact terms in which the same thing had been done in Utah and New Mexico by the acts of 1850. This was the principle upon which the committee voted; and our bill was supposed, and is now believed, to have been in accordance with it. When doubts were raised whether the bill did fully carry out the principle laid down in the report, amendments were made from time to time, in order to avoid all misconstruction, and make the true intent of the act more explicit. The last of these amendments was adopted yesterday, on the motion of the distinguished Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Badger), in regard to the revival of any laws or regulations which may have existed prior to 1820. This amendment was not intended to change the legal effect of the bill. Its object was to repel the slander which had been propagated by the enemies of the measure in the North—that the Southern supporters of the bill desired to legislate slavery into these Territories. The South denies the right of Congress either to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, or out of any Territory or State. Non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States or Territories is the doctrine of the bill, and all the amendments which have been agreed to have been made with the view of removing all doubt and cavil as to the true meaning and object of the measure. . . .

Well, sir, what is this Missouri Compromise, of which we have heard so much of late? It has been read so often that it is not necessary to occupy the time of the Senate in reading it again. It was an act of Congress, passed on the 6th of March, 1820, to authorize the people of Missouri to form a constitution and a State government, preparatory to the admission of such State into the Union. The first section provided that slavery should be "forever prohibited" in all the territory which had been acquired from France north of 36° 30′, and not included within the limits of the State of Missouri. There is nothing in the terms of the law that purports to be a compact, or indicates that it was anything more than an ordinary act of legislation. To prove that it was more than it purports to be on its face, gentlemen must produce other evidence, and prove that there was such an understanding as to create a moral obligation in the nature of a compact. Have they shown it?

Now, if this was a compact, let us see how it was entered into. The bill originated in the House of Representatives, and passed that body without a Southern vote in its favor. It is proper to remark, however, that it did not at that time contain the eighth section, prohibiting slavery in the Territories; but, in lieu of it, contained a provision prohibiting slavery in the proposed State of Missouri. In the Senate, the clause prohibiting slavery in the State was stricken out, and the eighth section added to the end of the bill, by the terms of which slavery was to be forever prohibited in the territory not embraced in the State of Missouri north of 36° 30′. The vote on adding this section stood, in the Senate, 34 in the affirmative, and 10 in the negative. Of the Northern Senators, 20 voted for it, and 2 against it. On the question of ordering the bill to a third reading, as amended, which was the test vote on its passage, the vote stood 24 yeas and 20 nays. Of the Northern Senators, 4 only voted in the affirmative, and 18 in the negative. Thus it will be seen that if it was intended to be a compact, the North never agreed to it. The Northern Senators voted to insert the prohibition of slavery in the Territories; and then, in the proportion of more than four to one, voted against the passage of the bill. The North, therefore, never signed the compact, never consented to it, never agreed to be bound by it. This fact becomes very important in vindicating the

character of the North for repudiating this alleged compromise a few months afterwards. The act was approved and became a law on the 6th of March, 1820. In the summer of that year, the people of Missouri formed a constitution and State government preparatory to admission into the Union, in conformity with the act. At the next session of Congress, the Senate passed a joint resolution declaring Missouri to be one of the States of the Union, on an equal footing with the original States. This resolution was sent to the House of Representatives, where it was rejected by Northern votes, and thus Missouri was voted out of the Union, instead of being received into the Union under the act of the 6th of March, 1820, now known as the Missouri Compromise. Now, sir, what becomes of our plighted faith, if the act of the 6th of March, 1820, was a solemn compact, as we are now told? They have all rung the changes upon it, that it was a sacred and irrevocable compact, binding in honor, in conscience, and morals, which could not be violated or repudiated without perfidy and dishonor! . . . Sir, if this was a compact, what must be thought of those who violated it almost immediately after it was formed? I say it is a calumny upon the North to say that it was a compact. I should feel a flush of shame upon my cheek, as a Northern man, if I were to say that it was a compact, and that the section of the country to which I belong received the consideration and then repudiated the obligation in eleven months after it was entered into. I deny that it was a compact, in any sense of the term. But if it was, the record proves that faith was not observed; that the contract was never carried into effect; that after the North had procured the passage of the act prohibiting slavery in the Territories, with a majority in the House large enough to prevent its repeal, Missouri was refused admission into the Union as a slave-holding State, in conformity with the act of March 6, 1820. If the proposition be correct, as contended for by the opponents of this bill—that there was a solemn compact between the North and the South that, in the consideration of the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, Missouri was to be admitted into the Union, in conformity with the act of 1820, that compact was repudiated by the North, and rescinded by the joint action of the two parties within twelve months from its date. Missouri was never admitted under the act of the 6th of March, 1820. She was refused admission under that act. She was voted out of the Union by Northern votes, notwithstanding the stipulation that she should be received; and, in consequence of these facts, a new compromise was rendered necessary, by the terms of which Missouri was to be admitted into the Union conditionally—admitted on a condition not embraced in the act of 1820, and in addition to a full compliance with all the provisions of said act. If, then, the act of 1820, by the eighth section of which slavery was prohibited in Missouri, was a compact, it is clear to the comprehension of every fair-minded man that the refusal of the North to admit Missouri, in compliance with its stipulations, and without further conditions, imposes upon us a high moral obligation to remove the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, since it has been shown to have been procured upon a condition never performed. . . .

The Declaration of Independence had its origin in the violation of that great fundamental principle which secured to the colonies the right to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way; and the Revolution resulted in the triumph of that principle and the recognition of the right asserted by it. Abolitionism proposes to destroy the right and extinguish the principle for which our forefathers waged a seven years' bloody war, and upon which our whole system of free government is founded. They not only deny the application of this principle to the Territories, but insist upon fastening the prohibition upon the abolitionists; the doctrine of the opponents of the Nebraska and Kansas bill, and the advocates of the Missouri restriction demands congressional interference with slavery not only in the Territories, but in all the new States to be formed therefrom. It is the same doctrine, when applied to the Territories and new States of this Union, which the British govern-

ment attempted to enforce by the sword upon the American colonies. It is this fundamental principle of self-government which constitutes the distinguishing feature of the Nebraska bill. The opponents of the principle are consistent in opposing the bill. I do not blame them for their opposition. I only ask them to meet the issue fairly and openly by acknowledging that they are opposed to the principle which it is the object of the bill to carry into operation. It seems that there is no power on earth, no intellectual power, no mechanical power, that can bring them to a fair discussion of the true issue. If they hope to delude the people and escape detection for any considerable length of time under the catchwords, "Missouri Compromise" and "faith of compacts," they will find that the people of this country have more penetration and intelligence than they have given them credit for.

Mr. President, there is an important fact connected with this slavery regulation which should never be lost sight of. It has always arisen from one and the same cause. Whenever that cause has been removed, the agitation has ceased; and whenever the cause has been renewed, the agitation has sprung into existence. That cause is, and ever has been, the attempt on the part of Congress to interfere with the question of slavery in the Territories and new States formed therefrom. Is it not wise, then, to confine our action within the sphere of our legitimate duties and leave this vexed question to take care of itself in each State and Territory, according to the wishes of the people thereof, in conformity to the forms and in subjection to the provisions of the Constitution?

The opponents of the bill tell us that agitation is no part of their policy; that their great desire is peace and harmony; and they complain bitterly that I should have disturbed the repose of the country by the introduction of this measure. Let me ask these professed friends of peace, and avowed enemies of agitation, how the issue could have been avoided? They tell me that I should have let the question alone; that is, that I should have left Nebraska unorganized, the people unprotected, and the Indian barrier in existence until the swelling tide of emigration should burst through and accomplish by violence what it is the part of wisdom and statesmanship to direct and regulate by law. How long could you have postponed action with safety? How long could you maintain that Indian barrier and restrain the onward march of civilization, Christianity, and free government by a barbarian wall? Do you suppose that you could keep that vast country a howling wilderness in all times to come, roamed over by hostile savages, cutting off all safe communication between our Atlantic and Pacific possessions? I tell you that the time for action has come and cannot be postponed. It is a case in which the "let-alone" policy would precipitate a crisis which must inevitably result in violence, anarchy, and strife.

You cannot fix bounds to the onward march of this great and growing country. You cannot fetter the limbs of the young giant. He will burst all your chains. He will expand, and grow, and increase, and extend civilization, Christianity, and liberal principles. Then, sir, if you cannot check the growth of the country in that direction, is it not the part of wisdom to look the danger in the face, and provide for an event which you cannot avoid? I tell you, sir, you must provide for lines of continuous settlement from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean. And in making this provision, you must decide upon what principles the Territories shall be organized; in other words, whether the people shall be allowed to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, according to the provisions of this bill, or whether the opposite doctrine of congressional interference is to prevail. Postpone it, if you will; but whenever you do act, this question must be met and decided. . . .

There is another reason why I desire to see this principle recognized as a rule of action in all time to come. It will have the effect to destroy all sectional parties and sectional agitations. If, in the language of the report of the committee, you withdraw the slavery question from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and commit it to the arbitrament of those who are immediately interested in and alone responsible for its consequences,

there is nothing left out of which sectional parties can be organized. It never was done, and never can be done, on the bank, tariff, distribution, or any party issue which has existed or may exist, after this slavery question is drawn from politics. On every other political question these have always supporters and opponents in every portion of the Union—in each State, county, village, and neighborhood—residing together in harmony and good-fellowship, and combating each other's opinions and correcting each other's errors in a spirit of kindness and friendship. These differences of opinion between neighbors and friends, and the discussions that grow out of them, and the sympathy which each feels with the advocates of his own opinions in every portion of this widespread republic, add an overwhelming and irresistible moral weight to the strength of the confederacy. Affection for the Union can never be alienated or diminished by any other party issues than those which are joined upon sectional or geographical lines. When the people of the North shall be rallied under one banner, and the whole South marshalled under another banner, and each section excited to frenzy and madness by hostility to the institutions of the other, then the patriot may well tremble for the perpetuity of the Union. Withdraw the slavery question from the political arena, and remove it to the States and Territories, each to decide for itself, and such a catastrophe can never happen. Then you will never be able to tell, by any Senator's vote for or against any measure, from what State or section of the Union he comes.

Why, then, can we not withdraw this vexed question from politics? Why can we not adopt the principle of this bill as a rule of action in all new territorial organizations? Why can we not deprive these agitators of their vocation and render it impossible for Senators to come here upon bargains on the slavery question? I believe that the peace, the harmony, and perpetuity of the Union require us to go back to the doctrines of the Revolution, to the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and leave the people, under the Constitution, to do as they may see proper in respect to their own internal affairs.

The Crime Against Kansas.—On May 19–20, 1856, Charles Sumner delivered the following speech in the United States Senate on what he declared to be a crime against Kansas:

Mr. President, you are now called to redress a great transgression. Seldom in the history of nations has such a question been presented. Tariffs, army bills, navy bills, land bills, are important, and justly occupy your care; but these all belong to the course of ordinary legislation. As means and instruments only, they are necessarily subordinate to the conservation of government itself. Grant them or deny them, in greater or less degree, and you will inflict no shock. The machinery of government will continue to move. The state will not cease to exist. Far otherwise is it with the eminent question now before you, involving, as it does, liberty in a broad territory, and also involving the peace of the whole country, with our good name in history forevermore.

Take down your map, sir, and you will find that the Territory of Kansas, more than any other region, occupies the middle spot of North America, equally distant from the Atlantic on the east, and the Pacific on the west; from the frozen waters of Hudson Bay on the north, and the tepid Gulf Stream on the south, constituting the precise territorial centre of the whole vast continent. To such advantages of situation, on the very highway between two oceans, are added a soil of unsurpassed richness, and a fascinating, undulating beauty of surface, with a health-giving climate, calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions. A few short months only have passed since this spacious and mediterranean country was open only to the savage who ran wild in its woods and prairies, and now it has already drawn to its bosom a population of freemen larger than Athens crowded within her historic gates, when her sons, under Miltiades, won liberty for mankind on the field of Marathon; more than Sparta contained when she ruled Greece, and sent forth her devoted children, quickened by a mother's benediction, to return with their shields, or on them; more than Rome

gathered on her seven hills, when, under her kings, she commenced that sovereign sway, which afterwards embraced the whole earth; more than London held when, on the fields of Crecy and Agincourt, the English banner was carried victoriously over the chivalrous hosts of France.

Against this Territory, thus fortunate in position and population, a crime has been committed, which is without example in the records of the past. Not in plundered provinces or in the cruelties of selfish governors will you find its parallel; and yet there is an ancient instance, which may show at least the path of justice. In the terrible impeachment by which the great Roman orator has blasted through all time the name of Verres, amid charges of robbery and sacrilege, the enormity which most aroused the indignant voice of his accuser, and which still stands forth with strongest distinctness, arresting the sympathetic indignation of all who read the story, is that away in Sicily he had scourged a citizen of Rome—that the cry, "I am a Roman citizen," had been interposed in vain against the lash of the tyrant governor. Other charges were that he had carried away productions of art, and that he had violated the sacred shrines. It was in the presence of the Roman senate that this arraignment proceeded; in a temple of the Forum; amidst crowds—such as no orator had ever before drawn together — thronging the porticoes and colonnades, even clinging to the housetops and neighboring slopes—and under the anxious gaze of witnesses summoned from the scene of crime. But an audience grander far—of higher dignity—of more various people, and of wider intelligence—the countless multitude of succeeding generations, in every land, where eloquence has been studied, or where the Roman name has been recognized, has listened to the accusation, and throbbed with condemnation of the criminal. Sir, speaking in an age of light, and a land of constitutional liberty, where the safeguards of elections are justly placed among the highest triumphs of civilization, I fearlessly assert that the wrongs of much-abused Sicily, thus memorable in history, were small by the side of the wrongs of Kansas, where the very shrines of popular institutions, more sacred than any heathen altar, have been desecrated; where the ballot-box, more precious than any work, in ivory or marble, from the cunning hand of art, has been plundered; and where the cry, "I am an American citizen," has been interposed in vain against outrage of every kind, even upon life itself. Are you against sacrilege? I present it for your execration. Are you against robbery? I hold it up to your scorn. Are you for the protection of American citizens? I show you how their dearest rights have been cloven down, while a tyrannical usurpation has sought to install itself on their very necks!

But the wickedness which I now begin to expose is immeasurably aggravated by the motive which prompted it. Not in any common lust for power did this uncommon tragedy have its origin. It is the rape of a virgin Territory, compelling it to the hateful embrace of slavery; and it may be clearly traced to a depraved longing for a new slave State, the hideous offspring of such a crime, in the hope of adding to the power of slavery in the national government. Yes, sir; when the whole world alike, Christian and Turk, is rising up to condemn this wrong, and to make it a hissing to the nations, here in our republic, *force*—ay, sir, FORCE—has been openly employed in compelling Kansas to this pollution, and all for the sake of political power. There is the simple fact, which you will in vain attempt to deny, but which in itself presents an essential wickedness that makes other public crimes seem like public virtues.

But this enormity, vast beyond comparison, swells to dimensions of wickedness which the imagination toils in vain to grasp, when it is understood that for this purpose are hazarded the horrors of intestine feud not only in this distant Territory, but everywhere throughout the country. Already the muster has begun. The strife is no longer local, but national. Even now, while I speak, portents hang on all the arches of the horizon threatening to darken the broad land, which already yawns with the mutterings of civil war. The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, are now diffused

from the distant territory over widespread communities, and the whole country, in all its extent—marshalling hostile divisions, and foreshadowing a strife which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, will become war—fratricidal, parricidal war—with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals; justly provoking the avenging judgment of Providence and the avenging pen of history, and constituting a strife, in the language of the ancient writer, more than *foreign*, more than *social*, more than *civil;* but something compounded of all these strifes, and in itself more than war; *sed potius commune quoddam ex omnibus, et plus quam bellum.*

Such is the crime which you are to judge. But the criminal also must be dragged into day, that you may see and measure the power by which all this wrong is sustained. From no common source could it proceed. In its perpetration was needed a spirit of vaulting ambition which would hesitate at nothing; a hardihood of purpose which was insensible to the judgment of mankind; a madness for slavery which would disregard the Constitution, the laws, and all the great examples of our history; also a consciousness of power such as comes from the habit of power; a combination of energies found only in a hundred arms directed by a hundred eyes; a control of public opinion through venal pens and a prostituted press; an ability to subsidize crowds in every vocation of life—the politician with his local importance, the lawyer with his subtle tongue, and even the authority of the judge on the bench; and a familiar use of men in places high and low, so that none, from the President to the lowest border postmaster, should decline to be its tool; all these things and more were needed, and they were found in the slave-power of our republic. There, sir, stands the criminal, all unmasked before you—heartless, grasping, and tyrannical—with an audacity beyond that of Verres, a subtlety beyond that of Machiavelli, a meanness beyond that of Bacon, and an ability beyond that of Hastings. Justice to Kansas can be secured only by the prostration of this influence; for this is the power behind—greater than any President—which succors and sustains the crime. Nay, the proceedings I now arraign derive their fearful consequences only from this connection.

In now opening this great matter, I am not insensible to the austere demands of the occasion; but the dependence of the crime against Kansas upon the slave-power is so peculiar and important that I trust to be pardoned while I impress it with an illustration, which to some may seem trivial. It is related in Northern mythology that the god of Force, visiting an enchanted region, was challenged by his royal entertainer to what seemed an humble feat of strength—merely, sir, to lift a cat from the ground. The god smiled at the challenge, and calmly placing his hand under the belly of the animal, with superhuman strength strove while the back of the feline monster arched far upward, even beyond reach, and one paw actually forsook the earth, until at last the discomfited divinity desisted; but he was little surprised at his defeat when he learned that this creature, which seemed to be a cat, and nothing more, was not merely a cat, but that it belonged to and was a part of the great terrestrial serpent, which, in its innumerable folds, encircled the whole globe. Even so the creature, whose paws are now fastened upon Kansas, whatever it may seem to be, constitutes in reality a part of the slave-power, which, in its loathsome folds, is now coiled about the whole land. Thus do I expose the extent of the present contest, where we encounter not merely local resistance, but also the unconquered sustaining arm behind. But out of the vastness of the crime attempted, with all its woe and shame, I derive a well-founded assurance of a commensurate vastness of effort against it by the aroused masses of the country, determined not only to vindicate right against wrong, but to redeem the republic from the thraldom of that oligarchy which prompts, directs, and concentrates the distant wrong. . . .

But, before entering upon the argument, I must say something of a general character, particularly in response to what has fallen from Senators who have raised themselves to eminence on this floor in championship of human wrongs. I mean the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler) and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas), who, though un-

like as Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, yet, like this couple, sally forth together in the same adventure. I regret much to miss the elder Senator from his seat; but the cause, against which he has run atilt with such activity of animosity, demands that the opportunity of exposing him should not be lost; and it is for the cause that I speak. The Senator from South Carolina has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight, with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course, he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight—I mean the harlot, Slavery. For her, his tongue is always profuse in words. Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition made to shut her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extravagance of manner or hardihood of assertion is then too great for this Senator. The frenzy of Don Quixote, in behalf of his wench, Dulcinea del Toboso, is all surpassed. The asserted rights of slavery, which shock equality of all kinds, are cloaked by a fantastic claim of equality. If the slave States cannot enjoy what, in mockery of the great fathers of the republic, he misnames equality under the Constitution—in other words, the full power in the national Territories to compel fellow-men to unpaid toil, to separate husband and wife, and to sell little children at the auction block—then, sir, the chivalric Senator will conduct the State of South Carolina out of the Union! Heroic knight! Exalted Senator! A second Moses come for a second exodus!

But not content with this poor menace, which we have been twice told was "measured," the Senator, in the unrestrained chivalry of his nature, has undertaken to apply opprobrious words to those who differ from him on this floor. He calls them "sectional and fanatical"; and opposition to the usurpation in Kansas he denounces as "an uncalculating fanaticism." To be sure, these charges lack all grace of originality, and all sentiment of truth; but the adventurous Senator does not hesitate. He is the uncompromising, unblushing representative on this floor of a flagrant sectionalism, which now domineers over the republic, and yet, with a ludicrous ignorance of his own position—unable to see himself as others see him—or with an effrontery which even his white head ought not to protect from rebuke, he applies to those here who resist his sectionalism the very epithet which designates himself. The men who strive to bring back the government to its original policy, when freedom and not slavery was sectional, he arraigns as sectional. This will not do. It involves too great a perversion of terms. I tell that Senator that it is to himself, and to the "organization" of which he is the "committed advocate," that this epithet belongs. I now fasten it upon them. For myself, I care little for names; but since the question has been raised here, I affirm that the Republican party of the Union is in no just sense *sectional*, but, more than any other party, *national;* and that it now goes forth to dislodge from the high places of the government the tyrannical sectionalism of which the Senator from South Carolina is one of the maddest zealots. . . .

As the Senator from South Carolina is the Don Quixote, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) is the squire of slavery, its very Sancho Panza, ready to do all its humiliating offices. This Senator, in his labored address, vindicating his labored report—piling one mass of elaborate error upon another mass—constrained himself, as you will remember, to unfamiliar decencies of speech. Of that address I have nothing to say at this moment, though before I sit down I shall show something of its fallacies. But I go back now to an earlier occasion, when, true to his native impulses, he threw into this discussion, "for a charm of powerful trouble," personalities most discreditable to this body. I will not stop to repel the imputations which he cast upon myself; but I mention them to remind you of the "sweltered venom sleeping not," which, with other poisoned ingredients, he cast into the caldron of this debate. Of other things I speak. Standing on this floor, the Senator issued his rescript, requiring submission to the usurped power of Kansas; and this was accompanied by a manner—all his own—such as befits the tyrannical threat. Very well. Let the Senator try. I tell him now that he cannot force any

such submission. The Senator, with the slave-power at his back, is strong; but he is not strong enough for this purpose. He is bold. He shrinks from nothing. Like Danton, he may cry, "*L'audace! l'audace! toujours l'audace!*" but even his audacity cannot compass this work. The Senator copies the British officer who, with boastful swagger, said that with the hilt of his sword he would cram the "stamps" down the throats of the American people, and he will meet with a similar failure. He may convulse this country with a civil feud. Like the ancient madman, he may set fire to this temple of constitutional liberty, grander than the Ephesian dome; but he cannot enforce obedience to that tyrannical usurpation.

The Senator dreams that he can subdue the North. He disclaims the open threat, but his conduct still implies it. How little that Senator knows himself or the strength of the cause which he persecutes! He is but a mortal man; against him is an immortal principle. With finite power he wrestles with the infinite, and he must fall. Against him are stronger battalions than any marshalled by mortal arm—the inborn, ineradicable, invincible sentiments of the human heart; against him is nature in all her subtle forces; against him is God. Let him try to subdue these.

With regret, I come again upon the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Butler), who, omnipresent in this debate, overflowed with rage at the simple suggestion that Kansas had applied for admission as a State; and, with incoherent phrases, discharged the loose expectoration of his speech, now upon her representative, and then upon her people. There was no extravagance of the ancient parliamentary debate which he did not repeat; nor was there any possible deviation from truth which he did not make, with so much of passion, I am glad to add, as to save him from the suspicion of intentional aberration. But the Senator touches nothing which he does not disguise with error, sometimes of principle, sometimes of fact. He shows an incapacity of accuracy, whether in stating the Constitution, or in stating the law, whether in the details of statistics or the diversions of scholarship. He cannot open his mouth, but out there flies a blunder. Surely he ought to be familiar with the life of Franklin; and yet he referred to this household character, while acting agent of our fathers in England, as above suspicion; and this was done that he might give a point to a false contrast with the agent of Kansas—not knowing that, however they may differ in genius and fame, in this experience they are alike: that Franklin, when intrusted with the petitions of Massachusetts Bay, was assaulted by a foul-mouthed speaker, where he could not be heard in defence, and denounced as a "thief," even as the agent of Kansas has been assaulted on this floor, and denounced as a "forger." And let not the vanity of the Senator be inspired by the parallel with the British statesman of that day; for it is only in hostility to freedom that any parallel can be recognized.

But it is against the people of Kansas that the sensibilities of the Senator are particularly aroused. Coming, as he announces, "from a State"—ay, sir, from South Carolina—he turns with lordly disgust from this newly formed community, which he will not recognize even as a "body politic." Pray, sir, by what title does he indulge in this egotism? Has he read the history of "the State" which he represents? He cannot surely have forgotten its shameful imbecility from slavery, confessed throughout the Revolution, followed by its more shameful assumptions for slavery since. He cannot have forgotten its wretched persistence in the slave-trade as the very apple of its eye, and the condition of its participation in the Union. He cannot have forgotten its constitution, which is republican only in name, confirming power only in the hands of the few, and founding the qualifications of its legislators on a "settled freehold estate and ten negroes." And yet the Senator, to whom that "State" has in part committed the guardianship of its good name, instead of moving, with backward treading steps, to cover its nakedness, rushes forward in the very ecstasy of madness, to expose it by provoking a comparison with Kansas. South Carolina is old; Kansas is young. South Carolina counts by centuries where Kansas counts by years. But a beneficent example may be born in a day; and I venture to say that, against the two centuries of the older

"State," may be already set the two years of trial, evolving corresponding virtue, in the younger community. In the one is the long wail of slavery; in the other, the hymns of freedom. And if we glance at special achievements, it will be difficult to find anything in the history of South Carolina which presents so much of heroic spirit in an heroic cause as appears in that repulse of the Missouri invaders by the beleaguered town of Lawrence, where even the women gave their effective efforts to freedom. . . .

Already in Lawrence alone there are newspapers and schools, including a high school, and throughout this infant Territory there is more mature scholarship far, in proportion to its inhabitants, than in all South Carolina. Ah, sir, I tell the Senator that Kansas, welcomed as a free State, will be a "ministering angel" to the republic when South Carolina, in the cloak of darkness which she hugs, "lies howling." . . .

To overthrow this usurpation is now the special, importunate duty of Congress, admitting of no hesitation or postponement. To this end it must lift itself from the cabals of candidates, the machinations of party, and the low level of vulgar strife. It must turn from that slave oligarchy and refuse to be its tool. Let the power be stretched forth towards this distant Territory, not to bind, but to unbind; not for the oppression of the weak, but for the subversion of the tyrannical; not for the prop and maintenance of a revolting usurpation, but for the confirmation of liberty. . . .

Kansas-Nebraska Bill. See KANSAS.

Kapp, FRIEDRICH, author; born in Hamm, Prussia, April 13, 1824; educated at the University of Heidelberg, and became a lawyer; came to the United States in 1850, and practised in New York till 1870, when he returned to Germany. His publications include *The Slave Question in the United States; Life of the American General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben; History of Slavery in the United States of America; The Trading in Soldiers of the German Princes with America; A History of the German Migration into America; On Immigration and the Commission of Emigration; Life of the American General Johann de Kalb;* and *Frederick the Great and the United States.* He died in Berlin, Germany, Oct. 27, 1884.

Kaskaskia. The Illinois country under the rule of the French contained six distinct settlements, one of which was Kaskaskia, situated upon the Kaskaskia River, 5 miles above its mouth, and within 2 miles of the Mississppi River. Kaskaskia, under the French régime, was, comparatively speaking, a large town, containing from 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants. When the French were expelled from this region by the British and Americans, the population rapidly decreased. On July 5, 1778, the town was captured by the Americans under GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE (*q. v.*), who was acting under authorization of Patrick Henry, at that time governor of Virginia.

Kasson, JOHN ADAM, diplomatist; born in Charlotte, Vt., Jan. 11, 1822; graduated at the University of Vermont in 1842; and was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts. Removing to St. Louis, Mo., he practised till 1857, when he settled in Des Moines, Ia. In 1861–62 he was first assistant Postmaster-General; in 1863–67 was a member of Congress, and in 1863 and 1867 the United States commissioner to the international postal Congress. He again served in Congress in 1873–77, and in the latter year was appointed United States minister to Austria, where he remained till 1881, when he was again elected to Congress. In 1884–85 he was minister to Germany, and in 1893 envoy to the Samoan international conference. President McKinley appointed him United States special commissioner plenipotentiary to negotiate reciprocity treaties in 1897, under the Dingley tariff act; and in 1898 he became a member of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission. He resigned the office of reciprocity commissioner in March, 1901, owing to the failure of the Fifty-sixth Congress to act on several commercial treaties he had negotiated.

Katipunan League, a revolutionary organization in the Philippine Islands. The aim of the society was to expel the Spaniards and the monastic orders from the islands. The most inhuman atrocities were committed by both the Spanish troops and the Katipunan insurgents. The re-

volt was brought to an end by a compact made Dec. 14, 1897, between Aguinaldo and thirty-four other leaders, who agreed to quit the Philippine Islands, not to return until authorized by the Spanish government; the Spanish government agreeing to pay $1,700,000 in instalments, provided the rebellion was not renewed within a certain time. A first instalment of $400,000 was paid, but the promised reform was not carried out and the families of the former leaders were persecuted by the Spanish authorities.

Kaufman, THEODORE, artist; born in Nelsen, Hanover, Dec. 18, 1814; studied painting in Munich and Hamburg; came to the United States in 1855, and served during the Civil War in the National army. Later he settled in Boston. His works include *General Sherman near the Watchfire; On to Liberty; A Pacific Railway Train attacked by Indians; Slaves seeking Shelter under the Flag of the Union; Admiral Farragut entering Harbor through Torpedoes;* and *Farragut in the Rigging.*

Kautz, ALBERT, naval officer; born in Georgetown, O., Jan. 29, 1839; entered the navy as acting midshipman in 1854; graduated at the Naval Academy in 1859; promoted to passed midshipman, master, and lieutenant, in 1861; and was a prisoner of war in North Carolina, and at Richmond, Va., in June–October, 1861. In 1862 he was flag-lieutenant to Farragut, on the *Hartford,* and, after the surrender of New Orleans, he entered the city, removed the "Lone Star" flag from the city hall, and raised the stars and stripes over the custom-house. He was also on the *Hartford* when that ship took part in the engagement with the batteries of Vicksburg. He was promoted to lieutenant-commander in 1865; commander in 1872; captain in 1885; commodore in 1897; and rear-admiral in 1898; and in the latter year was placed in command of the Pacific station. In 1899 Admiral Kautz figured prominently in settling the troubles at Samoa. In March of that year, after he arrived at the scene of the trouble, on board the *Philadelphia,* he spent two days in making inquiries, and then called a meeting of all the consuls and the senior officers of the English and German war-ships in the harbor. After this meeting he issued a proclamation in which he declared that the so-called provisional government under Mataafa was without legal status, according to the terms of the Berlin treaty. He, therefore, ordered Mataafa and his followers to lay down their arms and return to their homes. The German consul, however, would not agree to this proclamation, and issued a counter one, which was translated into the Samoan language, and circulated among the supporters of Mataafa. This proclamation was as follows:

"*Notice to all Samoans:*

"By the proclamation of the admiral of the United States, dated March 11, was made known that the three consuls of the signatory powers of the Berlin treaty, as well as the three commanders of men-of-war, had been unanimous to no more recognize the provisional government, composed of Mataafa and the thirteen chiefs.

"I, therefore, make known to you that this proclamation is quite false. I, the German consul-general, continue to recognize the provisional government of Samoa until I receive contrary instructions from my government.

"ROSE, German Consul-General.
"APIA, *March* 13, 1899."

This notice resulted in hostilities which lasted for several days. About 175 sailors were landed from the American and British war-ships. Before order was restored, several American and British officers and sailors were killed, and others wounded. The loss of the natives was supposed to have been very heavy (see SAMOA). Admiral Kautz was retired in January, 1901.

Kautz, AUGUST VALENTINE, military officer; born in Ispringen, Germany, Jan. 5, 1828; brother of Admiral Kautz. His parents came to the United States the year of his birth, and in 1832 settled in Ohio. He graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1852; commissioned second lieutenant in the 4th Infantry in 1853; promoted first lieutenant in 1855; captain in the 6th Cavalry in 1861; colonel 8th Infantry in 1874; brigadier-general in 1891; and was retired Jan. 5, 1892. In the volunteer service he was commissioned colonel of the 2d Ohio Cavalry, Sept. 2, 1862; promoted to brigadier-general, May 7, 1864; and brevetted major-general, Oct. 28, follow-

ing. During the Civil War he distinguished himself at Monticello, Ky.; at Petersburg, Va.; in the action on the Darbytown road in Virginia; in the pursuit and capture of John Morgan, the Confederate raider; and in the final Richmond campaign. After the war he served in Arizona, California, and Nebraska. General Kautz published *The Company Clerk; Customs of Service for Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers;* and *Customs of Service for Officers.* He died in Seattle, Wash., Sept. 4, 1895.

Kean, JOHN, legislator; born in Ursino, N. J., Dec. 4, 1852; was educated at Yale College; graduated at the Law School of Columbia College in 1875; admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1877, but never practised; was a member of Congress in 1883–85 and 1887–89; and a Republican United States Senator in 1889–1905.

Keane, JOHN JOSEPH, clergyman; born in Ballyshannon, Ireland, Sept. 12, 1839; came to the United States in 1846; was educated in St. Charles's College and St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore; ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church in 1866, and assigned to St. Patrick's Church, Washington. He remained there till Aug. 25, 1878, when he was consecrated Bishop of Richmond, Va. He was rector of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., in 1886–97, when he resigned and went to Rome. In 1900 he was appointed Archbishop of Dubuque.

Kearns, THOMAS, legislator; born near Woodstock, Ontario, Canada, April 11, 1862; removed to Utah, where he worked in a mine, later becoming owner of two mines. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1896 and 1900; and a Republican United States Senator in 1901–05.

Kearny, LAWRENCE, naval officer; born in Perth Amboy, N. J., Nov. 30, 1789; entered the navy in 1807; performed important services on the coast of South Carolina and adjoining States during the War of 1812–15; and after the war, in command of the schooner *Enterprise,* assisted with efficiency in ridding the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico of pirates. He also, in the *Warren,* drove the Greek pirates from the Levant in 1827, and broke up their nests. In command of the East India squadron in 1851, he secured from the Chinese authorities the recognition of the right of Americans to trade there, and the same protection and facilities to our merchants as were about being granted by treaty to Great Britain. He died in Perth Amboy, Nov. 29, 1868.

Kearny, PHILIP, military officer; born in New York City, June 2, 1815; studied law, but, preferring the military profession, entered the army at twenty-two years of age as lieutenant of dragoons. Soon afterwards the government sent him to Europe to study and report upon French cavalry tactics. While there he fought in the French

PHILIP KEARNY.

army in Africa as a volunteer, and returned in 1840 with the cross of the Legion of Honor. Aide to General Scott (1841–44), he was made captain in the United States army, and served on the staff of Scott in the war with Mexico, receiving great applause. Near the city of Mexico he lost his left arm in battle. After serving a campaign on the Pacific coast against the Indians, he went to Europe, and served on the staff of the French General Maurier in the Italian War (1859). He received from the French government a second decoration of the Legion of Honor. He hastened home when the Civil War broke out; was made brigadier-general of volunteers just after the battle of Bull Run, and commanded a brigade of New Jersey troops in Franklin's division, Army of the Potomac. He com-

manded a division in Heintzelman's corps; behaved gallantly during the Peninsula campaign; was made major-general of volunteers in July, 1862; was the first to reinforce Pope; and was engaged in the battles between the Rappahannock and Washington, from Aug. 25 till his death, near Chantilly, Va., Sept. 1, 1862. He had placed his division in preparation for battle, and after dark was reconnoitring within the enemy's lines when he was discovered and shot dead.

KEARNY, STEPHEN WATTS

Kearny, Stephen Watts, military officer; born in Newark, N. J., Aug. 30, 1794; uncle of Gen. Philip Kearny. When the War of 1812–15 broke out young Kearny left his studies at Columbia College, entered the army as lieutenant of infantry, and distinguished himself in the battle of Queenston Heights. In April, 1813, he was made captain, and rose to brigadier-general in June, 1846. He was in command of the Army of the West at the beginning of the war with Mexico, and with that army marched to California, conquering New Mexico on the way. He established a provisional government at Santa Fé, pressed on to California, and was twice wounded in battle. For a few months in 1847 he was governor of California; joined the army in Mexico; in March, 1848, was governor, military and civil, of Vera Cruz, and in May of the same year was made governor of the city of Mexico. In August, 1848, he was brevetted major-general, and died in St. Louis, Mo., on Oct. 31, following.

The Kearny-Stockton Controversy.— The differences between General Kearny and Commodore Stockton, after the occupation of California, originated primarily in the indefiniteness of the instructions which were issued from the seat of government. Those addressed to the naval commanders on the Pacific, in their judgment, justified the organization of a military force and a civil government in California, and under those instructions Commodore Stockton authorized Colonel Frémont to organize the California battalion and take its command with the title of major. By virtue of those, he likewise took the necessary steps for the organization of a civil government for California and invested Frémont with the title and responsibilities of governor.

As soon as these results were consummated, Kit Carson was sent, with an escort of fifteen men, to bear the intelligence overland to Washington, as soon as possible. Just as he had crossed the desert and was approaching the American frontier, he was met by General Kearny, with a small force of dragoons, marching westward, under instructions from his government to conquer California and organize a civil government in the territory, a work which had already been successfully accomplished.

Upon learning what had occurred, Kearny insisted upon Carson's returning with him, as his guide, to California, having forwarded the despatches to Washington by another messenger of his own selection. Upon the general's arrival at Los Angeles, the capital of California, and the seat of the new government, the contest soon arose between himself and Commodore Stockton. The process by which Colonel Frémont became involved in this controversy is obvious. He held a commission in the army as lieutenant of topographical engineers, and, as such, was, primarily, subject to the orders of his superior general officer of the army. He had since yielded to the exigencies of the occasion, and, from motive and for reasons which cannot be impeached, waived any privileges he might have claimed, as the real conqueror of North California, and, in point of rank, the superior representative of the army on the Pacific coast, and, with his men, volunteered to serve under Commodore Stockton in the further prosecution of the war in South California, the subjugation of which could not be so successfully effected without the aid of a fleet. By accepting the governorship of California, a vacancy had been created in the command of the California battalion, and other changes had become necessary. The first intimation which Colonel Frémont received of General Kearny's intention to test the

validity of Commodore Stockton's acts, through him, was conveyed in the following note:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE WEST,
"CIUDAD DE LOS ANGELES,
"*Jan. 16, 1847.*

"By direction of Brigadier - General Kearny, I send you a copy of a communication to him from the Secretary of War, dated June 18, 1846, in which is the following: 'These troops, and such as may be organized in California, will be under your command.' The general directs that no change will be made in the organization of your battalion of volunteers, or officers appointed in it, without his sanction or approval being first obtained. WM. F. EMORY,
"Lieutenant and Acting Assistant
"Adjutant-General."

This note at once raised the question whether he was to obey General Kearny, and thereby, so far as his example could go, invalidate the acts of Commodore Stockton, in which he had co-operated, or obey Commodore Stockton, and, so far as his decision would go, sustain the validity of those proceedings which he believed to be both legal and patriotic. If he took the former course, he incurred the liability to be arraigned, and, in his judgment, justly disgraced for disobeying an officer whose rank and authority he had deliberately recognized; and he further incurred the charge of base ingratitude towards an officer whose courtesy and confidence he had shared, whose conduct he had approved, and who unexpectedly found himself in a situation to need the support of his friends. Frémont was incapable of deserting either a friend or what he deemed a post of duty; he accordingly addressed to General Kearny the following reply, on the following day:

"CIUDAD DE LOS ANGELES,
"*Jan. 17, 1847.*

"SIR,—I have the honor to be in receipt of your favor of last night, in which I am directed to suspend the execution of orders which, in my capacity of military commandant of this territory, I had received from Commodore Stockton, governor and commander - in - chief in California. I avail myself of an early hour this morning to make such a reply as the brief time allowed for reflection will enable me.

"I found Commodore Stockton in possession of the country, exercising the functions of military commandant and civil governor, as early as July of last year; and shortly thereafter I received from him the commission of military commandant, the duties of which I immediately entered upon, and have continued to exercise to the present moment.

"I found also, on my arrival at this place, some three or four days since, Commodore Stockton still exercising the functions of civil and military governor, with the same apparent deference to his rank on the part of all officers (including yourself) as he maintained and required when he assumed them in July last.

"I learned also, in conversation with you, that on the march from San Diego, recently, to this place, you entered upon and discharged duties implying an acknowledgment on your part of supremacy to Commodore Stockton.

"I feel, therefore, with great deference to your professional and personal character, constrained to say that, until you and Commodore Stockton adjust between yourselves the question of rank, where I respectfully think the difficulty belongs, I shall have to report and receive orders, as heretofore, from the commodore.

"With considerations of high regard, I am, sir, your obedient servant,
"J. C. FRÉMONT,
"Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. A., and Military Commandant of the Territory of California.
"Brig.-Gen. S. W. Kearny, U. S. A."

The same day that General Kearny addressed the note above quoted to Colonel Frémont, a yet more serious correspondence commenced between him and Commodore Stockton. It is here given at length, with the introductory remarks of Commodore Stockton's biographer, who evidently wrote under the eye and approval of the commodore:

"Frémont throughout the California war was strictly and technically in the naval service, under Commodore Stockton. He had taken service under him with an express agreement that he would continue

subject to his orders as long as he continued in command in California. This engagement both he and Captain Gillespie had entered into from patriotic motives, and to render the most efficient service to the country. He visited California originally upon topographical, and not on military, duty. His volunteering under Stockton on special service was a patriotic impulse, in complying with which the government were in honor bound to sustain him. He therefore very properly refused to violate his agreement with Stockton, and unite with Kearny against him.

"Having failed to compel Frémont to acknowledge his authority, the general addressed himself to the commodore and demanded that he should abdicate the command-in-chief.

"The commodore, considering the subjugation of California complete, and that no further hostilities were likely to take place, was of opinion that he might now relinquish his governorship and command-in-chief and return to his ship. But, having informed the government that upon that event he intended to appoint Colonel Frémont governor, he now proceeded to carry that design into execution.

"General Kearny, learning this to be the purpose of the commodore, and desirous of exercising the functions of governor himself, addressed to him the following letter:"

GENERAL KEARNY TO COMMODORE STOCKTON.

"Headquarters, Army of the West,
"Ciudad de Los Angeles,
"*Jan. 16, 1847.*

"Sir,—I am informed that you are engaged in organizing a civil government, and appointing officers for it in this territory. As this duty has been specially assigned to myself, by orders of the President of the United States, conveyed in letters to me from the Secretary of War, of June 3, 8, and 18, 1846, the original of which I gave to you on the 12th, and which you returned to me on the 13th, and copies of which I furnished you with on the 26th December, I have to ask if you have any authority from the President, from the Secretary of the Navy, or from any other channel of the President to form such government and make such appointments?

"If you have such authority, and will show it to me or furnish me with a certified copy of it, I will cheerfully acquiesce in what you are doing. If you have not such authority, I then demand that you cease all further proceedings relating to the formation of a civil government of this Territory, as I cannot recognize in you any right in assuming to perform duties confided to me by the President.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
S. W. Kearny,
"Brigadier-General U. S. A.
"Commodore R. F. Stockton, Acting
"Governor of California."

COMMODORE STOCKTON TO GENERAL KEARNY.

"Headquarters, Ciudad de Los Angeles,
"*Jan. 16, 1847.*

"Sir,—In answer to your note, received this afternoon, I need say but little more than that which I communicated to you in a conversation at San Diego—that California was conquered and a civil government put into successful operation; that a copy of the laws made by me for the government of the Territory, and the names of the officers selected to see them faithfully executed, were transmitted to the President of the United States before you arrived in the Territory.

"I will only add that I cannot do anything nor desist from doing anything on your demand, which I will submit to the President and ask for your recall. In the mean time you will consider yourself suspended from the command of the United States forces in this place.

"Faithfully, your obedient servant,
"R. F. Stockton,
"Commander-in-Chief.
"To Brevet Brig.-Gen. S. W. Kearny."

GENERAL KEARNY TO COMMODORE STOCKTON.

"Headquarters, Army of the West,
"Ciudad de Los Angeles,
"*Jan. 17, 1847.*

"Sir,—In my communication to you of yesterday's date I stated that I had learned that you were engaged in organizing a civil government for California. I referred you to the President's instruc-

tions to me (the original of which you have seen) and copies of which I furnished you, to perform that duty, and added that if you had any authority from the President, or any of his organs, for what you were doing, I would cheerfully acquiesce, and if you had not such authority I demanded that you would cease further proceedings in the matter.

"Your reply of the same date refers me to a conversation held at San Diego, and adds that you cannot do anything or desist from doing anything or alter anything on your (my) demand. As, in consequence of the defeat of the enemy on the 8th and 9th inst., by the troops under *my command*, and the capitulation entered into on the 13th inst. by Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont with the leaders of the Californians, in which the people under arms and in the field agree to disperse and remain quiet and peaceable, the country may now, for the first time, be considered as conquered, and taken possession of by us; and as I am prepared to carry out the President's instructions to me, which you oppose, I must, for the purpose of preventing a collision between us and possibly a civil war in consequence of it, remain silent for the present, leaving with you the great responsibility of doing that for which you have no authority, and preventing me from complying with the President's orders.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, S. W. KEARNY,
"Brigadier-General U. S. A.
"Commodore R. F. Stockton, Acting
"Governor of California."

The motives which actuated Colonel Frémont in electing to pursue the course which he did upon the arrival of General Kearny, are scarcely open to misconstruction. There happens, however, to be the best of evidence in regard to them in a letter addressed to Colonel Benton at the time of the collision, which reveals in all the confidence of personal friendship the innermost secrets of his heart. In that letter, he says:

". . . When I entered Los Angeles I was ignorant of the relations subsisting between these gentlemen, having received from neither any order or information which might serve as a guide in the circumstances. I, therefore, immediately on my arrival, waited upon the governor and commander-in-chief, Commodore Stockton, and, a few minutes afterwards, called upon General Kearny. I soon found them occupying a hostile attitude, and each denying the right of the other to assume the direction of affairs in this country.

"The ground assumed by General Kearny was that he held in his hand plenary instructions from the President directing him to conquer California, and organize a civil government, and that consequently he would not recognize the acts of Commodore Stockton.

"The latter maintained that his own instructions were to the same effect as Kearny's; that this officer's commission was obsolete, and never would have been given could the government have anticipated that the entire country, seaboard and interior, would have been conquered and held by himself. The country had been conquered and a civil government instituted since September last, the constitution of the Territory and appointments under the constitution had been sent to the government for its approval, and decisive action undoubtedly long since had upon them. General Kearny was instructed to conquer the country, and upon its threshold his command had been nearly cut to pieces, and, but for relief from him (Commodore Stockton), would have been destroyed. More men were lost than in General Taylor's battle of the 8th. In regard to the remaining part of his instructions, how could he organize a government without first proceeding to disorganize the present one? His work had been anticipated; his commission was absolutely null and void and of no effect.

"But if General Kearny believed that his instructions gave him paramount authority in the country, he made a fatal error on his arrival. He was received with kindness and distinction by the commodore, and offered by him the command of his land forces. General Kearny rejected the offer and declined interfering with Commodore Stockton. This officer was then preparing for a march to Ciudad de Los Angeles, his force being principally sailors and marines, who were all on foot (fortunately for them), and who were to be provided with supplies on their

march through an enemy's country, where all the people are cavalry. His force was paraded, and ready to start, 700 in number, supported by six pieces of artillery. The command, under General Stockton, had been conferred upon his first lieutenant, Mr. Rowan. At this juncture General Kearny expressed to Commodore Stockton his expectation that the command would have been given to him. The commodore informed the general that Lieutenant Rowan was in his usual line of duty, as on board ship, relieving him of the detail of the drudgery of the camp, while he himself remained the commander-in-chief; that if General Kearny was willing to accept Mr. Rowan's place, under these circumstances, he could have it. The general assented. Commodore Stockton called up his officers and explained the case. Mr. Rowan gave up his post generously and without hesitation; and Commodore Stockton desired them clearly to understand that he remained commander-in-chief; under this arrangement the whole force entered Angeles; and on the day of my arrival at that place General Kearny told me that he did then, at that moment, recognize Commodore Stockton as governor of the Territory.

"You are aware that I had contracted relations with Commodore Stockton, and I thought it neither right nor politically honorable to withdraw my support. No reason of interest shall ever compel me to act towards any man in such a way that I should afterwards be ashamed to meet him."

Early in the spring, new instructions, bearing date Nov. 5, reached Commodore Stockton, which put an end to the latter's supremacy in the quarter. In his despatch the Secretary of the Navy says:

"The President has deemed it best for the public interests to invest the military officer commanding with the direction of the operations on land, and with the administrative functions of the government over the people and Territory occupied by us. You will relinquish to Colonel Mason, or to General Kearny, if the latter shall arrive before you have done so, the entire control over these matters, and turn over to him all papers necessary to the performance of his duties."

Instructions of a corresponding import were of course received from the War Department, by General Kearny, and with them, or not long afterwards, a despatch from Mr. Marcy, of which the following is an extract:

EXTRACT FROM INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL KEARNY.

"War Department, *June 17, 1847.*

". . . When the despatch from this department was sent out in November last, there was reason to believe that Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont would desire to return to the United States, and you were then directed to conform to his wishes in that respect. It is not now proposed to change that direction. But since that time it has become known here that he bore a conspicuous part in the conquest of California, that his services have been very valuable in that country, and doubtless will continue to be so should he remain there.

"Impressed, as all engaged in the public service must be, with the great importance of harmony and cordial co-operation in carrying on military operations in a country so distant from the seat of authority, the President is persuaded that when his definite instructions were received, all questions of difficulty were settled, and all feelings which had been elicited by the agitation of them had subsided.

"Should Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont, who has the option to return or remain, adopt the latter alternative, the President does not doubt you will employ him in such a manner as will render his services most available to public interest, having reference to his extensive acquaintance with the inhabitants of California, and his knowledge of their language, qualifications independent of others, which it is supposed may be very useful in the present and prospective state of our affairs in that country. . . .

"Very respectfully, your ob't servant,

"W. L. Marcy,

"Secretary of War."

The "definite instructions" to which reference is here made were never communicated to Colonel Frémont, and their suppression was very justly esteemed by him a grievance for several reasons, and

among others, because they show that by the President's directions it was at Colonel Frémont's option whether he would remain in California or not, an option, however, which was denied him by General Kearny.

Early in March, and after taking the supreme command in California, General Kearny addressed Colonel Frémont the following letter:

GENERAL KEARNY TO COLONEL FRÉMONT.

"HEADQUARTERS, 10TH MILITARY DEPT.,
"MONTEREY, U. CAL., *March 1, 1847.*

"SIR,—By Department orders, No. 2, of this date (which will be handed to you by Captain Turner, 1st Dragoons, A.A.A.G., for my command), you will see that certain duties are there required of you as commander of the battalion of California volunteers.

"In addition to the duties above referred to, I have now to direct that you will bring with you, and with as little delay as possible, all the archives and public documents and papers which may be subject to your control, and which appertain to the government of California, that I may receive them from your hands at this place, the capital of the Territory.

"I have directions from the general-in-chief not to detain you in this country, against your wishes, a moment longer than the necessities of the service may require; and you will be at liberty to leave here after you have complied with these instructions, and those in the order referred to.

"Very respectfully, your ob't servant,
"S. W. KEARNY.

"Lieut.-Col. J. C. Frémont, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, Commanding Battalion of California Volunteers, Ciudad de Los Angeles."

About a month later, he received the following order from General Kearny:

"HEADQUARTERS, 10TH MILITARY DEPT.,
"MONTEREY, CAL., *March 28.*

"SIR,—This will be handed to you by Colonel Mason, 1st Dragoons, who goes to the southern district, clothed by me with full authority to give such orders and instructions upon all matters, both civil and military, in that section of the country as he may deem proper and necessary. Any instructions he may give you will be considered as coming from myself."

A few weeks later Colonel Frémont received orders from General Kearny to report himself at Monterey with such of the members of his topographical corps as were still under pay, prepared to set out at once for Washington. Colonel Frémont then applied for permission to join his regiment, under General Taylor's command, supposed to be on its way to Vera Cruz. This request was refused without explanation or apology, and on June 14 Colonel Frémont addressed General Kearny as follows:

COLONEL FRÉMONT TO GENERAL KEARNY.

NEW HELVETIA, U. CAL.,
"*June 14, 1847.*

"SIR,—In a communication which I received from yourself in March of the present year I am informed that you had been directed by the commander-in-chief not to detain me in this country against my wishes longer than the absolute necessities of the service might require.

"Private letters in which I have entire confidence further inform me that the President has been pleased to direct that I should be permitted the choice of joining my regiment in Mexico, or returning directly to the United States. An application which I had the honor to make to you at the Ciudad de Los Angeles for permission to proceed immediately to Mexico having been rejected, and the duties of the exploring expedition which had been confided to my direction having been terminated by yourself, I respectfully request that I may now be relieved of all connection with the topographical party which you have taken under your charge, and be permitted to return to the United States. Travelling with a small party by a direct route, my knowledge of the country and freedom from professional business will enable me to reach the States some forty or fifty days earlier than yourself, which the present condition of affairs and a long absence from my family make an object of great importance to me.

"It may not be improper to say to you that my journey will be made with private means, and will not, therefore, occasion

any expenditure to the government. I have the honor to be, with much respect, your obedient servant,

"J. C. FRÉMONT,

"Lieutenant-Colonel, Mounted Riflemen.

"Brig.-Gen. S. W. Kearny, Commanding, etc."

To this request Colonel Frémont received the following reply:

GENERAL KEARNY TO COLONEL FRÉMONT.

"CAMP NEAR NEW HELVETIA,

"CALIFORNIA, *June 14, 1847.*

"SIR,—The request contained in your communication to me of this date, to be relieved from all connection with the topographical party (nineteen men), and be permitted to return to the United States with a small party made up by your private means, cannot be granted.

"I shall leave here on Wednesday, the 16th instant, and I require of you to be with your topographical party in my camp (which will probably be about 15 miles from here) on the evening of that day, and to continue with me to Missouri.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, S. W. KEARNY,

"Brigadier-General.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont, Regiment "Mounted Riflemen, New Helvetia."

General Kearny broke up his camp near Sutter's fort on the day after issuing this order, and set out for the United States, attended by Colonel Frémont, who was treated, however, with deliberate disrespect throughout the journey. The party reached Fort Leavenworth about Aug. 22. On that day General Kearny sent for him, and directed Lieutenant Wharton to read to him a copy of the first paragraph of an order he had just issued of that date, as follows:

"FORT LEAVENWORTH, *Aug. 22, 1847.*

"Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont, of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, will turn over to the officers of the different departments at this post, the horses, mules, and other public property in the use of the topographical party now under his charge, for which receipts will be given. He will arrange the accounts of these men (nineteen in number), so that they can be paid at the earliest date. Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont having performed the above duty, will consider himself under arrest, and will then repair to Washington City, and report himself to the adjutant-general of the army." . . .

For Colonel Frémont's subsequent actions, see FRÉMONT, JOHN CHARLES.

Kearny's Expedition and Conquest of New Mexico. See KEARNY, STEPHEN WATTS.

Kearsarge, THE. Wrecked on Roncador Reef, in Caribbean Sea, Feb. 2, 1894. See ALABAMA, THE.

Keeler, JAMES EDWARD, astronomer; born in La Salle, Ill., Sept. 10, 1857; graduated at Johns Hopkins University in 1881; accompanied Prof. Langley on the Mount Whitney expedition; studied two years with Quincke, in Heidelberg, and with Von Helmholz, in Berlin. He was appointed assistant astronomer of the Lick Observatory in 1886, and when the observatory was transferred to the State (June, 1888), he was made full astronomer. He was director of the Allegheny Observatory in 1889–98, and on June 1, 1898, was made director of the Lick Observatory. Professor Keeler was a member of many American and foreign scientific societies, among them the Royal Astronomical Society of Great Britain, and in 1898 was awarded the Rumford medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He wrote extensively for *The Astrophysical Journal* and other technical periodicals. He died on Mount Hamilton, Cal., Aug. 13, 1900.

Keely, JOHN WORRELL, mechanic; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 3, 1837; was a carpenter till 1872. Prior to that date he had become interested in music, claiming that the tuning-fork had suggested to him a new motive power. After years of experiment he exhibited a machine which appeared to have great power, its motion, according to him, being produced neither by steam, electricity, nor compressed air, but by the vibrations of a violin bow. This machine was called the "Keely motor," and in 1874 a stock company was established which contributed thousands of dollars to enable him to perfect his alleged discovery. From 1872 to 1891 he built and rejected 129 different models; in 1881 a wealthy woman of Philadelphia built a new laboratory for him, and also

furnished a weekly salary that he might continue his experiments. At various exhibitions he produced wonderful effects, but never revealed how these were accomplished. After his death the whole scheme was examined, and it was claimed by many to be a fraud—that the machine was operated by a compressed-air motor in the cellar. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 18, 1898.

Keen, GREGORY BERNARD, librarian; born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 3, 1844; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1861, and at the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, in 1866; became a Roman Catholic in 1868; was librarian of the University of Pennsylvania in 1887–97; and became librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1898. He is the editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, and the author of a number of articles on *The Descendants of Jöran Kyn, the Founder of Upland*, and the chapters on *New Sweden* and *New Albion* in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*.

Keenan, PETER, military officer; born in York, N. Y., Nov. 9, 1834; was adopted by a wealthy Philadelphia family; became a captain in the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry in 1861. After the rout of the 11th Corps on the right wing at the battle of Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863, with less than 500 men, he charged the Confederates, taking them by complete surprise, so that their advance was sufficiently checked until the National guns were got into position. This charge saved the National army from complete rout. He was killed during the action.

Keene, LAURA, actress; born in Chelsea, London, England, in 1820; real name, MARY MOSS; made her first appearance on the stage in London, in 1845; was married to Henry W. Taylor in 1847, and to John Lutz in 1857. She won her greatest successes in light comedy. She first appeared in the United States at Wallack's Theatre, New York, in 1852, where she subsequently took the management of the Varieties Theatre, and later opened a theatre under her name, which she managed till 1863. At this house, in 1858, she first brought out *Our American Cousin*, in which Joseph Jefferson took the part of Asa Trenchard and Edward A. Sothern that of Lord Dundreary, then a minor character, which Mr. Sothern afterwards made the principal one in a new version of the play. In 1860 she brought out *The Seven Sisters*, which ran for 169 nights. It was while her company was playing *Our American Cousin*, at Ford's Theatre, Washington, on April 14, 1865, that President Lincoln was fatally shot. She remained on the stage till within two years of her death, in Montclair, N. J., Nov. 4, 1873.

Kegs, BATTLE OF THE. See HOPKINSON, FRANCIS.

Keifer, JOSEPH WARREN, lawyer; born in Clark county, O., Jan. 30, 1836; educated at Antioch College; was admitted to the bar and began practice in Springfield, O. In the Civil War he served in the Union army, rising from the rank of major to colonel and brevet brigadier-general and major-general. At the close of the war he declined the appointment of lieutenant-colonel of the 26th United States Infantry. In 1868–69 he was a State Senator; in 1877–83 a Republican Representative in Congress; and in 1881–83 speaker of the House. During the war with Spain President McKinley appointed him a major-general of volunteers. Since 1873 he has been president of a national bank. In April, 1901, he published *Slavery and Four Years of War*.

Keith, GEORGE, clergyman; born in Aberdeen, Scotland, about 1645; belonged to the Society of Friends; came to East Jersey; was surveyor-general in 1682; and in 1689 taught school in Philadelphia. He wrote and spoke much in favor of the Quakers, and visited New England in their interest; but about 1691 he established a sect who called themselves "Christian Quakers." Keith was irritable, quarrelsome, and imperious. He finally left the Quakers altogether; took orders in the Church of England; and died rector of Edburton, Sussex, England, in 1715.

Keith, SIR WILLIAM; born near Peterhead, England, in 1680; appointed governor of Pennsylvania and Delaware in 1717 by George I. at the request of the principal inhabitants. He was the only pre-Revolutionary governor who sympathized with the colonists in their struggles with the proprietaries or British gov-

ernment. He was superseded in his office in 1726, and was elected a member of the colonial legislature. He returned to England in 1728, and projected a series of colonial histories, of which that on Virginia was the only one published. He died in London, Nov. 18, 1749.

Kell, JOHN MCINTOSH, naval officer; born in Darien, Ga., Jan. 26, 1823; entered the United States Naval Academy in 1841; served under Commodores Sloat and Perry in California and Japan; joined the Confederate navy as executive officer of the *Sumter;* transferred to the *Alabama* in 1862; was in the fight with the *Kearsarge,* but rescued by the English yacht *Deerhound* when the *Alabama* sank; promoted captain C. S. N. He wrote *Cruise and Combats of the Alabama* in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.* He died in Sunnyside, Ga., Oct. 5, 1900.

Keller, HELEN ADAMS, deaf, dumb, and blind; born in Tuscumbia, Ala., June 27, 1880. She was sent to the Wright-Humason School in New York City when seven years of age, where she made rapid progress under her teacher, Miss Sullivan. In 1897 she was sent to the Arthur Gilman School, and in 1899 she entered Radcliffe College, where she studied Greek, Latin, and the higher mathematics. This is probably the most wonderful instance in the history of education where seemingly insuperable difficulties have been successfully surmounted.

Kelley, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, military officer; born in New Hampton, N. H., April 10, 1807; removed to western Virginia in 1826. He entered the national army as colonel of the 1st Virginia Regiment; took part in the battle of Philippi, where he was severely wounded; promoted brigadier-general in 1861, major-general in 1865. After the Civil War he was collector of internal revenue and examiner of pensions. He died in Oakland, Md., July 16, 1891.

Kelley, HALL JACKSON, colonist; born in Northwood, N. H., Feb. 28, 1790; graduated at Middlebury College in 1813; became interested in colonizing Oregon, and influenced the Massachusetts legislature to incorporate the "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory." Later he conducted a number of settlers thither, but they were driven away by the Hudson Bay Company. He was the author of a *Geographical Memoir of Oregon,* and *A History of the Settlement of Oregon and of the Interior of Upper California, and of Persecutions and Afflictions of Forty Years' Continuance Endured by the Author.* He died in Palmer, Mass., Jan. 17, 1874.

Kelley, HENRY B., jurist; born in Huntsville, Ala., in 1823; served throughout the Mexican War as lieutenant of the 14th U. S. V.; resigned in 1848; reentered the army in 1855; resigned in 1861 to enter the Confederate army. He was a judge in the Louisiana Court of Appeals from 1884 till his death at New Orleans, June 16, 1894.

Kelley, JAMES DOUGLAS JERROLD, naval officer; born in New York City, Dec. 25, 1847; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1868; promoted ensign in 1869; master in 1870; lieutenant in 1872; lieutenant-commander in 1893; and commander in 1899. For a prize essay written in 1881 he received a gold medal from the United States Naval Institute. During the war with Spain (1898) he was chairman of the board on auxiliary vessels; and in 1900–1 was on duty in Chinese waters. He is widely known by his numerous writings on naval subjects. His publications include *The Question of Ships; Our Navy; A Desperate Chance; American Yachts; The Ship's Company; The Story of Coast Defence; American Men-o'-War; The Navy of the United States, 1875–99,* etc.

Kelley, WILLIAM DARRAH, legislator; born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 12, 1814; admitted to the bar in 1841; was a Free-trade Democrat till 1848, when he entered the Republican party, becoming a firm abolitionist and protectionist. He was elected to Congress in 1860, and held a seat in that body for many years. He was the author of *Slavery in the Territories* (an address); *Address at the Colored Department of the House of Refuge; Reasons for Abandoning the Theory of Free-Trade and Adopting the Principle of Protection to American Industry; Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions; The New South,* etc. He died in Washington, D. C., Jan. 9, 1890.

Kelleysville, BATTLE OF. See KELLY'S FORD.

Kellogg, Clara Louise, opera-singer; born in Sumterville, S. C., July 12, 1842; removed to New York in 1856, and there received her musical education. She made her first appearance in New York as Gilda, in *Rigoletto*, in 1861, and in London in Her Majesty's Theatre in 1867. She made tours through the United States from 1868 till her reappearance in London in May, 1872. Returning to the United States, she sang in Italian opera for a season; organized an English opera company; then an Italian opera company (1876); married her manager, Carl Strakosch, in 1887, and retired to private life.

Kellogg, Edgar Romeyn, military officer; born in New York City, March 25, 1842; entered the army in April, 1861, as a sergeant in the 24th Ohio Infantry; was promoted to second lieutenant in October following; then resigned and enlisted as a private in the 16th United States Infantry. He was promoted to first lieutenant, Aug. 1, 1862; attained the rank of brigadier-general, Dec. 5, 1899, and was retired for disabilities Dec. 16, 1899. In the Civil War he greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Murfreesboro and in the Atlanta campaign, and in the war with Spain (1898) he commanded the 10th United States Infantry in the battle of San Juan Hill, near Santiago de Cuba, on July 1.

Kellogg, Elijah, clergyman; born in Portland, Maine, May 20, 1813; graduated at Bowdoin in 1840. He wrote many popular books for young people, and was the author of the well-known *Address of Spartacus to the Gladiators.* He died in Harpsburg, Maine, March 17, 1901.

Kellogg, Martin, educator; born in Vernon, Conn., March 15, 1828; graduated at Yale College in 1850; went to California as a Congregational clergyman; was Professor of Latin in the old California College in 1859–69; and in 1869, when the University of California was founded, became Professor of Ancient Languages there. He held the chair till 1893, and was then president till 1899. He died in San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 26, 1903.

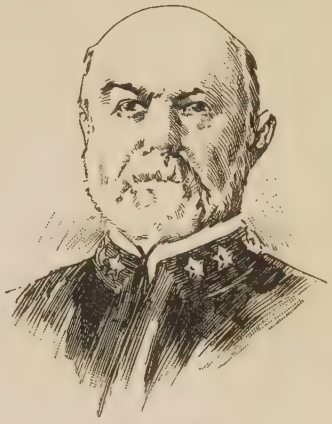
Kellogg, William Pitt, governor of Louisiana; born in Orwell, Vt., Dec. 8, 1831; admitted to the bar of Illinois in 1850; appointed chief-justice of Nebraska Territory in 1861; colonel of the 7th Illinois United States Volunteers in 1861; collector in 1865; United States Senator from Louisiana in 1868; governor of Louisiana, 1873–77; re-elected United States Senator in 1877; member of Congress, 1883–85.

Kelly, James Edward, sculptor; born in New York City, July 30, 1855; began studying art under Charles Parsons, of the art department of Harper & Brothers, in 1873, and subsequently at the Academy of Design; and in 1878 began his career as an illustrator in sculpture of personages and events prominent in American history by modelling the well-known statuette of *Sheridan's Ride*, for which the general posed. In the following year he made a portrait bust of Thomas A. Edison with the first phonograph; and in 1882 produced the Paul Revere statue. During 1883–85 he was engaged on the five panels for the Monmouth Battle Monument, representing the *Council of War at Hopewell; Ramsey Defending His Guns; Washington Rallying His Troops; Molly Pitcher;* and *Wayne's Charge.* In 1886 he completed *Grant at Donelson*, for which the general furnished sittings and details. For the Saratoga Monument he produced the panels, *Arnold Wounded in the Trenches;* and *Schuyler Transferring His Plans to Gates.* For the National Cemetery at Gettysburg he was the sculptor of General Deven and the 6th New York Cavalry and the Buford Monument. In 1891 he produced the colossal figure, *The Call to Arms*, for the Soldiers' Monument at Troy, N. Y. In 1895 he furnished the Long Island panel, for the Sons of the Revolution; in 1897 the memorial of the battle of Harlem Heights on the grounds of Columbia University, also for the Sons of the Revolution; and in 1901 was engaged on a monument to commemorate the defence of New Haven, for the Sons of the American Revolution. Besides these works he has produced heads of the principal commanders of the Civil War from life, including Generals Grant, Sheridan, Sherman, Hancock, Stanley, Pleasonton, etc.; a portrait bust of Admiral Worden: busts and statuettes from life of Admiral Dewey, Rear-Admiral Sampson, and Lieutenant Hobson; and heads from life of the captains of Dewey's and Samp-

son's fleets, and of the principal army officers of the Spanish-American War, and an equestrian statue of Gen. Fitz-John Porter.

Kelly's Ford, a locality on the Rappahannock River in Virginia, which was the scene of several engagements between the National and Confederate forces during the Civil War. The first, on Aug. 20, 1862, was with the cavalry of the Army of Virginia; the second, on March 17, 1863, in which the 1st and 5th United States, the 3d, 4th, and 16th Pennsylvania, the 1st Rhode Island, the 6th Ohio, and the 4th New York cavalry regiments, and the 6th New York battery were engaged; the third, on Aug. 1–3, 1863, being a part of the engagements at Rappahannock and Brandy stations; and the fourth, Nov. 7, 1863, in which the 1st United States Sharp-shooters, the 40th New York, 1st and 20th Indiana, 3d and 5th Michigan, and the 110th Pennsylvania regiments, supported by the remainder of the 3d Corps of the Army of the Potomac, were engaged. On Jan. 27, 1864, the cavalry division of the Army of the Ohio had an engagement at Fair Gardens, Tenn., otherwise known as French Broad or Kelly's Ford.

Kempff, Louis, naval officer; born near Belleville, Ill., Oct. 11, 1841; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1861; and was assigned to the *Vandalia* on blockading duty off Charleston. While there he captured the schooner *Henry Middleton,* of Charleston, and took it to New York. On Nov. 7 he participated in the battle at Port Royal, S. C. He was made lieutenant in 1862. During the remainder of the Civil War he served on the *Wabash* and other vessels of the Atlantic and Gulf squadrons; took part in the bombardment of Sewell's Point, Va., in May, 1862; and in the reoccupation of Norfolk, Va. In 1866 he was promoted lieutenant-commander; in 1876, commander; in 1891, captain; and in 1899, rear-admiral. In 1900, when the Boxer troubles broke out in China, he was assigned to the command of the American naval forces in Chinese waters. He arrived at Taku on the *Newark,* May 28, and on the following day sent ashore 108 marines. The other foreign war-ships in the harbor also landed about 100 men each. When an attempt was made to send this international force to Peking to rescue the members of the foreign legations there, the Tsung-li-Yamen (or Chinese foreign office) refused permission, but subsequently a portion of the allied troops, including sixty-three American marines, were sent by train to the capital, reaching it on June 1. The troubles grew rapidly worse, and on June 17 the foreign admirals at Taku, with the exception of Admiral Kempff, sent a demand for the evacuation of the Taku forts by 2 P.M. In answer to this demand the Chinese opened fire upon the foreign war-ships which had congregated in the harbor. The British, French, Russian, and Japanese ships replied, and after seven hours the forts surrendered. At first there was general regret among naval officers and others that Admiral Kempff had not taken part in the bombardment of the forts. Later, however, he gave as his reasons that a state of war against China did not exist; that such an attack would be legally an act of war; and that formal aggression by the foreign governments would be regarded by the Chinese as constituting a state of war, would unite all the Chinese against the powers, and increase the difficulty of settling the trouble. These reasons were found to be in strict harmony with the policy of the United States government. Admiral Kempff's action was approved by his gov-



LOUIS KEMPFF.

ernment, and was subsequently commended by many European statesmen.

Kendall, Amos, statesman; born in Dunstable, Mass., Aug. 16, 1789; graduated at Dartmouth in 1811; removed to Kentucky, and was admitted to the bar in 1814. For some time he was tutor in Henry Clay's family; subsequently editor of several papers, of which the *Argus of Western America*, published in Frankfort, Ky., was the most influential; was Postmaster-General in 1835–40, during which time he freed that department of debt, besides introducing numerous reforms. He published the *Life of Andrew Jackson, Private, Military, and Civil.* He died in Washington, D. C., Nov. 11, 1869. See Kitchen Cabinet.

Kendall, George Wilkins, journalist; born in Amherst (now Mount Vernon), N. H., Aug. 22, 1809; removed to New Orleans in 1835, and with Francis A. Lumsden, founded the *Picayune*, the first cheap daily newspaper in that city. Later this paper became the best known in the South. His publications include *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition;* and *The War between the United States and Mexico.* He died in Oak Spring, Tex., Oct. 22, 1867.

Kenesaw Mountains, Action near. General Johnston, pursued by General Sherman, after evacuating Allatoona Pass, took a stand. At his back were the Big and Little Kenesaw mountains, within 3 miles of Marietta. With these lying close together, Lost and Pine mountains formed a triangle. Confederate batteries covered their summits, and on the top of each Confederate signal-stations were placed. Thousands of men were busy in the forest casting up intrenchments from base to base of these rugged hills in preparation for a great struggle. Sherman advanced to Big Shanty, and there made preparations to break through the Confederate works between Kenesaw and Pine mountains. Hooker was on the right and front of his line, Howard was on the left and front, and Palmer between it and the railway. Under a heavy cannonade, the advance began, June 14, 1864. The Nationals pushed over the

VIEW OF KENESAW FROM PINE MOUNTAIN.

rough country, fighting at almost every step. That night the Confederates abandoned Pine Mountain, and took position in the intrenchments between Kenesaw and Lost mountains. Upon the latter eminence the Nationals advanced in a heavy rain-storm, and on the 17th the Confederates abandoned Lost Mountain and the long line of intrenchments connecting it with Kenesaw. Sherman continually pressed them heavily, skirmishing in dense forests, furrowed with ravines and tangled with vines.

From the top of Kenesaw Johnston could see the movements of the Nationals, and from batteries on its summit could hurl plunging shot. The antagonists struggled on; and finally General Hood sallied out of the Confederate intrenchments with a strong force to break through Sherman's line between Thomas and Schofield. He was received with a terrible return blow, which made him recoil in great confusion, leaving, in his retreat, his killed, wounded, and many prisoners. This struggle is known in history as the battle of the Kulp House. This repulse inspirited the Nationals. On June 27 they made a furious assault on the Confederate lines at two points south of Kenesaw, to break them, separate their forces, and destroy their army. The Nationals were repulsed, with an aggregate loss of about 3,000 men. Among the killed were Generals C. G. Harker and D. McCook, and many valuable officers of lower grade were wounded. The loss of the Confederates, behind their breastworks, was slight. Sherman now disposed his troops so as to seriously threaten Johnston's rear. Turner's Ferry across the Chattahoochee was menaced, and the intended effect was instantaneous. On the night of July 2 Johnston abandoned Kenesaw and all his intrenchments, and when, at dawn (July 3), the Nationals stood on the crest of that mountain, they saw the Confederates flying through and beyond Marietta towards the Chattahoochee, in the direction of Atlanta.

Kennan, GEORGE, author; born in Norwalk, O., Feb. 16, 1845. In 1866–68 he directed the construction of the middle division of the Russo-American telegraph line. In 1885–86 he went to Siberia to examine the Russian exile system; and on his return lectured on that subject in the United States and England. In May, 1898, he went to Cuba with the American National Red Cross Society. His works include *Tent Life in Siberia; Siberia and the Exile System; Campaigning in Cuba,* etc.

Kennebec River Expedition. General Washington sent Gen. Benedict Arnold to the Kennebec to co-operate with Montgomery in the Canadian expedition of 1775. Arnold, with 1,200 men, reached Quebec and assaulted the town on Dec. 31. MONTGOMERY (*q. v.*) was killed, and 400 Americans were captured. After a siege of three months, Arnold was driven away by Burgoyne.

Kennedy, JOHN PENDLETON, statesman and author; born in Baltimore, Md., Oct. 25, 1795; graduated at the University of Maryland in 1812; admitted to the bar in 1816; elected to the House of Delegates, Maryland, in 1820; to the House of Representatives in 1838; was a member of the twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth Congresses; elected speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1846; appointed Secretary of the Navy under President Fillmore in 1852. Among his works are a *Review of Mr. Cambreling's Free-Trade Report; A Memorial on Domestic Industry; A Report on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, by the Committee of Commerce,* of which Mr. Kennedy was chairman; and also a *Report on the Warehouse System* by the same committee; *Life of William Wirt; Discourses on the Life of William Wirt,* and *George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore.* Mr. Kennedy as an author is, however, best known by his novels, *Swallow Barn; A Sojourn in the Old Dominion; Horse-shoe Robinson: A Tale of the Tory Ascendency; Rob of the Bowl, a Legend of St. Inigoes,* a story of colonial Maryland life. He died in Newport, R. I., Aug. 28, 1870.

Kennedy, WILLIAM, author; born near Paisley, Scotland, Dec. 26, 1799; was made consul at Galveston, Tex., where he lived for many years, returning to England in 1847. He was the author of *The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas;* and of a condensation of the same, entitled *Texas, Its Geography, Natural History, and Topography,* etc. He died near London, England, in 1847.

Kent, JACOB FORD, military officer; born in Philadelphia, Sept. 14, 1835; entered the army as second lieutenant of the 3d Infantry, in May, 1861. For gallantry at Marye's Heights he was promoted first lieutenant, and brevetted captain and major; was promoted captain of the 3d Infantry in 1864; and for gallantry in the battle of Spottsylvania, and for distinguished services in the field during the war, was brevetted lieutenant-colonel and colonel. At the close of the war he was commissioned colonel of the 24th United States Infantry. On July 8, 1898, he was appointed a major-general of volunteers. During the campaign in Cuba he commanded the first division of the 5th Corps. On Oct. 4, 1898, he was promoted brigadier-general, U. S. A., and on Oct. 15 was retired at his own request.

Kent, JAMES, jurist; born in Phillipstown, N. Y., July 31, 1763; studied law

JAMES KENT.

with Egbert Benson; and began its practice in 1787, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. He was a member of the New York legislature from 1790 to 1793, and became Professor of Law in Columbia College in 1793. Deeply versed in the doctrine of civil law, he was made a master in chancery in 1796; city recorder in 1797; judge of the Supreme Court in 1798; chief-justice in 1804; and was chancellor from 1814 to 1823. After taking a leading part in the State constitutional convention in 1821, he again became law professor in Columbia College, and the lectures he there delivered form the basis of his able *Commentaries on the United States Constitution,* published in 4 volumes. He was one of the clearest legal writers of his day. In 1828 he was elected president of the New York Historical Society. He passed his later years in revising and enlarging his *Commentaries,* and in giving opinions on legal subjects. He died in New York City, Dec. 12, 1847.

Kent Island Colony. In May, 1631, King Charles I. granted a license to William Claiborne "to traffic in those parts of America for which there was already no patent granted for sole trade." With the intention of monopolizing the Indian trade of Chesapeake Bay, Claiborne and his associates planted a small colony on Kent Island, situated in the centre of the province of Maryland, soon afterwards granted to Lord Baltimore. This grant and settlement gave much trouble to the proprietor of Maryland and the settlers there under his patent. See CLAIBORNE, WILLIAM.

Kenton, SIMON; born in Fauquier county, Va., April 3, 1755. Supposing he had killed in an affray a rival in a love affair when he was sixteen years old, he fled to the wilderness west of the Alleghany Mountains, where he was the friend and companion of Daniel Boone in many daring feats. He was in expeditions against the Indians, was captured by them, and taken to Detroit. Escaping from a Brit-

SIMON KENTON.

ish prison there in 1779, he distinguished himself in resisting the invasion of Kentucky by the British and Indians in that year. Finally, after an expedition against the Indians on the Miami, he settled (1784) near Maysville. He accompanied Wayne in his expedition in 1794. In 1805 he was seated near the Mud River, in Ohio, and was made brigadier-general of militia. In 1813 he served under Governor Shelby at the battle of the Thames. Beggared by lawsuits because of defective titles to lands, he lived in penury many years. In 1824 he appeared at Frankfort, Ky., in tattered clothes, and successfully appealed to the legislature to release the claim of the State to lands which were his. Congress afterwards allowed him a pension. He died in Logan county, O., April 29, 1836.

Kentucky, STATE OF. In 1776 Kentucky was made a county of Virginia, and in 1777 the first court was held at Harrodsburg. Conventions held at Danville in 1784–85 recommended a peaceable and constitutional separation from Virginia. In 1786 an act was passed by the Virginia legislature complying with the desires of Kentucky, and on June 1, 1792, it was admitted into the Union as a State. Its population at that time was about 75,000. For several years much uneasiness was felt among the people of Kentucky on account of Indian depredations and the free navigation of the Mississippi River. These were settled satisfactorily by the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. During the War of 1812 Kentucky took an active part, sending fully 7,000 men to the field; and after that war the State was undisturbed by any stirring events until the breaking out of the Civil War. A second constitution took effect in 1800, a third in 1850. At the beginning of the Civil War Kentucky assumed a position of neutrality, but it was really one of hostility to the Union. The governor refused to comply with the President's requisition for troops; but Lieut. William Nelson, of the navy, a native of the State, and then on ordnance duty at Washington, began to recruit for the National army; and towards the close of July, 1861, he established Camp Dick Robinson, in Garrard county, for the organization of Kentucky volunteers. These flocked to this camp and to other recruiting stations. A great majority of the people were loyal to the Union, but the governor was not, and the unfortunate position of neutrality which the latter, with the Confederates, caused Kentucky to assume brought upon her the miseries

STATE SEAL OF KENTUCKY.

of civil war. Steps were taken for the secession of the State, and for the organization of a Confederate State government, but failed. The State was scarred by battles, invasions, and raids, and martial law was proclaimed by President Lincoln, July 5, 1864. The civil authority was restored Oct. 18, 1865. A convention for revision of the State constitution, ordered at the 1889 election by a majority of 31,931, met at Frankfort, Sept. 8 of the same year. The new constitution was completed on April 11, submitted to the people at the August election, and was adopted by an overwhelming vote. It was published as the fundamental law of the State on Sept. 28, 1891. Population in 1890, 1,858,635; in 1900, 2,147,174. See UNITED STATES — KENTUCKY, in vol. ix.

GOVERNORS.

Name.	Term.
Isaac Shelby	1792 to 1796
James Garrard	1796 " 1804
Christopher Greenup	1804 " 1808
Charles Scott	1808 " 1812
Isaac Shelby	1812 " 1816
George Madison	1816
Gabriel Slaughter	1816 to 1820
John Adair	1820 " 1824
Joseph Desha	1824 " 1828

GOVERNORS—*Continued.*

Name.	Term.
Thomas Metcalfe	1828 to 1832
John Breathitt	1832 " 1834
J. T. Morehead	1834 " 1836
James Clark	1836 " 1837
C. A. Wickliffe	1837 " 1840
Robert P. Letcher	1840 " 1844
William Owsley	1844 " 1848
John J. Crittenden	1848 " 1850
John L. Helm	1850 " 1851
Lazarus W. Powell	1851 " 1855
Charles S. Morehead	1855 " 1859
Beriah Magoffin	1859 " 1861
J. F. Robinson	1861 " 1863
Thomas E. Bramlette	1863 " 1867
John L. Helm	1867
John W. Stevenson	1868 to 1871
Preston H. Leslie	1871 " 1875
James B. McCreary	1875 " 1879
Luke P. Blackburn	1879 " 1883
J. Proctor Knott	1883 " 1887
Simon B. Buckner	1887 " 1891
J. Y. Brown	1891 " 1895
William O. Bradley	1896 " 1900
William S. Taylor	1900
William Goebel	1900
J. C. W. Beckham	1900 to ——

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
John Brown	2d to 9th	1792 to 1805
John Edwards	2d " 4th	1792 " 1795
Humphrey Marshall	4th " 7th	1795 " 1801
John Breckinridge	7th " 9th	1801 " 1805
John Adair	9th	1805 " 1806
Henry Clay	9th	1806 " 1807
John B. Thurston	9th to 11th	1806 " 1809
John Pope	10th " 13th	1807 " 1813
Henry Clay	11th	1810 " 1811
George M. Bibb	12th to 13th	1811 " 1814
George Walker	13th	1814
William T. Barry	13th to 14th	1815 to 1816
Jessie Bledsoe	13th " 14th	1813 " 1815
Isham Talbot	14th " 19th	1815 " 1825
Martin D. Hardin	14th	1816 " 1817
John J. Crittenden	15th	1817 " 1819
Richard M. Johnson	16th to 21st	1819 " 1829
William Logan	16th	1819 " 1820
John Rowan	19th	1825
George M. Bibb	21st to 24th	1829 to 1835
Henry Clay	22d " 27th	1831 " 1842
John J. Crittenden	24th " 30th	1835 " 1848
James T. Morehead	27th	1842
Thomas Metcalfe	30th	1848 to 1849
Joseph R. Underwood	30th to 32d	1847 " 1852
Henry Clay	31st " 32d	1849 " 1852
David Meriwether	32d	1852
Archibald Dixon	32d to 33d	1852 to 1855
John B. Thompson	33d	1853
John J. Crittenden	34th to 37th	1855 to 1861
Lazarus W. Powell	36th " 39th	1859 " 1865
John C. Breckinridge	37th	1861
Garrett Davis	37th to 42d	1861 to 1872
James Guthrie	39th " 40th	1865 " 1868
Thomas C. McCreery	40th	1868 " 1871
Willis B. Machen	42d	1872 " 1873
John W. Stevenson	42d to 45th	1871 " 1877
Thomas C. McCreery	43d " 46th	1873 " 1879
James B. Beck	45th " 51st	1877 " 1890
John S. Williams	46th " 49th	1879 " 1885
Joseph C. S. Blackburn	49th " 55th	1885 " 1897
John G. Carlisle	51st " 52d	1890 " 1893
William Lindsey	53d " 56th	1893 " 1901
William J. Deboe	55th " 57th	1897 " 1903
Joseph C. S. Blackburn	57th " ——	1901 " ——
James B. McCreary	58th " ——	1903 " ——

Early Settlements.—In 1767 John Finley, an Indian trader, explored the country beyond the mountains westward of North Carolina. In 1769 he returned to North Carolina and gave glowing accounts of the fertile country he had left. He persuaded Daniel Boone and four others to go with him to explore it. Boone had become a great hunter and expert in woodcraft. They reached the headwaters of the Kentucky, and, from lofty hills, beheld a vision of a magnificent valley, covered with forests, stretching towards the Ohio, and abounding in game of the woods and waters of every kind. They fought Indians—some of the tribes who roamed over Kentucky as a common hunting-ground. Boone was made a prisoner, but escaped. He determined to settle in the beautiful country between the upper Kentucky and Tennessee rivers, and, after remaining a while the sole white man in that region, he returned for his wife and children in 1771. Two years later he started with his own and five other families for the paradise in the wilderness. Driven back upon settlements on the Clinch, he was detained a year and a half longer. He penetrated to the Kentucky, and, on June 14, 1775, completed a log fort on the site of the present Boonesboro. He soon brought his family there, and planted the first permanent settlement in Kentucky. Mrs. Boone and her daughters were the first white women who ever stood on the banks of the Kentucky River.

The precarious tenure by which places that were settled in Kentucky by Boone and others were held, while the land was subjected to bloody incursions by Indians, was changed after George Rogers Clarke's operations in Ohio had made the tribes there no longer invaders of the soil south of that river. The number of "stations" began to multiply. A blockhouse was built (April, 1779) on the site of the city of Lexington. By a law of Virginia (May, 1779), all persons who had settled west of the mountains before June, 1778, were entitled to claim 400 acres of land, without any payment: and they had a right of pre-emption to an adjoining 1,000 acres for a very small sum of money, while the whole region between the Greene and Tennessee rivers was reserved for military bounties. Settlements quite rapidly increased under this liberal

Virginia land system, and fourteen years after its passage Kentucky had a population that entitled it to admission into the Union as a State.

In Civil War Days.—The people were strongly attached to the Union, but its

DANIEL BOONE'S FIRST SIGHT OF KENTUCKY.

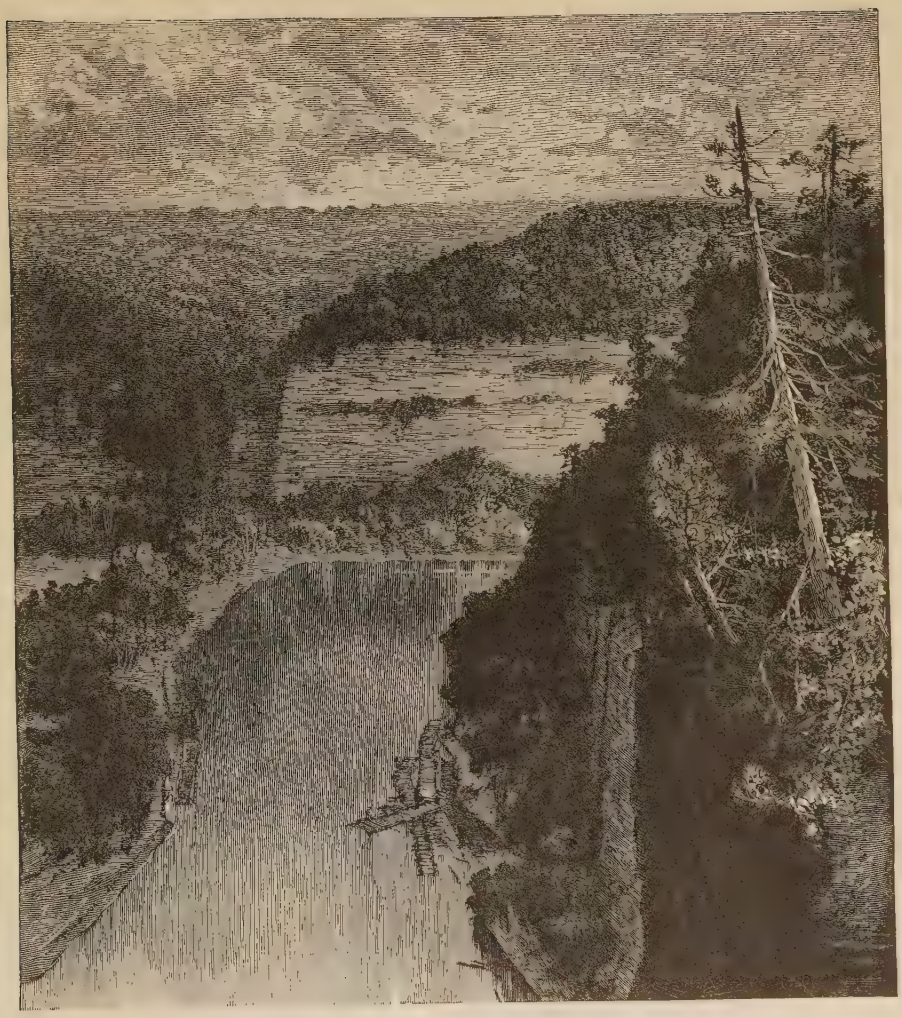
governor (Beriah Magoffin) and leading politicians of his party in the State sympathized with the Confederates. The action of Kentucky was awaited with great anxiety throughout the Union. The governor at first opposed secession, for the people were decidedly hostile to revolutionary movements in the Gulf region; yet they as decidedly opposed what was called the "coercion of a sovereign State." At a State convention of Union and Douglas men, held on Jan. 8, 1861, it was resolved that the rights of Kentucky should be maintained *in the Union.* They were in favor of a convention of the free-labor and slave-labor border States to decide upon just compromises, and declared their willingness to support the national government, unless the incoming President should attempt to "coerce a State or States." The legislature, which assembled about the same time, was asked by the governor to declare, by resolution, the "unconditional disapprobation" of the people of the State of the employment of force against "seceding States." On Jan. 22 the legislature accordingly resolved that the Kentuckians, united with their brethren of the South, would resist any invasion of the soil of that section at all hazards and to the last extremity. This action was taken because the legislatures of several free-labor States had offered troops for the use of the national government in enforcing the laws in "seceding States."

They decided against calling a convention, and appointed delegates to the Peace Congress.

On April 18 a great Union meeting was held in Louisville, over which James Guthrie and other leading politicians of the State held controlling influence. At that meeting it was resolved that Kentucky reserved to herself "the right to choose her own position; and that, while her natural sympathies are with those who have a common interest in the protection of slavery, she still acknowledges her loyalty and fealty to the government of the United States, which she will cheerfully render *until that government becomes aggressive, tyrannical, and regardless of our rights in slave property.*" They declared that the States were the peers of the national government, and gave the world to understand that the latter should not be allowed to use "sanguinary or coercive measures to bring back the seceded States." They alluded to the Kentucky State Guard as the "bulwark of the safety of the commonwealth, . . . pledged equally to fidelity to the United States and to Kentucky."

Early in the summer the governor declared that arrangements had been made that neither National or Confederate troops should set foot on the soil of that State. The neutrality of Kentucky was respected many months. Pillow had urged the seizure of the bluff at Columbus, in western Kentucky, as an aid to him in his attempt to capture Cairo and Bird's Point, but the solemn assurance of the Confederate government that Kentucky neutrality should be respected restrained him; but on Sept. 4, General (Bishop) Polk, with a considerable force, seized the strong position at Columbus, under the pretext that National forces were preparing to occupy that place. The Confederate Secretary of War publicly telegraphed to Polk to withdraw his troops; President Davis privately telegraphed to him to hold on, saying, "The end justifies the means." So Columbus was held and fortified by the Confederates. General Grant, then in command of the district at Cairo, took military possession of Paducah, in northern Kentucky, with National troops, and the neutrality of Kentucky was no longer respected. The seizure of Columbus opened the way for the infliction upon the people of that

FIRST (PERMANENT) STATE-HOUSE, FRANKFORT, KY.



KENTUCKY RIVER, FROM HIGH BRIDGE.

State of the horrors of war. All Kentucky, for 100 miles south of the Ohio River, was made a military department, with Gen. Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter, for its commander.

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, was in command of the Confederate Western Department, which included southern and western Kentucky, then held by the Confederates, and the State of Tennessee, with his headquarters at Nashville. Under the shadow of his power the Confederates of Kentucky met in convention at Russellville, Oct. 29, 1861. They drew up a manifesto in which the grievances of Kentucky were recited, and the action of the loyal legislature was denounced. They passed an ordinance of secession, declared the State independent, organized a provisional government, chose George W. Johnston provisional governor, appointed delegates to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, and called Bowling Green the State capital. Fifty-one counties were

SITE OF THE LAST INDIAN SETTLEMENT IN KENTUCKY.

represented in that convention by about 200 men, without the sanction of the people.

Late in 1861, the Confederates occupied a line of military posts across southern Kentucky, from Cumberland Gap to Columbus, on the Mississippi River, a distance of nearly 400 miles. Don Carlos Buell, major-general, had been appointed commander of the Department of the Ohio, with his headquarters at Louisville. There he gathered a large force, with which he was enabled to strengthen various advanced posts and throw forward along the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway a large force destined to break the Confederate line. He had under his command 114,000 men, arranged in four columns, commanded respectively by Brig.-Gens. A. McDowell McCook, O. M. Mitchel, G. H. Thomas, and T. L. Crittenden, acting as major-generals, and aided by twenty brigade commanders. These troops were from States northward of the Ohio, and loyalists of Kentucky and Tennessee. They occupied an irregular line across Kentucky, parallel with that of the Confederates. General McCook led 50,000 men down the railroad, and pushed the Confederate line to Bowling Green, after a sharp skirmish at Mumfordsville, on the south side of the Green River. In eastern Kentucky Col. James A. Garfield struck (Jan. 7, 1862) the Confederates, under Humphrey Marshall, near Prestonburg, on the Big Sandy River, and dispersed them. This ended Marshall's military career, and Garfield's services there won for him the commission of a brigadier-general. On the 19th, General Thomas defeated Gen. George B. Crittenden near Mill Spring, when General Zollicoffer was slain and his troops driven into northwestern Tennessee. This latter blow effectually severed the Confederate lines in Kentucky, and opened

the way by which the Confederates were soon driven out of the State and also out of Tennessee. The Confederate line was paralyzed eastward of Bowling Green, and their chief fortifications and the bulk of their troops were between Nashville and Bowling Green and the Mississippi. On that line was strong Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River. Believing Beauregard to be a more dashing officer than Johnston, the Confederates appointed him commander of the Western Department, late in January, 1862, and he was succeeded in the command at Manassas by Gen. G. W. Smith, formerly of New York City.

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, The. The Federal party in the United States determined to crush out by law the anti-Federalists who were bitterly attacking the administration. In 1798 they succeeded in passing the Naturalization act of June 18, the Alien acts of June 25, and July 6, and the Sedition act of July 14. Virginia, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky petitioned Congress to repeal these laws. Of these, Kentucky felt the most aggrieved, and on Nov. 8, 1798, John Breckinridge introduced the Kentucky resolutions, which were substantially drafted by Jefferson. These were adopted by the Lower House on Nov. 10, by the Upper House on Nov. 13, and approved by the governor on Nov. 16. Copies were immediately printed and sent to the officials of all the other States and to Congress. The following is the text of these resolutions:

I. Resolved, that the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and are of no force. That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party. That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

II. Resolved, that the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," therefore also the same act of Congress passed on July 14, 1798, and entitled "An act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," as also the act passed on June 27, 1798, entitled "An act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States" (and all other of their acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own Territory.

III. Resolved, that it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people"; and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right

remain, and were reserved to the States, or to the people; that thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their freedom, and how far those abuses, which cannot be separated from their use, should be tolerated, rather than the use be destroyed; and thus also they guarded against all abridgment by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference; and that in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," thereby guarding in the same sentence, and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, insomuch, that whatever violates either, throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehoods, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of federal tribunals. That therefore the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on July 14, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

IV. Resolved, that alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the individual States distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people," the act of the Congress of the United States passed on June 22, 1798, entitled "An act concerning aliens," which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

V. Resolved, that in addition to the general principle, as well as the express declaration, that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." That this commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of said act concerning aliens; that a provision against prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is therefore contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

VI. Resolved, that the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this commonwealth on his failure to obey the simple order of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act entitled "An act concerning aliens," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and that another having provided "that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence," the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defence,

without counsel, is contrary to these provisions also of the Constitution, is therefore not law but utterly void and of no force. That transferring the power of judging any person who is under the protection of the laws, from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior," and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted that this transfer of judiciary powers is to that magistrate of the general government who already possesses all the executive, and a qualified negative in all the legislative power.

VII. Resolved, that the construction applied by the general government (as is evinced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all the limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution. That words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers, ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken, as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument. That the proceedings of the general government, under color of these articles, will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of greater tranquillity, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

VIII. Resolved, that the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this commonwealth, who are hereby enjoined to present the same to their respective Houses, and to use the best endeavors to procure at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

IX. Resolved, lastly, that the governor of this commonwealth be, and is hereby authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this commonwealth considers Union for specified national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the States; that faithful to that compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation; that it does also believe, that to take from the States all the powers of self-government, and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness, or prosperity of these States. And that therefore this commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, tamely to submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man or body of men on earth; that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them; that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself by the accuser, counsel, judge, and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States, being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the power of a majority of Congress, to protect from a like exportation or other more grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the legislatures, judges, governors, and counsellors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may ven-

ture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed, for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against Republican governments, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that men cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which and no further our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. Let him say what the government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and subsistence of law and justice. In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. That this commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this commonwealth in considering the said acts so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration, that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States and consolidating them in the hands of the general government with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely in cases made federal), but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made, not with their consent, but by others against their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States recurring to their natural right in cases not made federal will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, and will each unite with this commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.

Virginia affirmed substantially the same threatening doctrine, Dec. 21, 1798, more temperately and cautiously set forth in resolutions drawn by Madison, as follows:

Resolved, that the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the constitution of this State, against every aggression, either foreign or domestic, and that they will support the government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the union of the States, to maintain which it pledges

all its powers; and that for this end it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the federal government, as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact; as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact, and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the federal government to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which having been copies from the very limited grant of powers in the former articles of confederation were the less liable to be misconstrued), so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration, which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases; so as to consolidate the States by degrees into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable consequence of which would be to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute or, at best, a mixed monarchy.

That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the two late cases of the "Alien and Sedition acts," passed at the last session of Congress, the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the federal government, and which, by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as the particular organization and positive provisions of the federal Constitution; and the other of which acts exercises, in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but on the contrary expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto; a power which more than any other ought to produce universal alarm, because it is levelled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has never been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

That this State having, by its convention which ratified the federal Constitution, expressly declared "that, among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States," and, from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry or ambition, having with other States recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was in due time annexed to the Constitution, it would mark a reproachful inconsistency and criminal degeneracy, if an indifference were now shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

That the good people of this commonwealth having ever felt and continuing to feel the most sincere affection to their brethren of the other States, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all, and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution which is the pledge of mutual friendship, and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions of the other States, in confidence that they will concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional, and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for co-operating with this State in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

That the governor be desired to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other States, with a request that the same may be communicated to the legislature thereof.

And that a copy be furnished to each of the Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States.

The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 were followed by another series in 1799, in which the right of a sovereign State to nullify obnoxious laws of the federal government was distinctly claimed.

The Resolutions of 1799 asserted "that the principle and construction contended for by sundry of the State legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the nature of the powers delegated to it, stopped not short of despotism—since the discretion of those who administer the government and not the Constitution would be the measure of their powers; that the several States who formed that instrument, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and, that a nullification of those sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument is the rightful remedy."

Keokuk, chief of the Sac and Fox Indians; born on Rock River, Ill., about 1780; was a strong friend of the whites, and by his influence among his people averted a number of attacks which they had planned against the Americans. In 1832, when his band was intent upon uniting with BLACK HAWK (*q. v.*) in an attack on the Americans, he held his warriors aloof and even held in check Black Hawk himself. Later, he visited Washington, New York, etc. He died in Kansas in June, 1848.

Kernan, FRANCIS, lawyer; born in Wayne, N. Y., Jan. 14, 1816; was graduated at Georgetown College, Washington, D. C., in 1836; admitted to the bar in 1840; reporter of the New York Court of Appeals in 1854–57; elected to the legislature in 1861, and to Congress in 1862; and was a Democratic United States Senator in 1875–81. He died in Utica, N. Y., Sept. 15, 1892.

Kernstown, BATTLE AT. When the Army of the Potomac was transferred to the Virginia peninsula, early in 1862, it was necessary to hold the Confederates in check in the Shenandoah Valley (where they were led by "Stonewall" Jackson), in order to secure Washington, D. C. General Lander, who had struck Jackson a sharp blow at Blooming Gap, had died, and was succeeded in command by General Shields. Banks was then (February, 1862) in command of the 5th Corps. He sent Colonel Geary to reoccupy Harper's Ferry, and took command there in person late in that month. He pushed Jackson back to Winchester, where he was posted with about 8,000 men, when Johnston evacuated Manassas, early in March. Then he retired up the valley, pursued by Shields, who produced great consternation among the Confederates. Shields found his antagonist too strong to warrant an attack, and fell back to Winchester, closely pursued by cavalry under Colonel Ashby. Banks repaired to Manassas after its evacuation, leaving Shields to guard the Shenandoah Valley. Near Winchester he had nearly 7,000 men (part of them cavalry) and twenty-four guns well posted half a mile north of the village of Kernstown and 2½ miles south of Winchester. On March 22 Ashby's cavalry drove in Shields's pickets. Under cover of night Shields pushed on some troops, under Colonel Kimball, to Kernstown. A sharp and severe battle ensued, in which Shields was badly wounded. The Confederates were repulsed at all points, and fled up the valley, closely pursued by Banks, who remained in that region to watch the Confederates, while McClellan should move on Richmond.

Kerr, MICHAEL CRAWFORD, statesman; born in Titusville, Pa., March 15, 1827; graduated at the Louisville University in 1851; removed to Indiana in 1852, where he practised law. After filling various State offices he was elected to Congress in 1864 and served until 1872, when he was defeated for re-election by a small majority. He was returned to Congress in 1874, and elected speaker of the House, Dec. 6, 1875. He died in Rockbridge, Va., Aug. 19, 1876.

Kerr, ORPHEUS C. See NEWELL, ROBERT HENRY.

Kerr, WILLIAM JASPER, educator; born in Richmond, Utah, Nov. 17, 1863; took

the normal course at the University of Utah in 1882–84, and studied at Cornell University in 1890–91, and during the summers of 1891–93. He was instructor in geology, physiology, and physics in Brigham Young College in 1887–88, and instructor in mathematics till 1892, when he became Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Utah, where he remained till 1894, when he was elected president of Brigham Young College.

Kettel, SAMUEL, editor; born in Newburyport, Mass., Aug. 5, 1800; became editor of the Boston *Courier* in 1848. His publications include *Specimens of American Poetry, with Critical and Biographical Notices; Personal Narrative of the First Voyage of Columbus,* etc. He died in Malden, Mass., Dec. 3, 1855.

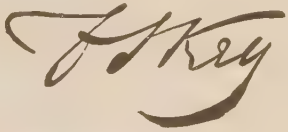
Kettle Creek, BATTLE OF. Nearly 800 North and South Carolina Tories, led by Colonel Boyd, started to join the British at Augusta, in February, 1779, desolating the upper country of the latter State on the way. When within two days' march of Augusta they were attacked (Feb. 14), at Kettle Creek, by Col. Andrew Pickens, with the militia of Ninety-six, and, after a sharp fight, were defeated. Boyd and seventy of his men were killed, and seventy-five were made prisoners. Pickens lost thirty-eight men.

Key, DAVID MCKENDREE, jurist; born in Green county, Tenn., Jan. 27, 1824; passed his youth on a farm; graduated at Hiwassee College, and admitted to the bar in 1850; and settled in Chattanooga to practise in 1853. He was a Democratic Presidential elector in 1856 and 1860; served throughout the Civil War in the Confederate army; was a member of the State constitutional convention in 1870; chancellor of the third chancery district of Tennessee from 1870 to 1875; and was elected United States Senator in 1875, to fill a vacancy. He was appointed Postmaster-General in President Hayes's cabinet, in 1877; resigned on becoming judge of the eastern and middle districts of Tennessee, in 1880; and resigned the last appointment in 1895. He died in Chattanooga, Tenn., Feb. 3, 1900.

Key, FRANCIS SCOTT, author; born in Frederick county, Md., Aug. 9, 1780; was a lawyer and poet, and, removing to Washington, D. C., became district attorney. A collection of his poems was published after his death, in Baltimore, Jan. 11, 1843.

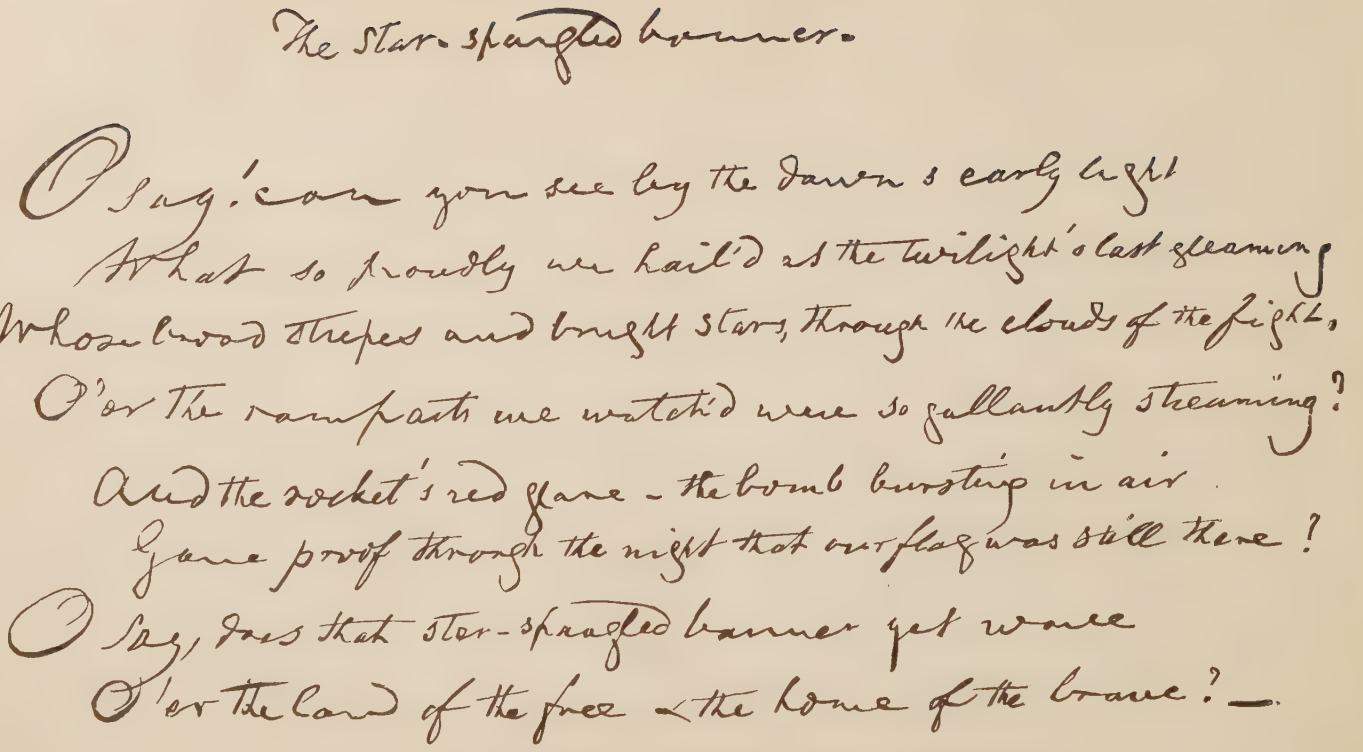
FRANCIS SCOTT KEY.

The Star-Spangled Banner.—On the return of the British to their vessels after the capture of Washington, they carried with them Dr. Beanes, an influential and well-known physician of Upper Marlboro. His friends begged for his release, but Admiral Cockburn refused to give him up, and sent him on board the flag-ship of Admiral Cochrane. Key, then a resident of Georgetown, well known for his affability of manner, was requested to go to



SIGNATURE OF FRANCIS SCOTT KEY.

Cochrane as a solicitor for the release of the doctor. He consented, and the President granted him permission. In company with John S. Skinner, a well-known citizen of Baltimore, he went in the cartel-ship *Minden,* under a flag of truce. They found the British ships at the mouth of the Potomac, preparing to attack Baltimore. Cochrane agreed to release Beanes,


The Star-spangled banner.
O Say! can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the clouds of the fight,
O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare - the bomb bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there!
O Say, does that Star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?

FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE FIRST STANZA OF "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER."

but refused to allow him or his friends to return then. They were placed on board the *Surprise*, where they were courteously treated. When the fleet went up Patapsco Bay, they were sent back to the *Minden*, with a guard of marines to prevent their landing and conveying information to their countrymen. The *Minden* was anchored within sight of Fort McHenry, and from her decks the three friends observed the fierce bombardment of the fort which soon ensued. It ceased before the dawn (Sept. 14, 1814). The anxious Americans did not know whether the fort had surrendered or not. They awaited the appearance of daylight with painful suspense. In the dim light of the opening morning they saw through their glasses the star-spangled banner yet waving in triumph over the fort, and soon learned the fate of the land expedition against Baltimore and preparations of the discomfited British for speedy departure. When the fleet was ready to sail, Key and his friends were released, and returned to the city. It was during the excitement of the bombardment, and when pacing the deck of the *Minden* between midnight and dawn, that Key composed the popular song, *The Star-Spangled Banner*, the first stanza of which expressed the feelings of thousands of eye-witnesses of the scene, and is reproduced on the preceding page from the original manuscript. The rude substance of the song was written on the back of a letter which Key happened to have in his pocket. On the night after his return to Baltimore he wrote it out in full and read it to his uncle, Judge Nicholson, one of the defenders of the fort, and asked his opinion of it. The pleased judge took it to the printing-office of Capt. Benjamin Edes, and caused it to be printed in hand-bill form. Samuel Sands set up the song in type, printed it, and distributed it among the citizens. It was first sung by Charles Durang, at a restaurant next door to the Holliday Street Theatre, Baltimore, to an assemblage of patriotic defenders of Baltimore, and after that nightly at the theatre and everywhere in public and private.

Keyes, Emerson Willard, lawyer; born in Jamestown, N. Y., June 30, 1828; graduated at the State Normal School in 1848; admitted to the bar in 1862; connected with the New York State banking department in 1865–73; and later resumed law practice. His publications include *New York Court of Appeals Reports; History of Savings-Banks in the United States;* and *New York Code of Public Instruction.* He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1897.

Keyes, Erasmus Darwin, military officer; born in Brimfield, Mass., May 29, 1810; graduated at West Point in 1832, entered the artillery, and was made assistant adjutant, with rank of captain, in 1838. Becoming full captain in 1841, he was appointed instructor of artillery and cavalry at West Point in 1844. He did service against the Indians on the Pacific coast, and when the Civil War broke out was appointed (May, 1861), colonel of infantry and brigadier-general of volunteers. At the battle of Bull Run, in July, he commanded the first brigade in Taylor's division. Early in 1862 he was appointed commander of the 4th Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and won the rank of major-general of volunteers and the brevet of brigadier-general, U. S. A., by his conduct in the peninsular campaign. He resigned May 6, 1864, and engaged in gold-mining. General Keyes published *Fifty Years' Observation of Men and Events.* He died in Nice, France, Oct. 11, 1895.

Keystone State, the popular title for the State of Pennsylvania, supposed to have been given because of its central position among the original thirteen States at the time of the formation of the national Constitution. In an arch formed by the thirteen States Pennsylvania would, from its geographical position, form the keystone. The early certificates of membership of the Tammany Society have an arch composed of the States, of which Pennsylvania is the keystone.

Kickapoos, an Algonquian tribe found by the French missionaries, towards the close of the seventeenth century, on the Wisconsin River. They were great rovers; were closely allied to the Miamis; and in 1712 joined the Foxes in an attack upon Detroit, and in wars long afterwards. They were reduced in 1747 to about eighty warriors, and when the English conquered

Canada in 1763 there were about 100 Kickapoos on the Wabash. They joined Pontiac in his conspiracy, but soon made peace; and in 1779 they joined George Rogers Clarke in his expedition against the British in the Northwest. Showing hostility to the Americans, their settlement on the Wabash was desolated in 1791; but they were not absolutely subdued until the treaty at Greenville in 1795, after Wayne's decisive victory, when they ceded a part of their land for a small annuity. In the early part of the nineteenth century the Kickapoos made other cessions of territory; and in 1811 they joined Tecumseh and fought the Americans at Tippecanoe. In the War of 1812 they were the friends of the English; and afterwards a larger portion of them crossed the Mississippi and seated themselves upon a tract of land on the Osage River. Some cultivated the soil, while others went southward as far as Texas, in roving bands, plundering on all sides. For some time Texas suffered by these inroads; but in 1854 some of them, peaceably inclined, settled in Kansas, when, becoming dissatisfied, many of them went off to Mexico, where they opposed the depredations of the Apaches. In 1899 there were 237 Kickapoos at the Pottawattomie and Great Nehama agency in Kansas, and 246 Mexican Kickapoos at the Sac and Fox agency in Oklahoma.

Kidd, WILLIAM, navigator; born in Scotland, presumably in Greenock, about 1650; entered the merchant-marine service in his youth, and distinguished himself as a privateersman against the French in the West Indies. He was active against the pirates that infested the waters near New York, out of which port he sailed; and for his services the Assembly of the province gave him $750 in 1691. In 1695 a company for the suppression of piracy by privateering was organized in England. Among the shareholders in the enterprise were King William III., the Earl of Bellomont, Robert Livingston, of New York, and other men of wealth and influence. One-tenth of all the booty gained by privateering was to be set aside for the King, and the rest was to be divided among the shareholders. A new ship, of 287 tons, was bought, and named the *Adventure Galley;* and at the suggestion of Livingston, who was then in England, Captain Kidd was appointed her commander and admitted as a shareholder. His commission bore the royal seal and signature. On April 3, 1696, he sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at New York about July 4. With his ship well provisioned, and with a crew of 154 men and boys, he sailed for Madagascar, the chief rendezvous of the pirates who infested the India seas.

In the course of a year or more rumors reached England that Kidd had turned pirate. At length the clamor became so loud that the royal shareholder in the enterprise and his associates perceived the necessity of taking action, and an order was issued to all English colonial governors to cause the arrest of Kidd wherever he might be found. In the spring of 1699 he appeared in the West Indies in a vessel loaded with treasure. Leaving her in a bay on the coast of Haiti in charge of his first officer and a part of the ship's company, he sailed northward with forty men in a sloop, entered Long Island Sound, and at Oyster Bay took on board James Emott, a New York lawyer, and, landing him on Rhode Island, sent him to the Earl of Bellomont, then at Boston as governor of Massachusetts, to inquire how he (Kidd) would be received by his partner in the enterprise. During Emott's absence Kidd had buried some of his treasure, which he brought with the sloop, on Gardiner's Island. Bellomont's answer was such that Kidd went to Boston, July 1, 1699, where he was arrested, sent to England, tried on a charge of piracy and murder, found guilty, and executed, May 24, 1701, protesting his innocence. It is admitted that his trial was grossly unfair; and it is believed that Kidd was made a scape-goat to bear away the sins of men in high places. Earl Bellomont sent to Haiti for Kidd's ship, but it had been stripped by the men in charge; but he recovered the treasure buried on Gardiner's Island; also that which Kidd had with him on the sloop, amounting in the aggregate to about $70,000. Ever since Kidd's death there have been numerous attempts to discover places along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts where the pirate was believed to have secreted other treasure.

Kidder, FREDERICK, author; born in New Ipswich, N. H., April 16, 1804; engaged in business at different times in Boston, New York, and the South; and became widely known as an antiquarian authority. His publications include *The History of New Ipswich, N. H., from Its First Grant in 1736 to 1852* (with Augustus A. Gould); *The Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell; Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution; History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution;* and *History of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.* He died in Melrose, Mass., Dec. 19, 1885.

Kieft, WILHELM, Dutch governor; born in Holland, about 1600. Little is known of him before his appearance at Manhattan on March 28, 1638. He seems to have been an unpopular dweller at Rochelle, France, where his effigy had been hung upon a gallows. De Vries, an active mariner, who knew him well, ranked him among the "great rascals" of his age. He was energetic, spiteful, and rapacious—the reverse of Van Twiller, his immediate predecessor. Kieft began his administration by concentrating all executive power in his own hands; and he and his council possessed such dignity, in their own estimation, that it became a high crime to appeal from their decision. He found public affairs in the capital of New Netherland in a wretched condition, and put forth a strong hand to bring order out of confusion. Abuses abounded, and his measures of reform almost stripped the citizens of their privileges. Dilapidated Fort Amsterdam was repaired and new warehouses for the company were erected. He caused orchards to be planted, gardens to be cultivated, police ordinances to be framed and enforced, religion and morality to be fostered, and regular religious services to be publicly conducted. A spacious stone church was built within the fort, and the Connecticut architect hung in its wooden tower Spanish bells which had been captured at Porto Rico.

A more liberal policy in respect to the ownership of land caused the immigration to increase, and Cavaliers from Virginia and Puritans from New England were seen listening to Dominie Bogardus in his fine pulpit in the new church. All that Kieft required of new settlers was an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the States-General of Holland. The demands for new homesteads caused Kieft to purchase lower Westchester and a large portion of Long Island. The encroaching Puritans on the east, and the Swedes on the Delaware, gave Kieft much concern, especially the latter, for Minuit, a former Dutch governor, was at their head. Kieft protested against their "intrusion." Minuit laughed at him, and disregarded his threats. Very soon the energetic character of the governor, manifested in well-doing, was as conspicuous in ill-doing. He allowed his fellow-traders with the Indians to stupefy them with rum and cheat them; and he demanded tribute of furs, corn, and wampum from the tribes around Manhattan. They paid the tribute, but cursed the tyrant. Kieft saw their power and was afraid. Some swine were stolen from colonists on Staten Island, when Kieft, seeking an excuse for striking terror to the hearts of those he had wronged, accused the Raritans of the crime, and sent armed men to chastise them. The River Indians grasped their hatchets and refused to pay tribute any longer. The hatred of all the savages was aroused. The people of New Amsterdam were alarmed, and quarrels between them and the governor were frequent and stormy. He wanted to make war on the Indians. The people refused to bear a musket or favor the crime. Unwilling to bear the responsibility, Kieft called an assembly of "masters and heads of families," in New Amsterdam, to consult upon public measures. Twelve discreet men were chosen (1641) to act for them; and this was the first representative assembly in New Netherland. War was deferred, and the twelve devised a plan for a municipal government for New Amsterdam.

Kieft was alarmed, for he did not wish his own power abridged, and he made promises (but to be broken) of concessions of popular freedom on their giving him consent to chastise the Indians in Westchester. It was reluctantly given, when the perfidious governor dissolved them, and forbade any popular assembly thereafter. In 1643 he caused a cruel

massacre of fugitive Indians at HOBOKEN (*q. v.*). A fierce war was kindled. The friendly Long Island tribes joined their injured brethren, and the Dutch colony was threatened with destruction. Help came from a Puritan, and the Indians were subdued. Kieft, despised by the colonists on whom he had brought ruin, humbly asked them to form a representative council again. The people gladly did so, for they had lost all confidence in the governor. This concession was a pitiful trick of Kieft to foil the wrath of the colonists. He neglected the advice of the popular assembly, and sought by every means to fill his own coffers with gain against a day of reckoning which he perceived was near. The representatives of the people, finding his rule unendurable, asked for the recall of Kieft before the colony should be ruined. Their prayer was heeded, and the people celebrated his departure by the firing of great guns. Some pugnacious burghers threatened the governor with personal chastisement when he should "take off the coat with which he was bedecked by the lords, his masters." The prophecy of De Vries (1643)—"The murders in which you [Kieft] have shed so much innocent blood will yet be avenged upon your own head"—was fulfilled. Kieft sailed for Holland Aug. 16, 1647, in the ship *Princess*, with more than $100,000 of ill-gotten wealth. The vessel, by mistake, entered the Bristol channel, struck a rock, and was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and Kieft was drowned.

Kilbourne, JOHN, author; born in Berlin, Conn., Aug. 7, 1787; graduated at Vermont University in 1810. His publications include *Gazetteer of Vermont; Gazetteer of Ohio;* a volume of *Public Documents concerning the Ohio Canals;* a map of Ohio; and a *School Geography.* He died in Columbus, O., March 12, 1831.

Kilpatrick, HUGH JUDSON, military officer; born near Deckertown, N. J., Jan. 14, 1836; graduated at West Point in 1861; and first entered the artillery. He was wounded in the battle of Big Bethel (June, 1861), and in September was made lieutenant-colonel of cavalry. His efficient services on all occasions won for him the rank of brigadier-general and major-general of volunteers, and the command of a division of cavalry in the Army of the Potomac. He was very active in the campaign against Atlanta in 1864, in Sherman's march to

HUGH JUDSON KILPATRICK

the sea, and in his march through the Carolinas to the surrender of Johnston. For the latter campaign he was brevetted major-general U. S. A. In 1865–68 he was United States minister to Chile; in 1881 he was reappointed; and held the post till his death in Valparaiso, Dec. 4, 1881.

On Sunday morning, Feb. 28, 1864, Kilpatrick, with 5,000 cavalry, picked from his own and the divisions of Merritt and Gregg, crossed the Rapidan, swept around to the right flank of Lee's army by way of Spottsylvania Court-house, and, pushing rapidly towards Richmond, struck the Virginia Central Railroad at Beaver Dam station, where he had his first serious encounter with the Confederates, under the Maryland leader, Bradley T. Johnson, whom he defeated. Then he struck across the South Anna, cut the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railway, and on March 1 halted within 3 miles of Richmond. His grand object was to liberate the Union captives from Libby prison (see CONFEDERATE PRISONS). He was now within the outer line of its defences, at which the Confederates had thrown down their arms and fled into

the city. At Spottsylvania Court-house about 500 of his best men, led by Col. Ulric Dahlgren, a dashing young officer, diverged from the main column for the purpose of striking the James River Canal above Richmond, destroying as much of it as possible, and, crossing the James River, attacked the Confederate capital on the south simultaneously with the attack of Kilpatrick on the north. The object of this move was to liberate the Union prisoners at Belle Isle, on the James River, in front of Richmond. Kilpatrick, disappointed in not hearing Dahlgren's guns, and hard pressed by the Confederates as he attempted to penetrate the second line of defences, withdrew after a sharp fight, and halted 6 miles from Richmond. He was pursued by the Confederates, with whom he skirmished, and returned to his place of departure. Meanwhile Dahlgren, misled by a negro guide, failed to cross the James River, but struck the outer line of fortifications on the northern side of Richmond at dark, March 2. In a conflict that ensued the Nationals were repulsed, and they retreated towards Chickahominy, hotly pursued. Dahlgren and about 100 of his men became separated from the rest. On the evening of the 3d the young leader, in a conflict some distance from Richmond, was shot dead, and his men were made prisoners.

General Sherman, when he heard of Wheeler's raid, sent Kilpatrick, with 5,000 cavalry, during the night of Aug. 18, 1864, to strike the railway at West Point, Ga., and break it to Fairborn, and then to tear up the Macon road thoroughly. When he reached the Macon road, near Jonesboro, he was confronted by Ross's Confederate cavalry. These he routed, and drove through Jonesboro, and just as he began tearing up the road some cavalry came up from the south, and compelled him to desist and fly. He swept around, and again struck the road at Lovejoy's, where he was attacked by a larger force. Through these he dashed, capturing and destroying a four-gun battery, and sweeping around, reached headquarters on the 22d, with seventy prisoners.

Kimball, Sumner Increase, executive officer; born in Lebanon, Me., Sept. 2, 1834; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1855; was admitted to the bar in 1858; and began practice in North Berwick, Me. In September, 1859, he was elected to the State legislature; in January, 1861, became clerk in the office of the second auditor of the treasury at Washington; and in 1870 became chief clerk. He took charge of the Revenue Marine Service in 1871, and in 1878 was appointed general superintendent of the United States Life-Saving Service. He represented the United States in the international marine conference in 1889. He is the author of *Organization and Methods of the United States Life-Saving Service.*

Kindergarten, a system of education originated by Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel. The first school was opened at Blankenburg, Germany, but it was not until 1849 that the system was carried to any effective extent in that country, and not until 1851 that it was introduced into England. The system rests upon the idea that education in its earliest phases should depend upon the perceptive faculties. Whatever there may be in a child of instinct, desire, impulse, hope, or purpose should at first be strengthened. Children from the ages of four to six are admitted to the kindergarten and are taught by means of toys, games, and singing. Only five kindergarten schools existed in the United States prior to 1870. When the National Educational Association met in Boston, Mass., in 1872, a committee was appointed to examine the system. This committee recommended its general adoption. When first introduced into this country it was entirely a private undertaking; but later, when its success was proven, it began to be included in the curriculum of public school education. At the beginning of the twentieth century nearly every public school system, whether in city or town, had a kindergarten department in operation. In recent years the growth of such schools has been so rapid that a special course of training for teachers in kindergarten work has been found necessary, and there are several institutions that make a specialty of this teacher-training. In 1900 the United States bureau of education estimated the number of pupils in kindergartens at 203,600.

King, CHARLES, author; born in Albany, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1844; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1866, and commissioned a second lieutenant in the 1st Artillery; promoted to first lieutenant in 1870; transferred to the 5th Cavalry in 1871; promoted captain in 1879; and in the same year resigned his commission. He was inspector-general of the Wisconsin National Guard in 1882–89; commissioned colonel of the 4th Regiment in 1890; and made adjutant-general in 1895. Early in 1898 he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers for the war with Spain; served in the Philippines; and resigned Aug. 2, 1899. For many years he has been known best as "Captain King, the author." His publications, which have obtained wide celebrity, include *Famous and Decisive Battles; Between the Lines; Under Fire; The General's Double; A Trooper Galahad; Found in the Philippines,* etc.

King, CLARENCE, geologist; born in Newport, R. I., Jan. 6, 1842; graduated at the Sheffield School of Yale College in 1862, and joined the California geological survey in 1863. He made the paleontological discoveries which determined the approximate age of gold-bearing rocks. In 1867–72 he led the expedition for the geological survey of the 40th parallel. In the latter year he exposed the Arizona "diamond fields" deception. He suggested and organized the United States geological survey, and in 1878–81 was its director. From 1881 he was engaged in special investigations. He wrote *Systematic Geology; Mountaineering in Sierra Nevada,* etc. He died in Phœnix, Ariz., Dec. 24, 1901.

King, HAMILTON, diplomatist; born in St. Johns, Newfoundland, June 4, 1852; graduated at Olivet College, Mich., in 1878; appointed United States minister resident and consul-general to Siam in January, 1898. He is the author of *Outlines of United States History,* etc.

King, HORATIO, lawyer; born in Paris, Me., June, 21, 1811; received a common school education; studied law, and was admitted to the bar; became a clerk in the Post-office Department in Washington in 1839; was made first assistant Postmaster-General in 1854, and was Postmaster-General from Feb. 12 to March 7, 1861, during which time he introduced the official-penalty envelope. Later he engaged in the practice of his profession in Washington. He published *Turning on the Light* (a review of the administration of President Buchanan), etc. He died in Washington, D. C., May 20, 1897.

King, HORATIO COLLINS, lawyer; born in Portland, Me., Dec. 22, 1837; graduated at Dickinson College in 1858; admitted to the bar in 1861; served in the National army in 1862–65; practised law till 1870; then engaged in journalism. He published *King's Guide to Regimental Courts-Martial,* and edited *Proceedings of the Army of the Potomac.*

King, JAMES WILSON, naval engineer; born in Maryland in 1818; entered the navy in 1844 as third assistant engineer; served through the Mexican War; was promoted to chief engineer in 1852; was appointed chief engineer of the navy-yard in New York in 1858; and chief engineer of the Atlantic blockading squadron in 1861. In 1869–73 he was chief of the bureau of steam engineering. He was retired in 1880. During his service he made many improvements in the construction and equipment of war vessels. His publications include *European Ships of War; The War Ships and Navies of the World.*

King, JONAS, missionary; born in Hawley, Mass., July 29, 1792; graduated at Williams College in 1816, and at Andover Seminary in 1819. For some months he was engaged in missionary work in South Carolina; and he went to Palestine in the same work in 1824, where he remained about three years. In the fall of 1827 he was employed as missionary in the Northern and Middle States, and in July, 1828, he entered upon the Greek mission. In 1829 he married a Greek lady, and remained in that country until his death, in Athens, May 22, 1869. Before 1867 he had translated and printed, in modern Greek, five volumes of the American Tract Society's publications. He also published four volumes of his own works in that language. Mr. King was a most efficient missionary.

King, PRESTON, lawyer; born in Ogdensburg, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1806; was graduated at Union College and later admitted to the bar. He was a member of Congress in 1843–47 and in 1849–51; and a Republican United States Senator in 1857-

63; and later resumed practice in New York City, where he died Nov. 12, 1865.

King, Rufus, statesman; born in Scarboro, Me., March 14, 1755; graduated at Harvard in 1777; studied law with Theophilus Parsons in Newburyport, and in 1778 became aide-de-camp on General Glover's staff, in the expedition against the British on Rhode Island. In 1785 he was an earnest advocate of the absolute freedom of the slaves, to be secured by the operation of an act of Congress, making such freedom a fundamental principle of the Constitution. Mr. King and General Schuyler were chosen the first representatives of New York in the national Senate of 1789, under the new Constitution. Mr. King was a leading Federalist. From 1798 to 1804 he was American minister to Great Britain; and in 1818 he was sent to the United States Senate for the third time. He was an able leader of the opposition to the admission of Missouri under the terms of the compromise as a slave-labor State. In 1825 he accepted the appointment of minister to England, but returned in feeble health the next year, and died in Jamaica, L. I., April 29, 1827.

King, Thomas Starr, clergyman; born in New York City, Dec. 17, 1824; was a minister in the Universalist Church till 1848, and afterwards in the Unitarian Church. At the outbreak of the Civil War he worked earnestly for the Union cause and for the United States Sanitary Commission. He was a popular lecturer and the author of *The White Hills; Patriotism and Other Papers;* etc. He died in San Francisco, Cal., March 4, 1864.

King, William Henry, jurist; born in Fillmore City, Utah, June 3, 1863; received a collegiate education; began law practice in 1887; was president of the Utah Senate; appointed associate justice of the Utah Supreme Court in 1894; and was a Democratic member of Congress in 1896–98, declining renomination.

King, William Rufus, statesman; born in Sampson county, N. C., April 7, 1786; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1803; practised law, and served in the legislature of his State. He was a member of Congress (1811–16), and for two years (1816–18) was secretary of legation at Naples. On his return he became a cotton-planter in Alabama, and was United States Senator from 1819 to 1844, and from 1847 to 1853, being minister to France during 1844–46. Mr. King was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1852, but died (in Cahawba, Ala., April 18, 1853) a few weeks after taking the oath of office at Havana, a privilege accorded by a special act of Congress.

King George's War. See George II., 1744–48.

King Philip's War. See Massachusetts; Philip, King.

King William's War. See William III.

King's Bridge, spanning Spuyten Duyvil Creek, New York City, was first erected in the year 1691, and called "the King's bridge." An unsuccessful attempt was made by Washington to cut off a force of the British at this place on the night of July 2, 1781. See New York City.

KING'S BRIDGE IN 1860

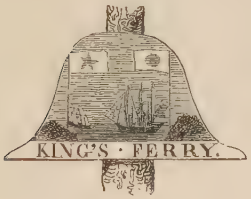
King's College. See Columbia University.

King's Daughters, a religious organization founded in New York City, Jan. 18, 1886. It is inter-denominational, and purposes to do whatever is possible through women for the cause of humanity. Any woman or girl who will give small but regular contributions to Christian work is eligible to membership. It has a large membership in the United States and Europe.

King's Daughters and Sons, International order of the. See Interna-

TIONAL ORDER OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS AND SONS.

King's Ferry, THE. Between Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson River, just below the lower entrance to the Highlands, was an important crossing-place, known as the King's Ferry. It was by this ferry that the great route from the Eastern to the Middle States crossed the Hudson. It was defended by two forts—Stony Point on the west side, and Fort Lafayette, at Verplanck's Point, on the east. Sir Henry Clinton resolved to seize this ferry and its defences. On the return of the expedition of Matthews and Collier from Virginia, Sir Henry ascended the Hudson with the same squadron and 6,000 soldiers. He landed his troops on both sides of the river, May 31, 1779, a few miles below the forts. The works on Stony Point were unfinished, and, on the approach of the British, were abandoned. Cannon were placed on its outer works, and brought to bear on the fort at Verplanck's Point, which, invested on the land side, was compelled to surrender, June 1, after a spirited resistance.



OLD SIGN

King's Mountain, BATTLE ON. Maj. Patrick Ferguson was sent by Lord Cornwallis to embody the Tory militia among the mountains west of the Broad River. Many profligate men joined his standard, and he crossed the river at the Cherokee Ford, Oct. 1, 1780, and encamped among the hills of King's Mountain, near the line between North and South Carolina, with 1,500 men. Several corps of Whig militia, under Colonels Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, and others, united to oppose Ferguson, and on Oct. 7 they fell upon his camp among a cluster of high, wooded, gravelly hills of King's Mountain. A severe engagement ensued, and the British forces were totally defeated. Ferguson was slain, and 300 of his men were killed or wounded. The spoils of victory were 800 prisoners and 1,500 stand of arms. The loss of the Americans was twenty men. The event was to Cornwallis what the defeat of the British near Bennington was to Burgoyne. Among the prisoners were some of the most cruel Tories of the western Carolinas, who had executed the severe orders of Cornwallis. Ten of them, after a trial by "drum-head

VIEW AT KING'S MOUNTAIN BATTLE-GROUND.

court-martial," were hung on the limb of a great tulip-tree. On the spot where Ferguson fell, a small monument was erected to commemorate the event, and to the memory of some of the patriots killed in the battle.

The defeat of the British changed the aspects of the war in the South. It awed the Tories and encouraged the Whigs. The mustering of forces beyond the mountains to oppose his movements took Cornwallis by surprise. It quickened the North Carolina legislature into more vigorous action, and it caused a general uprising of the patriots of the South, and suddenly convinced their oppressor that his march through North Carolina to the conquest of Virginia was not to be a mere recreation. Met by North Carolinians at Charlotte, he was compelled to fall back to the Catawba, and his experience in that winter campaign was marked by great perplexities and disasters.

MONUMENT ON KING'S MOUNTAIN.

King's Province. In 1683 a new royal commission was named for the settlement of boundary disputes between Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Plymouth. Its members being principally selected from Massachusetts and Connecticut, Rhode Island objected to them as not disinterested; and when they proceeded to hold a session within the disputed territory, the Rhode Island Assembly met near by and forbade them to "hold court" within the jurisdiction of the province. The commission adjourned to Boston, and reported to the King (1686) that the Narraganset country (the southwestern continental half of the present State of Rhode Island) belonged to Connecticut; this domain was called the King's Province for a while, but was under the jurisdiction of Joseph Dudley, the temporary royal governor of Massachusetts. He proceeded to organize there an independent government, and changed the names of the towns.

Kingston, the present county seat of Ulster county, N. Y., was settled by the Dutch and Huguenots. It is memorable in the United States as the place where the first constitution of New York was framed, in 1777, and the first legislature was convened under it; also as having been destroyed by a British marauding expedition up the Hudson in the autumn of the same year.

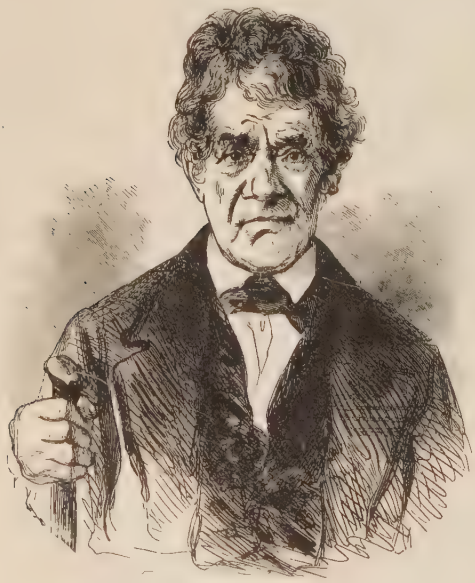
Kingston, BURNING OF. Sir Henry Clinton's success in capturing Forts Clinton and Montgomery emboldened him to send a marauding expedition up the Hudson to make a diversion in favor of Burgoyne, hoping thereby to draw many troops from the army of Gates to defend the exposed country below. Early on the morning after the capture of the forts, Oct. 16, 1777, the boom and chain were severed, and a flying squadron of light-armed vessels under Sir James Wallace, bearing the whole of Sir Henry's land force, went up the river to devastate its shores. Sir Henry wrote a despatch to Burgoyne on a piece of tissue-paper, saying, "We are here, and nothing between us and Gates," enclosing it in a small, hollow bullet. The messenger was arrested in Orange county as a spy. The message was found and the spy was hanged. The marauding force, meanwhile, spread havoc and consternation along the shores. The legislature of the newly organized State of New York were then in session at Kingston. The marauders went thither and burned the village, Oct. 7, the legislature having escaped with their papers. Then they crossed over to the village of Rhinebeck Flats, and went to Livingston's Manor and applied the torch. There they heard of Burgoyne's defeat.

Kingston (N. C.). General Evans, with 6,000 Confederate troops, was defeated by General Foster, with 10,000 National troops, Dec. 14, 1862. The Confederates, under Bragg, were overtaken by Cox, of Schofield's army, and obliged to retire to Goldsboro, March 8–10, 1865.

Kinlock, FRANCIS, patriot; born in Charleston, S. C., March 7, 1755; was educated in England. When the Revolutionary War broke out he returned to America and became a captain in the Continental army; held a seat in the convention of 1787, voting for the adoption of the national Constitution. He was the author of a *Eulogy on George Washington, Esq.*, etc. He died in Charleston, S. C., Feb. 8, 1826.

Kinney, JONATHAN KENDRICK, lawyer; born in Royalton, Vt., Oct. 26, 1843; received a common school education; served in the Civil War; became a lawyer in 1875. He is the author of *A Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.*

Kinnison, DAVID, patriot; born in Old Kingston, near Portsmouth, Me., Nov. 17, 1736. With a few neighbors at Lebanon, Conn. (where he was a farmer), he went to Boston and assisted in destroying the tea destined for that port. During the Revolutionary War he was in active service, and in the latter part of it he was a prisoner among the Indians more than a year and a half. He lived in different places until the breaking out of the War of 1812–15, during which he was engaged in the military service. He went to Chicago in 1845, where he died, Feb. 24, 1851, the last survivor of the "Boston Tea-Party."



DAVID KINNISON.

Kinston, the county seat of Lenoir, N. C., and an important shipping port for cotton and tobacco. On Dec. 14, 1862, there was an engagement here in which Wessell's brigade of Peck's division and the 1st, 2d, and 3d brigades of the 1st division of the Department of North Carolina took part; and on March 14, 1865, the city was occupied by the National forces under General Schofield.

Kip, WILLIAM INGRAHAM, clergyman; born in New York City, Oct. 3, 1811; graduated at Yale College in 1831, and later at the General Theological Seminary; was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1835; elected bishop of California in 1857. He was the author of *Early Jesuit Missions in America; The Olden Time in New York*, etc. He died in San Francisco, Cal., April 7, 1893.

Kirchhoff, CHARLES WILLIAM, engineer; born in San Francisco, Cal., March 28, 1854; graduated at the Royal School of Mines, Clausthal, Germany, in 1874. Returning to the United States he was chemist of the Delaware Lead Refinery in Philadelphia in 1874–79; managing editor of the *Engineering and Mining Journal* in 1883–86; and for several years was connected with *The Iron Age*, of which he became editor-in-chief in 1899. Since 1883 he has been special agent of the United States Geological Survey for the collection of statistics of the production of lead, copper, and zinc. He was president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers in 1898–99.

Kirchwey, GEORGE W., educator; born in Detroit, Mich., July 3, 1855; graduated at Yale College in 1879; studied law in New Haven and Albany; was admitted to the bar in Albany in 1881; and practised there for ten years. In 1889–91 he was dean of the Albany Law School, and in 1891 became Professor of Law in Columbia University. He has edited a number of legal text-books; contributed frequently to legal periodicals; and was one of the

revisers of *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia* in 1892–95.

Kirkland, CAROLINE MATILDA STANSBURY, author; born in New York City, Jan. 12, 1801; settled in Clinton, N. Y., and there married Mr. Kirkland in 1827. Her publications include *Western Clearings; The Evening Book, or Sketches of Western Life; Memoirs of Washington; The Destiny of Our Country*, etc. She died in New York City, April 6, 1864.

Kirkland, JAMES HAMPTON, educator; born in Spartanburg, S. C., Sept. 9, 1859; graduated at Wofford College in 1877; held the chair of Greek and German in Wofford College in 1881–83; and then went abroad to travel and study. Returning to the United States in 1886, he became Professor of Latin in Vanderbilt University, where he remained till 1893, when he was elected chancellor. He is the editor of *Satires and Epistles of Horace*, and author of numerous monographs and of contributions to philological reviews, etc.

Kirkland, SAMUEL, missionary; born in Norwich, Conn., Dec. 1, 1741; graduated at Princeton in 1765. At the school of Rev. E. Wheelock, he learned the Mohawk language, and, by sojourns among the Senecas, their language also. After the affair at Lexington, the provincial congress of Massachusetts requested him to use his influence to secure

SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

either the friendship or neutrality of the Six Nations. He was instrumental in attaching the Oneidas to the patriot cause. He labored with that nation as a missionary of religion and patriotism during the war, when the other tribes of that confederacy, through the influence of Brant and the Johnsons, had taken the opposite side. He accompanied Sullivan in his expedition against the Senecas in 1779. Mr. Kirkland was the founder of Hamilton College. Having been granted by the government a tract of land 2 miles square in the present town of Kirkland, Oneida co., N. Y., he removed there in 1789. He died in Clinton, N. Y., Feb. 28, 1808.

Kirkwood, SAMUEL JORDAN, lawyer; born in Harford county, Md., Dec. 20, 1813; removed to Ohio in 1835, and was admitted to the bar of that State in 1843. He removed to Iowa in 1855; was elected governor in 1859 and 1861; United States Senator in 1866; governor again in 1875; and United States Senator again in 1876, serving until 1881, when he was appointed Secretary of the Interior; retired to private life in 1882. He died in Iowa City, Ia., Sept. 1, 1894.

Kitchen Cabinet, an appellation in common use during the administration of President Jackson, of which Francis P. Blair and Amos Kendall were the recipients. Blair was the editor of *The Globe*, the organ of the administration, and Kendall was one of its principal contributors. These two men were frequently consulted by the President as confidential advisers. To avoid observation when they called on him, they entered the President's dwelling by a back door. On this account the opposition party, who believed the advice of these two men caused Jackson to fill nearly all the offices with Democrats, after turning out the incumbents, called them in derision the "kitchen cabinet."

Kittanning, DESTRUCTION OF. In consequence of repeated injuries from the white people of Pennsylvania, the Delaware Indians had become bitterly hostile in 1756. They committed many depredations, and early in September Col. John Armstrong marched against the Indian town of Kittanning, on the Alleghany River, about 45 miles northeast from Pittsburg. He approached the village stealthily, and fell upon the Indians furiously with about 300 men at 3 A.M.,

Sept. 8, 1756. The Indians refusing the quarter which was offered them, Colonel Armstrong ordered their wigwams to be set on fire. Their leader, Captain Jacobs, and his wife and son were killed. About forty Indians were destroyed, and eleven English prisoners were released.

was honorably discharged from that service.

Klondike, a region in the Northwest Territory of Canada, bordering on the Klondike and Yukon rivers. The first white people who visited the region went there in the interest of the Hudson Bay Company.

MAIN STREET, DAWSON CITY, JULY, 1897.

Kittredge, Alfred B., lawyer; born in Cheshire county, N. H., March 28, 1861; was graduated at Yale College in 1882, and from its law school in 1885; and began practice in Sioux Falls, S. D. He was a member of the State Senate in 1889-93; and a Republican United States Senator in 1901–09.

Klamath Indians, a tribe of North American Indians. In 1899 there were 673 on a reservation at the Hoopa Valley agency in California, and 585 at the Klamath agency in Oregon.

Kline, Jacob, military officer; born in Pennsylvania, Nov. 5, 1840; was commissioned first lieutenant in 1861; captain in 1864; major in 1887; lieutenant-colonel in 1892; and colonel April 30, 1897. During the Civil War he was brevetted captain, April 7, 1862, for gallantry at Shiloh, and major, Sept. 1, 1864, for gallantry in the Atlanta campaign. On May 27, 1898, he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers for the war with Spain, and on March 15, 1899,

In 1873 the existence of gold in paying quantities was reported, in a region then supposed to be wholly within British Columbia. Miners penetrated farther towards the Yukon in 1882, and were successful in placer mining along the Stewart and other rivers. The first rush for the region began in 1887, when the Forty-Mile Creek was discovered and coarse gold found there. In the next year mining was started on the Forty-Mile Creek, and by 1897 nearly all of the available gold had been taken out. The first reports of the wealth of the Klondike region proper were made by Indians. The first white man to enter the region was George W. Carmack, who staked the first claim on Bonanza Creek, in August, 1896. Here $14,200 were secured in eight days by three men. On July 14, 1897, a steamer from the Klondike arrived at San Francisco. On board were forty miners, who had more than $500,000 in gold dust, and there was $250,000 more for the Commercial Company. After an assay it was found that the Klon-

dike gold was not as pure as that of California, there being combined with it a greater amount of iron, lead, etc. On July 17 of the same year a second steamer arrived at San Francisco, bringing sixty-eight miners, with $1,250,000 worth of gold. Immediately the "Klondike fever" became general, and so large was the number of gold-seekers that the capacity of all the steamers running to St. Michael, Juneau, and Dyea was overtaxed. For a time it was feared that many of these gold-seekers would perish before the opening of the passes in the following spring on account of the lack of provisions. On June 13, 1898, by an act of the Canadian Parliament, the boundaries of Ungava, Keewatin, Franklin, Mackenzie, and Yukon were changed, and the Yukon region was constituted a separate territory, with an area of 198,300 square miles, 2,000 of which is water surface. In February, 1898, the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey issued a new map of the Yukon River region. The map includes the territory between long. 38° and 166° W., and lat. 60° to 67° N. The Yukon River is traced considerably beyond the Klondike region, and the portion within Alaska is very fully treated. The country between Forty-Mile Post and Stewart River is also given with minute exactness. The results of military and scientific explorations undertaken by the United States government in Alaska indicate that that Territory contains a larger amount of gold, besides other economic "minerals," than the area popularly termed the "Klondike region." See ALASKA.

Knapp, SAMUEL LORENZO, author; born in Newburyport, Mass., Jan. 19, 1783; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1804; became a lawyer; and was a commander on the coast defences in the War of 1812. His publications include *Travels in North America by Ali Bey; Memoirs of General Lafayette; American Biography; History of the United States* (a revision of John Hinton's edition); *Memoir of the Life of Daniel Webster; Life of Aaron Burr; Life of Andrew Jackson,* etc. He also edited *The Library of American History.* He died in Hopkinton, Mass., July 8, 1838.

Knickerbocker, JOHN; born in Schaghticoke, N. Y., in 1749; inherited the Knickerbocker estates from his uncle, Herman Knickerbocker; served in the American army in the Revolutionary War; after the war represented Rensselaer county in the New York legislature. He died at Schaghticoke in 1827. Washington Irving's use of the name in his *Knickerbocker's History of New York* has resulted in its being used to describe the typical Dutch New York gentleman. Where New York City is personated in caricatures, the figure is that of "Father Knickerbocker."

Knights of Labor, the name assumed by a labor league having a membership in all parts of the United States and Canada, with an executive head styled "General Master Workman." Subservient to the central authority are numerous local organizations. The order claims the right and exercises the power of regulating the conditions of labor between employers and the employed, having officers called "walking delegates," who enter industrial establishments and order men and women to quit work, unless the conditions between them and their employers are satisfactory to the order. In 1903 the order claimed a membership of 40,000.

Knights of Pythias, a fraternal organization founded in Washington, D. C., in 1864, having for its objects the exercise of friendship, charity, and benevolence. From an original membership of seventy-four it had grown to one of 562,327 in 1903, and so gained fourth place among the fraternal organizations of the country. The endowment rank (life insurance) had a membership of over 60,000, representing an endowment of $103,711,000.

Knights of the Golden Circle, the name of an organization founded for the overthrow of the government of the United States. It was a secret society, and was first organized for action in the slave-labor States. The members were pledged to assist in the accomplishment of the designs of those who were intent upon the establishment of an empire within the limits of the Golden Circle. It was the soul of the filibustering movements in Central America and Cuba from 1850 to 1857; and, when these failed, the knights concentrated their energies for the accomplishment of their prime object —the destruction of the Union and the perpetuation of slavery. The subordinate

organizations were called "castles." When the secession movement began, these knights became specially active in Texas. When the disloyal peace faction made its appearance in the North, an alliance between the leading members of it and the Knights of the Golden Circle was formed, and the "order" became very numerous and formidable in some of the free-labor States, especially in the West. The late Benson J. Lossing, in New Orleans, in April, 1861, heard a New York journalist tell a group of Confederates that he belonged to a secret order in that city, 50,000 strong, who would sooner fight for the South than for the North. An army chaplain was told by a Confederate officer, just before the draft riot in New York, "You will be surprised at the number of friends we have in your very midst; friends who, when the time comes, will destroy your railroads, your telegraph wires, your government stores and property, and thus facilitate the glorious invasion [Lee's] now breaking you in pieces." At about that time the knights in the West held a meeting at Springfield, Ill. (June 10, 1863), when it was resolved to make the draft a pretext for revolution, and measures were accordingly adopted. It was arranged that New York should take the initiative. The plan was for each State to assume its "independent sovereignty." Morgan's raid in Indiana and Ohio was a part of the plan of that revolution. It was supposed that the Knights of the Golden Circle and the members of the peace faction would rise and join him by thousands; but in this he was mistaken.

Knowlton, FRANK HALL, botanist; born in Brandon, Vt., Sept. 2, 1860; graduated at Middlebury College, Vermont, and appointed an aid in the United States National Museum in 1884; became assistant curator of botany in 1887; and assistant paleontologist of the United States Geological Survey in 1889. In 1887–96 he was Professor of Botany in Columbia University. He wrote the botanical definitions for the *Century Dictionary* and later had charge of the department of botany in the *Standard Dictionary,* writing about 25,000 definitions for the last work. He is the author of *Fossil Wood and Lignite of the Potomac Formation; Fossil Flora of Alaska; Catalogue of the Cretaceous and Tertiary Plants of North America,* etc.; and is the editor of *The Plant World.*

Knowlton, MINER, military officer; born in Connecticut, in 1804; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1829; promoted captain in 1846; and served in the Mexican War. His publications include *Notes on Gunpowder, Cannon, and Projectiles,* and he compiled *Instructions and Regulations for the Militia and Volunteers of the United States.* He was also one of the compilers of *Instructions for Field Artillery,* which was adopted by the War Department in 1845. He died in Burlington, N. J., Dec. 25, 1870.

Knowlton, THOMAS, military officer; born in West Boxford, Mass., Nov. 30, 1740; was a soldier of the French and Indian War, and assisted in the reduction of Havana in 1762. He was in the Ashford militia at Lexington, April 19, 1775, and was selected as one of the fatigue party to fortify Bunker Hill. In action there he fought bravely. A regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army at New York, was commanded by him, and he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of rangers selected from the Connecticut troops. He fell in the battle of Harlem Plains, Sept. 16, 1776, and his character was eulogized by Washington in general orders.

Know-nothing Party, a secret political party organized in 1853 for the purpose mainly of opposing foreign citizenship. As early as 1835 an attempt was made to originate some such movement in New York City, where a foreign population had already gained much strength. This movement, however, ended in failure before the election for mayor in 1837. The feeling, however, was again revived in 1843, after the Democrats, who had been successful in the election, gave the largest share of offices to foreign-born citizens. In the following year the same native feeling was extended through New Jersey and to Philadelphia, where several riots occurred between native and Irish citizens. This agitation resulted in natives holding the majority of offices for several years. In 1852, however, when the sec-

tional contest as to the extension of slave territory became so strong, and when the Democratic party was receiving reinforcements from immigrants, the old opposition to foreigners again appeared; but this time in the form of a secret, oath-bound fraternity, whose objects were not even made known to its own members till they had reached the higher degrees. Whenever any questions were asked the members by outsiders they would say, "I don't know," and from this circumstance the popular name of "Know-nothings" was given them. In the elections of 1854 they appeared as a well-disciplined party, carrying Massachusetts and Delaware, and in the following year they polled 122,282 votes in New York State and made great strides in the South. In the Presidential campaign of 1856 the Know-nothing party was called the "American party" and presented Millard Fillmore as its candidate. As the great question of slavery then began to gain greater strength and to absorb a larger amount of public attention a lesser importance was given to nativism. The party reappeared in 1860, under the name of the Constitutional Union party, and, failing to carry the South, soon disappeared from the political field. See WISE, H. A.

Knox, HENRY, military officer; born in Boston, July 25, 1750; was of Scotch-

HENRY KNOX.

Irish stock. He became a thriving bookseller in Boston, and married Lucy, daughter of Secretary Flucker. He belonged to an artillery company when the Revolution began, and his skill as an engineer artillerist on the staff of Gen. Artemas Ward attracted the attention of Washington. In November (1775) he was placed in command of the artillery, and was employed successfully in bringing cannon from captured forts on Lake Champlain and on the Canadian frontier to Cambridge, for the use of the besieging army. Knox was made a brigadier-general in December, 1776, and was the chief commander of the artillery of the main army throughout the whole war, being conspicuous in all the principal actions. He was one of the court of inquiry in Major André's case; was in command at West Point after hostilities had ceased, and arranged for the surrender of New York. At Knox's suggestion, the Society of the Cincinnati was established. He was Secretary of War before and after Washington became President of the United States (1781–95), and when he left office he settled at Thomaston, where he administered the most generous hospitality till his death, Oct. 25, 1806.

Knox, JOHN JAY, financier; born in Knoxboro, N. Y., March 19, 1828; graduated at Hamilton College in 1849, and engaged in banking. In 1866 he became connected with the Treasury Department in Washington; and in 1867 was appointed deputy comptroller of the currency; and in 1872 became comptroller. He prepared a bill on coinage which was passed by Congress, and is known as the "Coinage act of 1873." He retired from public life in 1884, when he became president of a bank in New York City. He was the author of *United States Notes, or a History of the Various Issues of Paper Money by the Government of the United States.* He died in New York City, Feb. 9, 1892.

Knox, PHILANDER CHASE, lawyer; born in Brownsville, Pa., May 4, 1853; graduated at Mount Union College, Alliance, O., in 1872; settled in Pittsburg, Pa., to study law, and was there admitted to the bar in 1875. Soon afterwards he was appointed assistant attorney of the United States for the western district of Pennsylvania; in 1877 he formed a partnership with Judge J. H. Reed; and for several years was Andrew Carnegie's chief legal adviser. He became acquainted with President McKinley during his college days, and they afterwards remained close personal friends. On April 5, 1901, the

President appointed Mr. Knox Attorney-General of the United States to succeed John W. Griggs, resigned. Mr. Knox is a member of a number of clubs in Pittsburg, New York, and Philadelphia; and in 1897 was elected president of the Pennsylvania Bar Association.

Knox, WILLIAM, author; born in Ireland in 1732; was provost-marshal in Georgia in 1756–61, when he returned to England; and was under-secretary of state for American affairs in 1770–83. His publications relating to the United States include *A Letter to a Member of Parliament; The Claims of the Colonies to an Exemption from Internal Taxes; The Present State of the Nation;* and *The Controversy between Great Britain and Her Colonies Reviewed.* He died in Ealing, England, Aug. 25, 1810.

Knoxville, SIEGE OF. General Burnside, with the Army of the Ohio, occupied Knoxville, Sept. 3, 1863. The Confederate General Buckner, upon his advance, evacuated east Tennessee and joined Bragg at Chattanooga. Early in November, General Longstreet, with 16,000 men, advanced against Knoxville. On the 14th he crossed the Tennessee. Burnside repulsed him on the 16th at Campbell's Station, gaining time to concentrate his army in Knoxville. Longstreet advanced, laid siege to the town, and assaulted it twice (Nov. 18 and 29), but was repulsed. Meantime Grant had defeated Bragg at Chattanooga, and Sherman, with 25,000 men, was on the way to relieve Knoxville. Longstreet, compelled to raise the siege, retired up the Holston River, but did not entirely abandon east Tennessee until the next spring, when he again joined Lee in Virginia.

Knyphausen, BARON WILHELM VON, military officer; born in Lützberg, Germany, Nov. 4, 1716; began his military career in the Prussian service in 1734, and became a general in the army of Frederick the Great in 1775. He arrived in America in June, 1776, and was first engaged in battle here in that of Long Island in August following, in which he commanded a body of Hessian mercenaries. Knyphausen was in the battle of White Plains; assisted in the capture of Fort Washington, which was named by its captors Fort Knyphausen; was conspicuous in the battle of Brandywine in 1777, and in Monmouth in 1778; and commanded an expedition to Springfield, N. J., in June, 1780. In the absence of Sir Henry Clinton he was in command of the city of New York. He died in Cassel, Dec. 7, 1800.

Kobbé, WILLIAM A., military officer; born in New York City, May 10, 1840; entered the volunteer army as a private in the 7th New York Regiment in 1862, and at the close of the Civil War was mustered out of this service with the rank of captain in the 178th New York Infantry. On March 17, 1866, he was appointed a second lieutenant in the 19th United States Infantry; Feb. 5, 1872, was transferred to the 3d Artillery; April 6, 1885, was promoted to captain; and March 8, 1898, to major. After joining the 3d Artillery he graduated at the Artillery School (1873). Soon after war was declared against Spain he was appointed colonel of the 35th United States Volunteer Infantry, and in October, 1899, was promoted to brigadier-general of volunteers for service in the Malolos campaign in the Philippines. In January, 1900, he was given command of an expedition to the southern extremity of Luzon. On the 18th of that month he left Manila with his command in the transports *Hancock* and *Garonne* and the local steamers *Venus*, *Æolus*, *Salvadora*, and *Castellano*, which vessels were convoyed by the gunboats *Nashville*, *Helena*, and *Maraveles*. On Jan. 20 all of these vessels, in single file, proceeded slowly up Sorsogon Bay. When the expedition reached Sorsogon that town had already displayed flags of truce. During the next few days the towns of Donsol, Bulan, Virac, and Legaspi on Catanduanes Island were occupied. The only resistance was at Legaspi where five Americans were wounded, and forty-five dead and fifteen wounded insurgents were found. In this action the shells from the *Nashville* set on fire and destroyed 8,000 bales of hemp. This district of the Philippine Islands is noted as a large hemp-producing country. In March, following, General Kobbé was appointed military governor of the province of Albay, Luzon, and of Catanduanes Island, and also temporary governor of the islands of Samas and Leyte; and soon

afterwards he opened the hemp ports to commerce. On the reorganization of the regular army in February, 1901, he was appointed one of the new brigadier-generals.

Kohl, JOHN GEORGE, traveller; born in Bremen, Germany, April 28, 1808; travelled in the United States in 1854–58. His publications relating to the United States include *History of the Discovery of the United States Coast; History and Investigation of the Gulf Stream; Travels in the United States; History of the Two Oldest Charts in the New World; History of the Discovery of the Northeastern Coast of America,* and a number of lectures on the *History of the Discovery of America.* He was also the author of a *Lecture on the Plan of a Chartographical Depot for the History and Geography of the American Continent.* He died in Bremen, Germany, Oct. 28, 1878.

Korea, WAR WITH. The trouble between the United States and Korea began in 1866. A vessel named the *General Sherman,* bearing American papers, in that year made her last trip from Chee-Foo to Ping-Yang City in Korea, near which the ship was captured and destroyed, and her passengers and crew massacred. Official notice of this outrage was given to the United States by Admiral Bell, United States navy, then in command of the Asiatic squadron, whose force, however, was insufficient to secure redress from the hostile Koreans. Two years previous (1864) the Koreans had become involved with a Christian nation because of their having put to death several French missionaries. The French had sent out an armed expedition, but it was poorly prepared and badly conducted, and was compelled to retire. These circumstances greatly emboldened the Koreans, so that in 1867, when Commander Shufeldt, with the United States steamer *Wachusett,* visited Korea to save, if any remained, the passengers or crew of the *General Sherman,* he was able to accomplish nothing and had to return. It was learned later that two survivors of the crew of the *General Sherman* were in prison in Korea, and in 1868 Commander Fabiger, in the United States steamship *Shenandoah,* sailed for Korea. In the course of this trip a boat from the *Shenandoah* was fired on by the natives. This visit was also fruitless of results, and Commander Fabiger sailed away. On April 10, 1870, Admiral Rodgers sailed from New York in the *Colorado* to take command of the Asiatic squadron, which consisted of the flag-ship *Colorado,* forty-five guns; the steamship *Monocacy,* six guns, and the steamer *Palos,* two guns. Among the incidental results of the expedition was the careful survey of an extensive part of the coast of Korea. The King of Korea was informed of the approach of the expedition, and sent three officials with a letter to the Americans. The burden of this epistle was that the Koreans wanted to be let alone, and that the crew of the *General Sherman* had been killed for committing piracy and murder. Up to that time the Korean authorities had practically denied all official knowledge of the fate of the *General Sherman* and her crew. Other Korean delegations visited the squadron, all expressing themselves as thoroughly satisfied with the peaceable character of the expedition, and willing that a survey of their coast and rivers should be made. The ships proceeded up the Fleuve de Sel (Salt River), and on passing some of the forts were fired on by the Korean forces, which numbered about 2,000. The fire was returned, and in about ten minutes the forts were silenced and the enemy driven from them. The fire from the forts was severe, but owing to the ignorance of the native gunners, only one man in the squadron was wounded, and the only damage was a leak in the *Monocacy,* which was soon repaired. In this encounter the *Palos* and the *Monocacy* were engaged, together with several steam-launches of the surveying party. These craft rejoined Admiral Rodgers, with the *Benicia* and the *Colorado,* and an expedition was formed to return and destroy the forts. This force consisted of 945 men, with the *Palos* and the *Monocacy.* June 11 the Americans destroyed the forts near the mouth of the river, burned the neighboring houses, and continued to advance until they reached the forts which had opened fire on the expedition June 1. The Americans stormed these forts, and in the first onset took them, with a loss of three

killed and seven wounded. Lieutenant McKee was killed as he entered the intrenchments. The Korean commander-in-chief was killed in the combat, and the second officer in command was taken prisoner, besides many other natives. Admiral Rodgers a few days later released the prisoners, whom the Korean authorities did not appear willing to receive. A formal protest against the war-like actions of the Koreans was made by Mr. Low, the American minister. Documents found by the Americans showed that the Korean government had planned the surprise of the United States ships, and that the native rulers were astonished at the failure of their forts to annihilate the vessels at the first fire.

Kosciuszko, TADEUSZ (THADDEUS), patriot; born in Lithuania, Poland, Feb. 12, 1746; was of noble descent, and was educated at the military academy at Warsaw; also in France, at the expense of the Polish government. He entered the Polish army as captain, but a passion for the daughter of the marshal of Lithuania caused him to leave his country and offer his services to the Americans. He arrived in 1776, with a note of introduction and recommendation to Washington by Dr. Franklin. "What do you seek here?" inquired the chief. "I come to fight as a volunteer for American independence," answered Kosciuszko. "What can you do?" asked Washington. "Try me," was the quick reply. He entered Washington's military family, Oct. 18, 1776, as colonel of engineers. He planned the fortified camp of General Gates at Bemis's Heights, in 1777, and was the principal engineer in constructing the works at West Point, on the Hudson. Attached to Greene's army in the South, he was the engineer in the siege of NINETY-SIX (*q. v.*), in June, 1781. For his services in the Continental army he received the thanks of Congress, the Order of the Cincinnati, and the brevet of brigadier-general. Returning to Poland, he fought against the Russians, under Poniatowski, in 1792; but the Polish patriots were defeated, and Kosciuszko retired to Leipsic. Another rising of the Poles occurred in 1794, when Kosciuszko was placed at the head of the insurgents as dictator; and, with 5,000 peasants, armed mostly with scythes, he routed nearly twice that number of Russians at Raclawice, April 4. Committing the conduct of a provisional government to a national council, he marched against his enemies. In Warsaw he was besieged by a combined army of Russians and Prussians. These, after

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several bloody conflicts, were compelled by the Polish chief to raise the siege. Austria had joined the assailants of the Poles, and, with an army of 150,000 men, fell upon and crushed them (Oct. 10) at Macieowice. Kosciuszko fought gallantly, and fell covered with wounds, uttering the sadly prophetic words, afterwards fulfilled, "*Finis Poloniæ!*" He was made captive, and was imprisoned at St. Petersburg until the accession of the Emperor Paul, who set him at liberty, and offered Kosciuszko his own sword. It was refused, the Polish patriot saying, "I have no need of a sword, since I have no country to defend." In 1797 he visited the United States, where he was warmly welcomed, and received, in addition to a pension, a grant of land by Congress. He resided near Fontainebleau, in France; and when Bonaparte became Emperor, in 1806, he tried to enlist Kosciuszko in his schemes in relation to Poland. Kosciuszko refused to lend his services, except on condition of a guarantee of Polish freedom. He went to live in Solothurn, Switzerland, in 1816, where he was killed

by a fall from his horse over a precipice, Oct. 15, 1817. The remains of this true nobleman of Poland lie beside those of Sobieski and Poniatowski in the cathedral church at Cracow. An elegant monument of white marble was erected to his memory at West Point by the cadet corps of 1828, at a cost of $5,000.

KOSSUTH, LAJOS (LOUIS)

Kossuth, Lajos (Louis), patriot; born in Monok, Hungary, April 27, 1802; was in the Hungarian Diet in 1832–36; imprisoned for political reasons by the Austrian government in 1837–40; re-elected to the Diet in 1847; and became minister of finance in the independent Hungarian ministry which Emperor Ferdinand was forced to grant in 1848. Later in that year the Hungarians rose in insurrection against Austria; on April 14, 1849, the Diet declared Hungary independent, and appointed Kossuth governor; on Aug. 11 following Kossuth resigned his functions to General Görgei; and, on the surrender of the latter two days afterwards, Kossuth fled to Turkey, where he remained in exile till 1851. In 1851–52 he visited the United States and received a hearty welcome in

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all the principal cities. Subsequently he resided in London and in Turin, where he died, March 20, 1894. Under the title of *Schriften aus der Emigration* he published his memoirs in 1881–82.

In the United States.—After his flight to Turkey the Austrian government demanded his extradition. The United States and England interfered, and he was allowed his freedom, with his family and friends. The United States government sent the war-steamer *Mississippi* to bring him to the United States, and early in the autumn of 1851 he embarked for this country. While in exile in Turkey and in prison, he employed his time in studying living languages, and he was enabled to address the people of the West in the English, German, French, and Italian languages. He arrived at New York, Dec. 5, 1851, accompanied by his wife. There he addressed public meetings and deputations in various Northern cities, and in all his speeches he showed a most intimate knowledge of American history and institutions. His theme was a plea for sympathy and substantial aid for his country, Hungary. He wished to obtain the acknowledgment of the claims of Hungary to independence, and the interference of the United States and Great Britain, jointly, in behalf of the principle of non-intervention, which would allow the nations of Europe fair play in their renewed struggle for liberty. He constantly asserted that grand principle that one nation has no right to interfere with the domestic concerns of another, and that all nations are bound to use their efforts to prevent such interference. The government of the United States, to which he appealed, assuming its traditional attitude of neutrality in all quarrels in Europe, declined to lend aid, excepting the moral power of expressed sympathy. Kossuth called for private contributions in aid of the struggle of his people for independence, and received more assurances of sympathy than dollars, for there seemed to be a reaction in Europe, and the chance for Hungarian independence appeared more remote than ever. He arrived in Washington at the close of December, and was received by two United States Senators and the marshal of the district. The Secretary of State (Daniel Webster) waited upon him; so also did many members of Congress. On the 31st he was presented

to President Fillmore by Mr. Webster, who received him cordially. On Jan. 5, 1852, he was introduced to the Senate. He entered the Senate chamber accompanied by Senators Cass and Seward. General Shields introduced him. The Senate adjourned, and the members all paid their personal respects to the distinguished exile. He then visited the House of Representatives, where he was warmly received by the speaker and most of the members. Then he was introduced to each member personally, and presented to an immense crowd of ladies and gentlemen who had assembled. A congressional banquet was given him at the National Hotel, at which W. R. King, president of the Senate, presided, Kossuth and Speaker Boyd being on his right hand, and Secretary Webster on his left. On that occasion Kossuth delivered one of his most effective speeches. Mr. Webster concluded his remarks with the following sentiment: "Hungarian independence, Hungarian control of her own destinies, and Hungary as a distinct nationality among the nations of Europe." After Kossuth's departure there were debates in Congress on propositions for the United States to lend material aid to the people of Hungary, struggling for national independence; but the final determination was that the United States should not change its uniform policy of neutrality in favor of Hungary. The cordial reception of Kossuth everywhere, and the magnetic power of his eloquence over every audience, were gratifying and wonderful. A contemporary wrote: "The circumstances attending the reception of Kossuth constituted one of the most extraordinary spectacles the New World had ever yet beheld." He returned to Europe in July.

Speech in Faneuil Hall.—The following is the first of three speeches made in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in April and May, this occasion being a public meeting. He had been welcomed to the State by Gov. George S. Boutwell, to the Senate by President Henry Wilson, and to the House of Representatives by Speaker Nathaniel P. Banks. A legislative banquet followed the delivery of the speech here given:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Do me the justice to believe that I rise not with any pretension to eloquence within the Cradle of American Liberty. If I were standing upon the ruins of Prytaneum, and had to speak whence Demosthenes spoke, my tongue would refuse to obey, my words would die away upon my lips, and I would listen to the winds fraught with the dreadful realization of his unheeded prophecies. Spirit of American eloquence, frown not at my boldness that I dare abuse Shakespeare's language in Faneuil Hall! It is a strange fate, and not my choice. My tongue is fraught with a down-trodden nation's wrongs. The justice of my cause is my eloquence; but misfortune may approach the altar whence the flame arose which roused your fathers from degradation to independence. I claim my people's share in the benefit of the laws of nature and of nature's God. I will nothing add to the historical reputation of these walls; but I dare hope not to sully them by appealing to those maxims of truth the promulgation of which made often tremble these walls from the thundering cheers of freemen, roused by the clarion sound of inspired oratory.

"Cradle of American Liberty"; it is a great name; but there is something in it which saddens my heart. You should not say "American liberty." You should say "Liberty in America." Liberty should not be either American or European—it should be just "liberty." God is God. He is neither America's God nor Europe's God. He is God. So shall liberty be. "American liberty" has much the sound as if you would say "American privilege." And there is the rub. Look to history, and, when your heart saddens at the fact that liberty never yet was lasting in any corner of the world and in any age, you will find the key of it in the gloomy truth that all who yet were free regarded liberty as their privilege instead of regarding it as a principle. The nature of every privilege is exclusiveness; that of a principle is communicative. Liberty is a principle; its community is its security; exclusiveness is its doom.

What is aristocracy? It is exclusive liberty; it is privilege; and aristocracy is doomed, because it is contrary to the destiny and welfare of man. Aristocracy should vanish, not in the nations, but also

from among the nations. So long as that is not done, liberty will nowhere be lasting on earth. It is equally fatal to individuals as to nations to believe themselves beyond the reach of vicissitudes. To this proud reliance, and the isolation resulting therefrom, more victims have fallen than to oppression by immediate adversities. You have prodigiously grown by your freedom of seventy-five years; but what is seventy-five years to take for a charter of immortality? No, no, my humble tongue tells the records of eternal truth. A privilege never can be lasting. Liberty restricted to one nation never can be sure. You may say, "We are the prophets of God," but you shall not say, "God is only our God." The Jews have said so, and the pride of Jerusalem lies in the dust. Our Saviour taught all humanity to say, "Our Father in heaven"; and his Jerusalem is lasting to the end of days.

"There is a community in mankind's destiny." That was the greeting which I read on the arch of welcome on the Capitol Hill of Massachusetts. I pray to God the republic of America would weigh the eternal truth of those words, and act accordingly. Liberty in America would then be sure to the end of time. But if you say "American liberty," and take that grammar for your policy, I dare say the time will yet come when humanity will have to mourn over a new proof of the ancient truth, that without community national freedom is never sure. You should change "American liberty" into "Liberty," then liberty would be forever sure in America, and that which found a cradle in Faneuil Hall never would find a coffin through all coming days. I like not the word "cradle" connected with the word "liberty." It has a scent of mortality. But these are vain words, I know. Though in the life of nations the spirits of future be marching in present events, visible to every reflecting mind, still those who foretell them are charged with arrogantly claiming the title of prophets, and prophecies are never believed. However, the cradle of American liberty is not only famous from the reputation of having been always the lists of the most powerful eloquence; it is still more conspicuous for having seen that eloquence attended by practical success. To understand the mystery of this rare circumstance, a man must see the people of New England and especially the people of Massachusetts.

In what I have seen of New England there are two things the evidence of which strikes the observer at every step—prosperity and intelligence. I have seen thousands assembled, following the noble impulses of generous hearts; almost the entire population of every city, of every town, of every village where I passed, gathered around me, throwing the flowers of consolation in my thorny way. I can say I have seen the people here, and I have looked at it with a keen eye, sharpened in the school of a toilsome life. Well, I have seen not a single man bearing mark of that poverty upon himself which in old Europe strikes the eye sadly at every step. I have seen no ragged poor. I have seen not a single house bearing the appearance of desolated poverty. The cheerfulness of a comfortable condition, the result of industry, spreads over the land. One sees at a glance that the people work assiduously — not with the depressing thought just to get from day to day, by hard toil, through the cares of a miserable life, but they work with the cheerful consciousness of substantial happiness. And the second thing which I could not fail to remark is the stamp of intelligence impressed upon the very eyes and outward appearance of the people at large. I and my companions have seen that people in the factories, in the workshops, in their houses, and in the streets, and could not fail a thousand times to think, "How intelligent that people looks." It is to such a people that the orators of Faneuil Hall had to speak, and therein is the mystery of their success. They were not wiser than the public spirit of their audience, but they were the eloquent interpreters of the people's enlightened instinct.

No man can force the harp of his own individuality into the people's heart; but every man may play upon the cords of his people's heart, who draws his inspiration from the people's instinct. Well, I thank God for having seen the public spirit of the people of Massachusetts bestowing its attention to the cause I plead, and pronouncing its verdict. After the spontaneous manifestations of

public opinion which I have met in Massachusetts, there can be not the slightest doubt that his Excellency, the high-minded governor of Massachusetts, when he wrote his memorable address to the legislature, the joint committee of the legislative assembly, after a careful and candid consideration of the subject, not only concurring in the views of the executive government, but elucidating them in a report, the irrefutable logic and elevated statesmanship of which will forever endear the name of Hazewell to oppressed nations, and the Senate of Massachusetts adopting the resolutions proposed by the legislative committee, in respect to the question of national intervention—I say the spontaneous manifestation of public opinion leaves not the slightest doubt that all these executive and legislative proceedings not only met the full approbation of the people of Massachusetts, but were, in fact, nothing else but the solemn interpretation of that public opinion of the people of Massachusetts. A spontaneous outburst of popular sentiments tells often more in a single word than all the skill of elaborate eloquence could. I have met that word. "We worship not the man, but we worship the principle," shouted out a man in Worcester, amid the thundering cheers of a countless multitude. It was a word like those words of flame, spoken in Faneuil Hall, out of which liberty in America was born. That word is a revelation that the spirit of eternal truth and of present exigencies moves through the people's heart. That word is teeming with the destinies of America.

Would to God that, in the leading quarters, small party considerations should never prevent the due appreciation of the people's instinctive sagacity! It is with joyful consolation and heartfelt gratitude I own that of that fear I am forever relieved in respect to Massachusetts. Once more I have met the revelation of the truth that the people of Massachusetts worship principles. I have met it on the front of your capitol, in those words raised to the consolation of the oppressed world, by the constitutional authorities of Massachusetts, to the high heaven, upon an arch of triumph, "Remember that there is a community in mankind's destiny."

I cannot express the emotion I felt when, standing on the steps of your capitol, these words above my head, the people of Massachusetts tendered me its hand in the person of its chief magistrate. The emotion which thrilled through my heart was something like that Lazarus must have felt when the Saviour spoke to him, "Rise"; and, when I looked up with a tender tear of heartfelt gratitude in my eyes, I saw the motto of Massachusetts all along the capitol, "We seek with the sword the mild quietness of liberty." You have proved this motto not to be an empty word. The heroic truth of it is recorded in the annals of Faneuil Hall; it is recorded on Bunker Hill; recorded in the Declaration of Independence. Having read that motto, coupled with the acknowledgment of the principle that there is a community in the destiny of all humanity, I know what answer I have to take to those millions who look with profound anxiety to America.

Gentlemen, the Mohammedans say that the city of Bokhara receives not light from without, but is lustrous with its own light. I don't know much about Bokhara; but so much I know, that Boston is the sun whence radiated the light of resistance against oppression. And, from what it has been my good fortune to experience in Boston, I have full reason to believe that the sun which shone forth with such a bright lustre in the days of oppression has not lost its lustre by freedom and prosperity. Boston is the metropolis of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts has given its vote. It has given it after having, with the penetrating sagacity of its intelligence, looked attentively into the subject, and fixed with calm consideration its judgment thereabout. After having had so much to speak, it was with infinite gratification I heard myself addressed in Brookfield, Framingham, and several other places, with these words: "We know your country's history; we agree with your principles; we want no speech; just let us hear your voice, and then go on; we trust and wish you may have other things to do than speak." Thus, having neither to tell my country's tale, because it is known, nor having to argue about principles, because they are agreed with, I

am in the happy condition of being able to restrain myself to a few desultory remarks about the nature of the difficulties I have to contend with in other quarters, that the people of Massachusetts may see upon what ground those stand who are following a direction contrary to the distinctly pronounced opinion of Massachusetts, in relation to the cause I plead.

Give me leave to mention that, having had an opportunity to converse with leading men of the great political parties which are on the eve of an animated contest for the Presidency—would it had been possible for me to have come to America either before that contest was engaged or after it will be decided! I came, unhappily, in a bad hour—I availed myself of that opportunity to be informed about what are considered to be the principal issues in case the one or the other party carries the prize; and, indeed, having got the information thereof, I could not forbear to exclaim, "But, my God, all these questions together cannot outweigh the all-overruling importance of foreign policy!" It is there, in the question of foreign policy, that the heart of the next future throbs. Security and danger, developing prosperity, and its check, peace and war, tranquillity and embarrassment —yes, life and death will be weighed in the scale of foreign policy! It is evident things are come to the point where they have been in ancient Rome, when old Cato never spoke privately or publicly, about whatever topic, without closing his speech with these words, "However, my opinion is that Carthage must be destroyed," thus advertising his countrymen that there was one question outweighing in importance all other questions, from which public attention should never for a moment be withdrawn. Such, in my opinion, is the condition of the world now. Carthage and Rome had no place on earth together. Republican America and all-overwhelming Russian absolutism cannot much longer subsist together on earth. Russia active—America passive—there is an immense danger in that fact. It is like the avalanche in the Alps, which the noise of a bird's wing may move and thrust down with irresistible force, growing every moment. I cannot but believe it were highly time to do as old Cato did, and finish every speech with these words, "However, the law of nations should be maintained, and absolutism not permitted to become omnipotent." I could not forbear to make these remarks, and the answer I got was, "That is all true and all right, and will be attended to when the election is over; but, after all, the party must come into power, and you know there are so many considerations—men want to be managed, and even prejudices spared, and so forth." And it is true, but it is sorrowful that it is true. That reminds me of what, in Schiller's *Maria Stuart,* Mortimer says to Lord Leicester, the all-mighty favorite of Elizabeth, "O God, what little steps has such a great lord to go at this court!" There is the first obstacle I have to meet with. This consolation, at least, I have—that the chief difficulty I have to contend with is neither lasting, nor an argument against the justice of my cause or against the righteousness of my principles. Just as the calumnies by which I am assailed can but harm my own self, but cannot impair the justice of my country's cause or weaken the property of my principles, so that difficulty, being just a difficulty and no argument, cannot change the public opinion of the people, which always cares more about principles than about wire-pullings.

The second difficulty I have to contend with is rather curious. Many a man has told me that, if I had only not fallen into the hands of the abolitionists and free-soilers, he would have supported me; and, had I landed somewhere in the South instead of New York, I would have met quite different things from that quarter. But, being supported by the free-soilers, of course I must be opposed by the South. On the other side I received a letter from which I beg leave to quote a few lines: "You are silent on the subject of slavery. Surrounded as you have been by slave-holders ever since you put your foot on English soil, if not during your whole voyage from Constantinople—and ever since you have been in this country surrounded by them whose threats, promises, and flattery make the stoutest hearts succumb—your position has put me in mind of a scene described by the apostle of Jesus Christ when the devil took him up into a

high mountain," etc. Now, gentlemen, thus being charged from one side with being in the hands of abolitionists, and from the other side with being in the hands of the slave-holders, I indeed am at a loss what course to take, if these very contradictory charges were not giving me the satisfaction to feel that I stand just where it is my duty to stand, on a truly American ground.

I must beg leave to say a few words in that respect—the more because I could not escape vehement attacks for not committing myself, even in that respect, with whatever interior party question. I claim the right for my people to regulate its own domestic concerns. I claim this as a law of nations, common to all humanity; and, because common to all, I claim to see them protected by the United States, not only because they have the power to defend what despots dare offend, but also because it is the necessity of their position to be a power on earth, which they would not be if the law of nations can be changed, and the general condition of the world altered, without their vote. Now, that being my position and my cause, it would be the most absurd inconsistency if I would offend that principle which I claim and which I advocate.

And, O my God, have I not enough sorrows and cares to bear on these poor shoulders? Is it not astonishing that the moral power of duties, and the iron will of my heart, sustain yet this shattered frame? that I am desired yet to take up additional cares? If the cause I plead be just, if it be worthy of your sympathy, and at the same time consistent with the impartial considerations of your own moral and material interests—which a patriot should never disregard, not even out of philanthropy—then why not weigh that cause with the scale of its own value, and not with a foreign one? Have I not difficulties enough to contend with, that I am desired to increase them yet with my own hands? Father Mathew goes on preaching temperance, and he may be opposed or supported on his own ground; but whoever imagined opposition to him because, at the same time, he takes not into his hands to preach fortitude or charity? And, indeed, to oppose or to abandon the cause I plead only because I mix not with the agitation of an interior question is a greater injustice yet, because to discuss the question of foreign policy I have a right. My nation is an object of that policy. We are interested in it. But to mix with interior party movements I have no right, not being a citizen of the United States.

The third difficulty which I meet, so far as I am told, is the opposition of the commercial interest. I have the agreeable duty to say that this opposition, or, rather, indifference, is only partial. I have met several testimonials of the most generous sympathy from gentlemen of commerce. But if, upon the whole, it should be really true that there is more coolness, or even opposition, in that quarter than in others, then I may say that there is an entire misapprehension of the true commercial interests in it. I could say that it would be strange to see commerce, and chiefly the commerce of a republic, indifferent to the spread of liberal institutions. That would be a sad experience, teeming with incalculable misfortunes, reserved to the nineteenth century. Until now history has recorded that "commerce has been the most powerful locomotive of principles and the most fruitful ally of civilization, intelligence, and of liberty." It was merchants whose names are shining with immortal lustre from the most glorious pages of the golden books of Venice, Genoa, etc. Commerce, republican commerce, raised single cities to the position of mighty powers on earth, and maintained them in that proud position for centuries; and surely it was neither indifference nor opposition to republican principles by which they have thus ennobled the history of commerce and of humanity. I know full well that, since the treasures of commerce took their way into the coffers of despotism, in the shape of eternal loans, and capital began to speculate upon the oppression of nations, a great change has occurred in that respect.

But, thanks to God, the commerce of America is not engaged in that direction, hated by millions, cursed by humanity. Her commerce is still what it was in former times—the beneficent instrumentality of making mankind partake of all the

fruits and comforts of the earth and of human industry. Here it is no paper speculation upon the changes of despotism; and, therefore, if the commercial interests of republican America are considered with that foresighted sagacity, without which there is no future and no security in them, I feel entirely sure that no particular interest can be more ambitious to see absolutism checked and freedom and democratic institutions developed in Europe than the commerce of republican America. It is no question of more or less profit, it is a question of life and death to it. Commerce is the heel of Achilles, the vulnerable point of America. Thither will, thither must be aimed the first blow of victorious absolutism. The instinct of self-preservation would lead absolutism to strike that blow if its hatred and indignation would not lead to it. Air is not more indispensable to life than freedom and constitutional government in Europe to the commerce of America.

Though many things which I have seen have, upon calm reflection, induced me to raise an humble word of warning against materialism, still I believe there was more patriotic solicitude than reality in the fact that Washington and John Adams, at the head of the War Department, complained of a predominating materialism (they styled it avarice) which threatened the ruin of America. I believe that complaint would, even to-day, not be more founded than it was in the infant age of your republic. Still, if there be any motive for that complaint of your purest and best patriots—if the commerce of America would know, indeed, no better guiding star than only the momentary profit of a cargo just floating over the Atlantic—I would be even then at a loss how else to account for the indifference of the commerce of America in the cause of European liberty than by assuming that it is believed the present degraded condition of Europe may endure, if only the popular agitations are deprived of material means to disturb that which is satirically called tranquillity.

But such a supposition would, indeed, be the most obnoxious, the most dangerous fallacy. As the old philosopher, being questioned how he could prove the existence of God, answered, "By opening the eyes," just so nothing is necessary but to open the eyes in order that men of the most ordinary common-sense become aware of it, that the present condition of Europe is too unnatural, too contrary to the vital interests of the countless millions, to endure even for a short time. A crisis is inevitable. No individual influence can check it; no indifference or opposition can prevent it. Even men like myself, concentrating the expectations and confidence of oppressed millions in themselves, have only just enough power, if provided with the requisite means, to keep the current in a sound direction, so that in its inevitable eruption it may not become dangerous to social order, which is indispensable to the security of person and property, without which especially no commerce has any future at all. And that being the unsophisticated condition of the world, and a crisis being inevitable, I indeed cannot imagine how those who desire nothing but peace and tranquillity can withhold their helping hands, that the inevitable crisis should not only be kept in a sound direction, but also carried down to a happy issue, capable to prevent the world from boiling continually, like a volcano, and insuring a lasting peace and a lasting tranquillity, never possible so long as the great majority of nations are oppressed, but sure so soon as the nations are content; and content they can only be when they are free. Indeed, if reasonable logic has not yet forsaken the world, it is the men of peace, it is the men of commerce, to the support of whom I have a right to look. Others may support my cause out of generosity—these must support me out of considerate interest; others may oppose me out of egotism—American commerce, in opposing me, would commit suicide.

Gentlemen, of such narrow nature are the considerations which oppose my cause. Of equally narrow, inconsistent scope are all the rest, with the enumeration of which I will not abuse your kind indulgence. Compare with them the broad basis of noble principles upon which the commonwealth of Massachusetts took its stand in bestowing the important benefit of its support to my cause, and you cannot forbear to feel proudly that the spirit of old Massachusetts is still alive, entitled to claim that right in the councils of the united republic which it had

in the glorious days when, amid dangers, wavering resolutions, and partial despondency, Massachusetts took boldly the lead to freedom and independence.

Those men of immortal memory, who, within these very walls, lighted with the heavenly spark of their inspiration the torch of freedom in America, avowed for their object the welfare of mankind; and, when you raised the monument of Bunker Hill, it was the genius of freedom thrilling through the heart of Massachusetts which made one of your distinguished orators say that the days of your ancient glory will continue to rain influence on the destinies of mankind to the end of time. It is upon this inspiration I rely, in the name of my down-trodden country—to-day the martyr of mankind, to-morrow the battle-field of its destiny. Time draws nigh when either the influence of Americans must be felt throughout the world, or the position abandoned to which you rose with gigantic vitality out of the blood of your martyrs. I have seen the genius of those glorious days spreading its fiery wings of inspiration over the people of Massachusetts. I feel the spirit of olden times moving through Faneuil Hall. Let me leave your hearts alone with the inspiration of history. Let me bear with me the heart-strengthening conviction that I have seen Boston still a radiating sun, as it was of yore, but risen so high on mankind's sky as to spread its warming rays of elevated patriotism far over the waves. American patriotism of to-day is philanthropy for the world.

Gentlemen, I trust in God, I trust in the destinies of humanity, and intrust the hopes of oppressed Europe to the consistent energy of Massachusetts.

Koszta, MARTIN. See NATURALIZATION.

Ku-klux Klan, a political organization founded, it is generally admitted, in the State of Tennessee about the beginning of the year 1868. From the month of January to May it spread so rapidly all over the Southern States that, according to some of the best authorities, by the middle of the year the organization numbered no fewer than 500,000 men. The objects of the Klan were to oppose the enforcement of the reconstruction acts and the elevation and education of the colored race in the South, to prevent colored men from exercising the right of suffrage, to maintain the rule of the Bourbon whites in the South, and to prevent the immigration of whites into the South from the North and the introduction of Northern industries; and all this was for the alleged purpose of "redeeming the South." The organization was divided into districts in each of the Southern States; at the head of each division or district was a grand officer, who, with numerous assistants, was given power to appoint the work and duty of each man in his division; and each member was bound under the most solemn oath. Some of the devilish deeds of the murderous Klan were brought to light by the congressional investigation instituted, but no chronicle has yet appeared, nor will any ever be able, to depict the horrors of the midnight warfare upon weak and helpless negroes and their families, the outrages by men in ghostly disguises, the homes destroyed, and the general terror spread over the Southern States where colored people were most thickly settled.

The actions of the Ku-klux Klan in the South were made the subject of heated debates in Congress, and on March 21, 1871, a joint investigating committee was appointed. Two days afterwards, President Grant sent the following message to both Houses:

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*

"A condition of affairs now exists in some of the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure, and the carrying of the mails and the collection of the revenue dangerous. The proof that such a condition of affairs exists in some localities is now before the Senate. That the power to correct these evils is beyond the control of the Senate authorities, I do not doubt; that the power of the executive of the United States, acting within the limits of existing laws, is sufficient for present emergencies is not clear. Therefore, I urgently recommend such legislation as in the judgment of Congress shall effectually secure life, liberty, and property, and the enforcement of law in all parts of the United States. It may be expedient to provide that such law as shall be passed in pursuance of this recommendation shall expire at the end of the next session of Congress. There is no other subject on which I would recommend legislation during the present session.

"U. S. GRANT."

The result of the investigations was the passage by Congress of an act entitled "An act to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes," popularly known as "the Force bill," which was approved by the President April 20. This act was as follows:

"*Force bill*" *of 1871.—Be it enacted*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that any person who under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage of any State, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any person within the jurisdiction of the United States to the deprivation of any privileges or immunities secured by the Constitution of the United States, shall, any such law, statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage of the State to the contrary notwithstanding, be liable to the party injured in any action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress; such proceeding to be prosecuted in the several district or circuit courts of the United States, with and subject to the same rights of appeal, review upon error, and other remedies provided in like cases in such courts, under the provisions of the act of the ninth of April, eighteen hundred and sixty-six, entitled "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and to furnish the means of their vindication"; and the other remedial laws of the United States which are in their nature applicable in such cases.

Sec. 2. That if two or more persons within any State or Territory of the United States shall conspire together to overthrow, or to put down, or to destroy by force the government of the United States, of to levy war against the United States, or to oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States, or by force, intimidation, or threat to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take or possess any property of the United States, contrary to the authority thereof, or by force, intimidation, or threat to prevent any person from accepting or holding any office of trust or place of confidence under the United States, or from discharging the duties thereof, or by force, intimidation, or threat to induce any officer of the United States to leave any State, district, or place where his duties as such officer might lawfully be performed, or to injure him in his person or property on account of his lawful discharge of the duties of his office, or to injure his person while engaged in the lawful discharge of the duties of his office, or to injure his property so as to molest, interrupt, hinder, or impede him in the discharge of his official duty, or by force, intimidation, or threat to deter any party or witness in any court of the United States from attending such court, or from testifying in any matter pending in such court fully, freely, and truthfully, or to injure any such party or witness in his person or property on account of his having so attended or testified, or by force, intimidation, or threat to influence the verdict, presentment, or indictment, of any juror or grand-juror in any court of the United States, or to injure such juror in his person or property on account of any verdict, presentment, or indictment, lawfully assented to by him, or on account of his being or having been such juror, or shall conspire together, or go in disguise upon the public highway or upon the premises of another for the purpose, either directly or indirectly, of depriving any person or any class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges or immunities under the laws, or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State from giving or securing to all persons within such State the equal protection of the laws, or shall conspire together for the purpose of in any manner impeding, hindering, obstructing, or defeating the due course of justice in any State or Territory, with intent to deny to any citizen of the United States the due and equal protection of the laws, or to injure any person in his person or his property for lawfully enforcing the right of any person or class of persons to the equal protection of the laws, or by force, intimidation, or threat to prevent any citizen of the United States lawfully entitled to vote from giving his support or advocacy in a lawful

manner towards or in favor of the election of any lawfully qualified person as an elector of President or Vice-President of the United States, or as a member of the Congress of the United States, or to injure in any way any such citizen in his person or property on account of such support or advocacy, each and every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high crime, and, upon conviction thereof in any district or circuit court of the United States, or district or supreme court of any Territory of the United States having jurisdiction of similar offences, shall be punished by a fine not less than $500 nor more than $5,000, or by imprisonment with or without hard labor, as the court may determine, for a period of not less than six months nor more than six years, as the court may determine, or by both such fine and imprisonment as the court shall determine. And if any one or more persons engaged in any such conspiracy shall do, or cause to be done, any act in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, whereby any person shall be injured in his person or property, or be deprived of having and exercising any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, the person so injured or deprived of such rights and privileges may have and maintain an action for the recovery of damages occasioned by such injury or deprivation of rights and privileges against any one or more of the persons engaged in such conspiracy, such action to be prosecuted in the proper district or circuit court of the United States, with and subject to the same right of appeal, review upon error, and other remedies provided in like cases in such courts under the provision of the act of April ninth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and to furnish the means of their vindication."

Sec. 3. That in all cases where insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State shall so obstruct or hinder the execution of the laws thereof, and of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities, or protection, named in the Constitution and secured by this act, and the constituted authorities of such State shall either be unable to protect, or shall, from any cause, fail in or refuse protection of the people in such rights, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and in all such cases, or whenever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy shall oppose or obstruct the laws of the United States or the due execution thereof, or impede or obstruct the due course of justice under the same, it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty, to take such measures, by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means, as he may deem necessary for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combinations; and any person who shall be arrested under the provision of this and the preceding section shall be delivered to the marshal of the proper district, to be dealt with according to law.

Sec. 4. That whenever in any State or part of a State the unlawful combinations named in the preceding section of this act shall be organized and armed, and so numerous and powerful as to be able, by violence, to either overthrow or set at defiance the constituted authorities of such State and of the United States within such State, or when the constituted authorities are in complicity with, or shall connive at the unlawful purposes of, such powerful and armed combinations; and whenever, by reason of either or all of the causes aforesaid, the conviction of such offenders and the preservation of the public safety shall become in such district impracticable, in every such case such combinations shall be deemed a rebellion against the government of the United States, and during the continuance of such rebellion, and within the limits of the district which shall be so under the sway thereof, such limits to be prescribed by proclamation, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, when in his judgment the public safety shall require it, to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*, to the end that such rebellion may be overthrown: *Pro-*

vided, that all the provisions of the second section of an act entitled "An act relating to *habeas corpus* and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases," approved March third, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, which relate to the discharge of prisoners other than prisoners of war, and to the penalty for refusing to obey the order of the court, shall be in full force so far as the same are applicable to the provisions of this section: *Provided further*, that the President shall first have made proclamation, as now provided by law, commanding such insurgents to disperse. *And provided also*, that the provisions of this section shall not be in force after the end of the next regular session of Congress.

Sec. 5. That no person shall be a grand or petit juror in any court of the United States upon any inquiry, hearing, or trial of any suit, proceeding, or prosecution based upon or arising under the provisions of this act who shall, in the judgment of the court, be in complicity with any such combination or conspiracy; and every such juror shall, before entering upon any such inquiry, hearing, or trial, take and subscribe an oath in open court that he has never, directly or indirectly, counselled, advised, or voluntarily aided any such combination or conspiracy; and each and every person who shall take this oath, and shall therein swear falsely, shall be guilty of perjury, and shall be subject to the pains and penalties declared against that crime, and the first section of the act entitled "An act defining additional causes of challenge and prescribing an additional oath for grand and petit jurors in the United States courts," approved June seventeenth, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Sec. 6. That any person or persons having knowledge that any of the wrongs conspired to be done and mentioned in the second section of this act are about to be committed, and having power to prevent, or aid in preventing, the same, shall neglect or refuse so to do, and such wrongful act shall be committed, such person or persons shall be liable to the person injured, or his legal representatives, for all damages caused by any such wrongful act which such first-named person or persons, by reasonable diligence, could have prevented; and such damages may be recovered in an action on the case in the proper circuit court of the United States, and any number of persons guilty of such wrongful neglect or refusal may be joined as defendants in such action: *Provided*, that such action shall be commenced within one year after such cause of action shall have accrued; and if the death of any person shall be caused by any such wrongful act and neglect, the legal representatives of such deceased person shall have such action therefor, and may recover not exceeding five thousand dollars damages therein, for the benefit of the widow of such deceased person, if any there be, or if there be no widow, for the benefit of the next of kin of such deceased person.

Sec. 7. That nothing herein contained shall be construed to supersede or repeal any former act or law, except so far as the same may be repugnant thereto; and any offences heretofore committed against the tenor of any former act shall be prosecuted, and any proceeding already commenced for the prosecution thereof shall be continued and completed, the same as if this act had not been passed, except so far as the provisions of this act may go to sustain and validate such proceedings.

Approved, April 20, 1871.

In October following President Grant issued a proclamation calling on the members of illegal associations in nine counties in South Carolina to disperse and surrender their arms and disguises within five days. Five days afterwards another proclamation was issued suspending the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* in the counties named. Over 200 persons were arrested within a few days, and the organization of the Ku-klux Klan was practically overthrown by the middle of the following January.

Kunz, George Frederick, gem expert; born in New York City, Sept. 29, 1856; was educated in public schools and at Cooper Union. In 1883 he was appointed special agent of the United States Geological Survey. He had charge of the department of mines in the Paris Exposition of 1889, in the Kimberley Exposition of 1892, and in the World's Colum-

bian Exposition of 1893, and was honorary special agent of mines in the Atlanta Exposition of 1895, and in the Omaha Exposition of 1898. He made a special investigation of the occurrence of American pearls for the United States Fish Commission, in 1892–98, and was an honorary special agent to the commissioner-general of the United States to the Paris Exposition of 1900. In 1889 he was decorated by the French government *officier de l'Académie*. Since his appointment to the United States Geological Survey he has contributed the chapter on *The Production of Precious Stones* to the annual report on *Mineral Resources*.

Kyle, JAMES HENDERSON, statesman; born in Xenia, O., Jan. 24, 1854; graduated at Oberlin College in 1878; removed to South Dakota in 1890; member of the State Senate, 1890; United States Senator, 1891; re-elected, 1897. He was a leader in the FARMERS' ALLIANCE and POPULIST PARTIES (*q. v.*). He died in Aberdeen, S. D., July 1, 1901.

L.

Labor, Industrial. Organizations of laboring men for mutual protection and the advancement of their common interests are by no means new or peculiar to the United States. Tradesmen's guilds and societies were common in London several centuries ago; but it was not until 1870 that such organizations began to be formidable and to have a national influence. The first trades-union in this country was established by the tailors in 1803. The first local union of printers was organized in 1831. The first organized movement against the employment of convict labor was made in a convention of mechanics in Utica, N. Y., in 1834. In 1845 the first industrial congress had a meeting in New York. From that time the progress of the labor movement, although at first imperceptibly slow, was assured. In 1869 a secret association of workingmen, known as the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*), was organized at Philadelphia. Within a few years this association had its branches in every State of the Union, and enrolled many thousands of members. Many efforts were made at different times to effect a political organization of workingmen, but owing to dissensions and differences of opinion among those engaged in these movements, very little was accomplished save indirectly through the influence brought to bear upon the great political parties already in power.

In 1888 a department of labor was created by act of Congress, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. This department is under the control of a commissioner of labor, whose duty it is "to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labor, in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and especially upon its relation to capital; the hours of labor; the earnings of laboring men and women; and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity." He is also especially charged, in accordance with the general design and duties prescribed by the law, "at as early a date as possible, and whenever industrial changes shall make it essential, to ascertain the cost of producing articles, at the time dutiable in the United States, in leading countries where such articles are produced, by fully specified units of production, and under a classification showing the different elements of cost of such articles of production, including wages paid in such industries," etc. Besides the national Department of Labor, there are bureaus of statistics and labor in nearly all of the States, the principal objects of which are to collect and disseminate information on all matters of practical interest and value both to employers and employed. In 1886 most of the trades-unions in the United States, through their representatives in a convention at Columbus, O., united in a national organization called the American Federation of Labor. In 1903 this organization comprised 1,823 local unions, with a total membership of 2,100,000, and embraced more than seventy different trades.

Labor Legislation.—The following States have adopted laws prohibiting *boycotting* in terms: Colorado, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

The States and Territories having laws prohibiting *blacklisting* in terms are Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The following States and Territories have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting *boycotting:* Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon,

South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

The following States and Territories have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting *blacklisting:* Georgia, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, and South Dakota.

In the following States it is unlawful for any employer to exact an agreement either written or verbal, from an employé not to join or become a member of any labor organization, as a condition of employment: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

The following is a summary of the laws of those States that have adopted the eight-hour work-limit:

California.—Eight hours of labor constitute a day's work, unless it is otherwise expressly stipulated by the parties to a contract. The time of service of all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed upon any public works of, or done for, the State, or for any political subdivision thereof, whether the work is to be done by contract or otherwise, is limited and restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day, and a stipulation that no workman, laborer, or mechanic in the employ of the contractor or sub-contractor shall be required or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency, shall be contained in every contract to which the State or any political sub-division thereof is a party. In the case of drivers, conductors, and gripmen of street-cars for the carriage of passengers, a day's work consists of twelve hours. Employment of minor children for more than eight hours per day is absolutely prohibited, except in vinicultural or horticultural pursuits, or in domestic or household occupations.

Colorado.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all workmen employed by the State, or any county, township, school district, municipality, or incorporated town.

Connecticut.—Eight hours of labor constitute a lawful day's work unless otherwise agreed.

District of Columbia.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all laborers or mechanics employed by or on behalf of the District of Columbia.

Idaho.—Eight hours' actual work constitute a lawful day's work on all State, county, and municipal works.

Illinois.—Eight hours are a legal day's work in all mechanical employments, except on farms, and when otherwise agreed; does not apply to service by the day, week, or month, or prevent contracts for longer hours.

Indiana.—Eight hours of labor constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, workingmen, and laborers, excepting those engaged in agricultural and domestic labor. Overwork by agreement and for extra compensation is permitted. The employment of persons under fourteen years of age for more than eight hours per day is absolutely prohibited.

Kansas.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all laborers, mechanics, or other persons employed by or on behalf of the State or any county, city, township, or other municipality.

Massachusetts.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by or on behalf of any city or town in the Commonwealth.

Missouri.—Eight hours constitute a legal day's work. The law does not prevent an agreement to work for a longer or a shorter time and does not apply to laborers and farm-hands in the service of farmers or others engaged in agriculture.

Montana.—Eight hours constitute a legal day's work for persons engaged to operate or handle any first-motion or direct-acting hoisting engine, or any geared or indirect-acting hoisting engine at any mine employing fifteen or more men underground when the duties of firemen are performed by the persons so engaged; also for any stationary engineer operating a stationary engine developing fifty or more horse-power when such engineer has charge or control of a boiler or boilers in addition to his other duties. The law applies only to such steam plants as are in continuous operation or are operated twenty or more hours in each twenty-four hours, and does not apply to persons running any engine more than eight hours in each twenty-four for the purpose of

relieving another employé in case of sickness or other unforeseen cause.

Nebraska.—Eight hours constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, servants, and laborers, except those engaged in farm or domestic labor.

New Jersey.—Eight hours constitute a day's labor on any day whereon any general or municipal election shall be held.

New York.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all classes of employés except in farm or domestic labor. Overwork for extra pay is permitted, except upon work by or for the State or a municipal corporation, or by contractors or subcontractors therewith. The law applies to those employed by the State or municipality, or by persons contracting for State work, and each contract to which the State or a municipal corporation is a party shall contain a stipulation that no workman, laborer, or mechanic in the employ of the contractor, sub-contractor, etc., shall be permitted or required to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency.

Ohio.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work in all engagements to labor in any mechanical, manufacturing, or mining business, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. But in case of conductors, engineers, firemen, or trainmen of railroads, a day's work consists of ten hours.

Pennsylvania.—Eight hours of labor shall be deemed and held to be a legal day's work in all cases of labor and service by the day where there is no agreement or contract to the contrary. This does not apply to farm or agricultural labor by the year, month, or week, to labor in factories, laundries, and renovating establishments, or to labor on street railways.

Eight hours out of the twenty-four shall make and constitute a day's labor in penitentiaries and reformatory institutions receiving support from the State; also for all mechanics, workmen, and laborers in the employ of the State, or of any municipal corporation therein, or otherwise engaged on public works; this shall be deemed to apply to mechanics, workingmen, or laborers in the employ of persons contracting with the State or any municipal corporation therein, for the performance of public work.

Tennessee.—Eight hours shall be a day's work upon the highways, whether performed by convicts or free road hands.

Utah.—Eight hours constitute a day's work upon all public works and in all underground mines or workings, smelters, and all other institutions for the reduction or refining of ores.

Washington.—Eight hours in any calendar day shall constitute a day's work, or any work done for the State, county, or municipality. In cases of extraordinary emergency, overtime may be worked for extra pay.

West Virginia.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics who may be employed by or on behalf of the State.

Wisconsin.—In all engagements to labor in any manufacturing or mechanical business, where there is no express contract to the contrary, a day's work shall consist of eight hours; but the law does not apply to contracts for labor by the week, month, or year. In all manufactories, workshops, or other places used for mechanical or manufacturing purposes, the time of labor of children under the age of eighteen, and of women, shall not exceed eight hours in the day.

Wyoming.—Eight hours' actual work constitute a legal day's work in all mines and public works.

United States.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics who may be employed by or on behalf of the United States. See AMERICAN NATIONAL ARBITRATION BOARD.

La Borde, MAXIMILIAN, educator; born in Edgefield, S. C., June 5, 1804; graduated at the South Carolina College in 1821, and began the study of law, but soon abandoned it and entered the South Carolina Medical College, graduating in 1826. For thirteen years he practised in Edgefield, occasionally representing his district in the legislature. In 1836 he was editor of the Edgefield *Advertiser*, and two years later he was elected secretary of state of South Carolina. His fine scholarship attracted public attention, and in 1842 he was called to the chair of logic and belles-lettres in his *alma mater*. He accepted the post,

and in 1845 he was transferred to the chair of metaphysics. His method of imparting knowledge was chiefly oral, but, to assist others who preferred the use of text-books, he published a manual on physiology in 1855, which became very popular in the schools of the South. He also published an elaborate *History of the South Carolina College, with Sketches of its Presidents and Professors.* He died in Columbia, S. C., Nov. 6, 1873.

Laboulaye, Édouard René Lefebvre, author; born in Paris, France, Jan. 18, 1811; became a lawyer in 1842, and practised in his native city. Later he became a prominent educator in France. He greatly admired the Constitution of the United States, and during the Civil War advocated the cause of the North. His works relating to the United States include *Political History of the United States; The United States and France; Paris in America; and Memoirs of Franklin.* He died in Paris, May 25, 1883.

La Cadie. See Acadia.

Lacey, John, military officer; born in Bucks county, Pa., Feb. 4, 1755; was of Quaker descent, but patriotically took command of a volunteer company, and became a captain in Wayne's regiment, with which he served in Canada. Becoming a lieutenant-colonel of militia, he joined Potter's brigade at Whitemarsh, with about 400 men. Before he was twenty-three years old he was made a brigadier-general, and was engaged in harassing duty while the British had command of Philadelphia. After the evacuation of that city by the British, he left military life and became active in the civil service of his State, being a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1778, and of the council in 1779. He again entered the military service, and from August, 1780, to October, 1781, was active at the head of a brigade of militia. Removing to New Jersey, he was for many years a county judge, and a member of the legislature. He died in New Mills, N. J., Feb. 17, 1814.

La Colle Mill, Battle at. In the winter of 1813–14 an American force under General Wilkinson was encamped at French Mills (afterwards Fort Covington) in Franklin county, N. Y. Early in 1814 a large portion of this force was withdrawn. A part were marched to Plattsburg. Soon afterwards, Feb. 28, a party of British soldiers advanced and destroyed some stores which the Americans had left behind. This invasion alarmed the whole frontier. Late in March

LA COLLE MILL AND BLOCK-HOUSE.

General Wilkinson attempted another invasion of Canada. He advanced up the western shore of Lake Champlain to the Canada frontier (March 30, 1814) with about 4,000 picked men. They soon encountered British pickets, and drove them back. In the afternoon the Americans came in sight of La Colle Mill, a heavy stone structure, its windows barricaded with timbers, through which were loopholes for musketry. The British garrison at the mill consisted of only about 200 regulars, under Major Hancock. The advance of Wilkinson's troops was commanded by Col. Isaac Clark and Major Forsyth. The artillery was under Captain McPherson, and the reserves were commanded by Gen. Alexander Macomb. Following Clark and Forsyth was Colonel Miller's regiment of 600 men. Aware that reinforcements for the British were near, Wilkinson ordered an immediate attack. The fire upon the stone citadel was harmless, while the whole American line was exposed to a galling fire. For a while the fight was desperate, when Major Hancock made a sortie from the mill, and after a furious contest they were driven back. Reinforcements came to the garrison, and after a conflict of two hours Wilkinson was compelled to withdraw and abandon the invasion of Canada.

Laconia, the name given by Gorges and Mason to the portion of New England granted to them, extending from the Merrimac to the Kennebec, and from the ocean to the St. Lawrence. The proprietors induced several merchants to join them in their adventure, and sent out a colony of fishermen, a part of whom settled at the mouth of the Piscataqua, now Portsmouth, N. H. Others settled on the site of Dover, 8 miles farther up the river. The Laconia Company did not prosper, and the towns were little more than fishing-stations. See NEW HAMPSHIRE.

La Corne, PIERRE, CHEVALIER DE, military officer; was active in Canada from 1720 to 1759, and had great influence over the Indians in connection with the Jesuit missionaries. His intimate knowledge of the Indian language gave him great power, and he was one of the most formidable enemies of the English in Nova Scotia.

Lacrosse. There is no doubt that this game is of Indian origin. It was first seen by Europeans when the French explored the territory along the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, in the seventeenth century. Among the Algonquian Indians the game was not merely a recreation, but a training school for young warriors, and they played it on the grassy meadows in the summer time and on the ice in winter. They used a ball of stuffed skin, and a bat like a hickory stick with a net of reindeer hide attached to the curved part of it. The best-known Indian name of the game was baggataway. Its present name was given to it by the French settlers of Canada, because of the similarity of the stick used in the game, in shape, to a bishop's crosier. Lacrosse was adopted as a game by the white residents of Canada about 1830, but it did not gain much popularity till about 1860, when the Montreal Lacrosse Club was organized. The game was first played in England in 1867, when a gentleman of Montreal took eighteen Indian players, of the Caughnawaga tribe, thither, who played it before large assemblies. The result was the organization of a number of lacrosse clubs in England and Scotland, and the game is now very popular there. It was first introduced into the United States about three years later, and the first club in this country was the Mohawk Lacrosse Club, of Troy, N. Y. In 1879 the National Lacrosse Association was organized here. In play there are twenty-four contestants, twelve on each side, with the captains (not necessarily players), two umpires and a referee. The twenty-four players are each provided with a crosse. The two captains are not allowed to carry a crosse, their official work on the field being simply to "coach" the players. At each end of the field of play stands a goal, consisting of two posts, six feet high and six feet apart. These goals must be at least 125 yards apart, otherwise there is no restrictive rule on the length or width of the field. The Indians used a much larger field than any used in the game as adopted by white ball-players. The ball, which is of rubber, should weigh not over four ounces nor measure more than eight inches in circumference. The theory of the game is merely that each side strives to send the ball through the goal of the other side, and the side

that does this the most times within a specified period wins the match. The players on each side stand to certain fixed points. The ball must not be handled in any way; it must be picked up, carried, and thrown only by means of the crosse. This implement, as now used, is a bent stick covered with netting. As before indicated, the game has become very popular in the United States, and as an evidence of the skill which American players have attained in it, it may be stated that, on May 22, 1900, a student team of Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J., defeated by a score of 6 to 4 the champion Canadian team of full-blooded Iroquois Indians.

Ladd, George Trumbull, educator; born in Painesville, O., Jan. 19, 1842; graduated at Western Reserve College and, in 1869, at Andover Theological Seminary, where he lectured on Church polity and systematic theology in 1879–81. In the latter year he became Professor of Philosophy at Yale University. He has also lectured several times at Harvard University. In 1892 he went to Japan and lectured on philosophy; and in 1899 he again visited that country to induce Japanese students to come to the United States. His publications include *Principles of Church Polity; Doctrine of Sacred Scripture; What is the Bible? Elements of Physiological Psychology; Introduction to Philosophy; Primer of Psychology; Philosophy of Mind; Philosophy of Knowledge; Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory; Outlines of Descriptive Psychology; Essays on the Higher Education,* etc.

Ladd, Horatio Oliver, clergyman; born in Hallowell, Me., Aug. 31, 1839; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1859, and at Yale Theological School in 1863. He established the University of New Mexico in 1881; was its president till 1899; and was a Congregational clergyman till 1891, when he entered the Protestant Episcopal Church. His publications include *The War with Mexico; The Story of New Mexico; Ramona Days,* etc.

Ladd, William, philanthropist; born in Exeter, N. H., May 10, 1778; graduated at Harvard in 1797; became an active champion of peace and took a conspicuous part in organizing the American Peace Society, of which he was for many years president. He wrote many essays in favor of peace, and edited the *Friend of Peace* and *Harbinger of Peace* newspapers, devoted to the cause. He went so far as to deny the right to maintain defensive war. He died in Portsmouth, N. H., April 9, 1841.

Ladue, Joseph, miner; born in Plattsburg, N. Y., in 1854. When twenty years old he went West, where he engaged in mining, becoming an expert. Subsequently he went to Alaska, and after remaining there about fifteen years discovered the Klondike gold-fields, which soon became famous all over the world. On June 23, 1897, he mapped out and founded Dawson City, at the mouth of the Klondike River, on land which he had purchased from the government for $1.25 an acre. He was also the organizer of the Joseph Ladue Gold Mining and Development Company, one of the largest in that line. He died in Schuyler Falls, N. Y., June 26, 1901.

La Farge, John, artist; born in New York, March 31, 1835; took a course in architectural decoration, and then, under Couture and William M. Hunt, studied painting. He began his career by decorative work and by painting religious subjects; devoting his early years principally to painting flowers and landscapes and to illustrating magazines and books. He next took up mural painting, nearly all of which was of a religious character. Later he devoted his whole time to the making of stained glass windows, for which he invented the method known as "American" in Europe. This method entirely changed the old process of the glass stainer. His work in this line has been done principally in churches and residences in New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, and other cities, and probably his most notable achievements are the *Battle Window* in the Harvard Memorial Hall, and the *Ames Memorial Window,* in Easton, Mass. He became a member of the National Academy of Design in 1869, and in 1900 was president of the Society of American Artists. He is author of *Lectures on Art; Letters from Japan,* etc.

Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert Motier, Marquis de, patriot; born in Cavanac, Auvergne, France, Sept. 6, 1757. Left an heir to an immense estate at the age of thirteen years, he received the best education that could be obtained, and at sixteen married a granddaughter of the Duke de Noailles. He entered the army as a captain of dragoons, and in the summer of 1776 he heard of the struggles of the English-American colonies. He immediately resolved to aid them. When he and other French officers were ready to embark for America (1777), he was informed that the credit of the Continental Congress was so low that it could not furnish them a transport. The young enthusiast replied, "Then I will purchase one myself." He bought and secretly freighted a vessel, named the *Victory,* to carry himself, the veteran Baron de Kalb, and ten or twelve other French officers across the Atlantic. While the vessel was in preparation for sailing, he made a visit to England, where he was invited to visit the navy-yards. Too honorable to inspect the armaments of a people whose armies he was about to fight against, he declined, but thought it a good joke to be introduced to their King. He was then only nineteen years of age. The *Victory* sailed first to a Spanish port, where Lafayette received orders from the King to give up his expedition; but he disobeyed, and sailed for America. The women of Paris applauded his heroism; the Queen gave him tokens of her admiration; the people extolled him for his strong enthusiasm in a good cause; and to his young wife, who was about to become a mother a second time, he wrote from the *Victory:* "From love to me, become a good American; the welfare of America is closely bound up with the welfare of mankind."

The party landed near Georgetown, S. C., April 19, 1777. They travelled by land to Philadelphia, where Lafayette immediately addressed a letter to Congress, asking leave to serve as a volunteer in the Continental army without pay. In consideration of his zeal and illustrious family and connections, that body gave him the commission of major-general, July 31, and Washington invited him to become a member of his military family. He joined the Continental army near a house on Neshaminy Creek in August. At that time he was less than twenty years of age. From that time until the close of the Revolution he was the bosom friend of the commander-in-chief and the untiring and effective champion of the patriot cause in the field and at the Court of his native country. He was ever ready to defend the honor of the Americans.

LAFAYETTE IN 1777 (From a French print).

To restrain British foragers and marauders, who were plundering the country for some distance around Philadelphia in the spring of 1778, Washington sent him out from Valley Forge, with about 2,100 men and five pieces of artillery, to cut off all communication between Philadelphia

and the country, and to obtain information concerning a rumored intention of the British to evacuate that city. Lafayette crossed the Schuylkill, and took post at Barren Hill, about half-way between Valley Forge and Philadelphia, occupying the Lutheran church there as headquarters. General Howe sent General Grant to make a secret night march to gain the rear of the marquis (May 20), and the next morning Howe marched with about 6,000 men, commanded by Clinton and Knyphausen, to capture the young Frenchman and send him to England. The marquis outgeneralled the British, though they surprised him, and escaped across the Schuylkill. Howe was disappointed, for he was about to depart for England under a partial cloud of ministerial displeasure, and he hoped to close his career in America by some brilliant act.

LAFAYETTE'S HEADQUARTERS NEAR CHADD'S FORD.

After a short winter passage from Boston to Brest, in February, 1779, Lafayette joined his family and friends in his native land. His offence in sailing for America in defiance of the King's command was atoned for by a week's exile to Paris, and confinement in the house of his father-in-law. He was then received at Versailles, when the King gently reprimanded him, while the Queen eagerly sought information concerning America from his own lips. His fame made him the admired of Court society as well as of the populace of the French capital. The young marquis observed with alarm that everybody was talking of peace, while America was struggling with armed champions of royalty, and he felt that the independence of the colonies was in peril. With great earnestness he pleaded for aid for the Americans, and was successful.

In 1784 he again visited the United States, and was everywhere received with tokens of affection and respect. He became a member of the Notables at Paris in 1787, when he boldly demanded the convocation of the States-General, consisting of three orders—namely, the clergy, nobility, and commons—representatives of the whole nation. They had not met since 1614, a period of 173 years. The King (Louis XVI.) convened them on May 6, 1789. There were 308 ecclesiastics, 285 nobles, and 621 deputies of the third estate, or the "common people." In July Lafayette was appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guard. When the abolition of titles was decreed, he dropped his, and was known only as General Lafayette. He resigned his command in 1790, and in 1792 commanded one of the armies sent to guard the frontiers of France against the forces of monarchs alarmed by the republican demonstrations in France. When the fierce Jacobins seized power the conservative Lafayette was denounced and his arrest decreed. He crossed the frontier, intending to take refuge in Holland. The Austrians seized

LUTHERAN CHURCH, BARREN HILL, LAFAYETTE'S HEADQUARTERS.

him, and confined him in a dungeon five years. For a long time no intelligence of him reached his friends. Meanwhile his wife had been imprisoned at Paris during the "Reign of Terror," but had been set at liberty on the downfall of Robespierre. She hastened to Vienna, obtained a personal interview with the Emperor, and gained permission to share the captivity of her husband. Great exertions were made in Europe and America to obtain his release, but in vain, until Bonaparte, at the head of an army, demanded his release. He was set at liberty Aug. 25, 1797. Towards the end of 1799 he returned to his estate of La Grange, 40 miles from Paris. Bonaparte tried to bribe him with offered honors to enter public life again as senator. He refused with disdain; and when the vote for making Bonaparte first consul for life was taken, Lafayette voted *no*, and told the ambitious general so in a letter, which ended their intercourse. When Bonaparte became Emperor, Lafayette took a seat in the Chamber of Deputies; and this stanch champion of constitutional government refused the offered bauble of a peerage. After the battle of Waterloo, touched with sympathy for the fallen monarch, he offered him facilities for escaping to America; but the Emperor, who could not forgive Lafayette's former opposition, refused to accept the offer, and became a prisoner on St. Helena. In the French legislature Lafayette's voice was always in favor of liberal measures. In 1824 the Congress of the United States requested President Monroe to invite Lafayette to America as a guest of the republic. He came, but declined the offer of a ship. With his son and a private secretary he landed in New York, Aug. 15, 1824, visited in succession the whole twenty-four States, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of love and respect.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE. (After a painting by Peale.)

Between Washington and Lafayette there had grown up a strong mutual affection during their intercourse in the scenes of the old war for independence. When at the seat of government in October, 1824, while on his visit to the United States, the marquis was conducted to Mount Vernon by George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington, with whom George W. Lafayette had lived in the mansion of the great patriot while Lafayette was an exile from France and in a prison. He was conveyed from the capital in a

barge, accompanied by his son; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and Mr. Custis; and at the shore at Mount Vernon he was received by Lawrence Lewis, Washington's favorite nephew, and the family of Judge Bushrod Washington, who was then absent on official business. After visiting the mansion, where, forty years before, he took his last leave of the beloved patriot, the company proceeded to ton's hair. He received it with emotion. The door of the vault was opened, and there were displayed the leaden caskets which contained the coffins of Washington and his wife, decorated with flowers. Lafayette entered, kissed the casket, and reverently retired. Lafayette spent fourteen months in America. He visited Andrew Jackson at the "Hermitage," and on his return to Washington his sixty-eighth birth-

LAFAYETTE AT THE HERMITAGE.

the tomb (the old one, on the brow of the hill), where Custis presented the marquis with a ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. He received it with emotion. The door of the vault was opened, and there were displayed the leaden caskets which contained the coffins of Washington and his wife, decorated with flowers. Lafayette entered, kissed the casket, and reverently retired. Lafayette spent fourteen months in America. He visited Andrew Jackson at the "Hermitage," and on his return to Washington his sixty-eighth birthday was celebrated at the White House. He sailed for Europe Sept. 7, 1825, in the frigate *Brandywine*.

During the revolution of 1830, that drove Charles X. from the throne, Lafayette was made commander-in-chief of the National Guard. He sacrificed his own republican preferences for the sake of peace and order, and placed Louis Philippe on the throne. He died the acknowledged chief of the constitutional party on the continent of Europe, May 20, 1834. He received a magnificent public funeral, when his remains were conveyed to their resting-place in the cemetery of Picpus. The monument is about 8 feet square, with appropriate inscriptions in French. The cross seen in the picture stands over the grave of another.

LAFAYETTE'S TOMB.

The American Revolution.—The following is Lafayette's narrative of his service with the American army during the Revolutionary War, from his *Memoirs:*

You ask me at what period I first experienced my ardent love of liberty and glory? I recollect no time of my life anterior to my enthusiasm for anecdotes of glorious deeds, and to my projects of travelling over the world to acquire fame. At eight years of age, my heart beat when I heard of an hyena that had done some injury, and caused still more alarm, in our neighborhood, and the hope of meeting it was the object of all my walks. When I arrived at college, nothing ever interrupted my studies, except my ardent wish of studying without restraint. I never deserved to be chastised, but, in spite of my usual gentleness, it would have been dangerous to have attempted to do so; and I recollect with pleasure that, when I was to describe in rhetoric a perfect courser, I sacrificed the hope of obtaining a premium, and described the one who, on perceiving the whip, threw down his rider. Republican anecdotes always delighted me; and, when my new connections wished to obtain for me a place at Court, I did not hesitate displeasing them to preserve my independence. I was in that frame of mind when I first learned the troubles in America: they only became thoroughly known in Europe in 1776, and the memorable declaration of the 4th of July reached France at the close of that same year.

After having crowned herself with laurels and enriched herself with conquests, after having become mistress of all seas, and after having insulted all nations, England had turned her pride against her own colonies. North America had long been displeasing to her: she wished to add new vexations to former injuries, and to destroy the most sacred privileges. The Americans, attached to the mother-country, contented themselves at first with merely uttering complaints. They only accused the ministry, and the whole nation rose up against them. They were termed insolent and rebellious, and at length declared the enemies of their country: thus did the obstinacy of the King, the violence of the ministers, and the arrogance of the English nation oblige thirteen of their colonies to render themselves independent. Such a glorious cause had never before attracted the attention of mankind: it was the last struggle of Liberty; and had she then been vanquished, neither hope nor asylum would have remained for her. The oppressors and oppressed were to receive a powerful lesson; the great work was to be accomplished, or the rights of humanity were to fall beneath its ruin. The destiny of France and that of her rival were to be decided at the same moment: England was to

lose, with the new States, an important commerce, of which she derived the sole advantage, one-quarter of her subjects, who were constantly augmenting by a rapid increase of population and by emigration from all parts of Europe—in a word, more than half of the most beautiful portion of the British territory. But, if she retained possession of her thirteen colonies, all was ended for our West Indies, our possessions in Asia and Africa, our maritime commerce, and consequently our navy and our political existence.

DESIGN ON THE HILT OF LAFAYETTE'S SWORD.

(1776.) When I first learned the subject of this quarrel, my heart espoused warmly the cause of liberty, and I thought of nothing but of adding also the aid of my banner. Some circumstances, which it would be needless to relate, had taught me to expect only obstacles in this case from my own family: I depended, therefore, solely upon myself; and I ventured to adopt for a device on my arms these words, "*Cur non?*" that they might equally serve as an encouragement to myself, and as a reply to others. Silas Deane was then at Paris; but the ministers feared to receive him, and his voice was overpowered by the louder accents of Lord Stormont. He despatched privately to America some old arms, which were of little use, and some young officers, who did but little good, the whole directed by M. de Beaumarchais; and, when the English ambassador spoke to our Court, it denied having sent any cargoes, ordered those that were preparing to be discharged, and dismissed from our ports all American privateers. While wishing to address myself in a direct manner to Mr. Deane, I became the friend of Kalb, a German in our employ, who was applying for service with the *insurgents* (the expression in use at the time), and who became my interpreter. He was the person sent by M. de Choiseul to examine the English colonies; and on his return he received some money, but never succeeded in obtaining an audience, so little did that minister in reality think of the revolution whose retrograde movements some persons have inscribed to him! When I presented to Mr. Deane my boyish face (for I was scarcely nineteen years of age), I spoke more of my ardor in the cause than of my experience; but I dwelt much upon the effect my departure would excite in France, and he signed our mutual agreement. The secrecy with which this negotiation and my preparations were made appears almost a miracle: family, friends, ministers, French spies and English spies, all were kept completely in the dark as to my intentions. Among my discreet confidants, I owe much to M. du Boismartin, secretary of the Count de Broglie, and to the Count de Broglie himself, whose affectionate heart, when all his efforts to turn me from this proj-

ect had proved in vain, entered into my views with even paternal tenderness.

Preparations were making to send a vessel to America, when very bad tidings arrived from thence. New York, Long Island, White Plains, Fort Washington, and the Jerseys had seen the American forces successively destroyed by 33,000 Englishmen or Germans. Three thousand Americans alone remained in arms, and these were closely pursued by General Howe. From that moment all the credit of the insurgents vanished: to obtain a vessel for them was impossible. The envoys themselves thought it right to express to me their own discouragement, and persuade me to abandon my project. I called upon Mr. Deane, and I thanked him for his frankness. "Until now, sir," said I, "you have only seen my ardor in your cause, and that may not prove at present wholly useless. I shall purchase a ship to carry out your officers. We must feel confidence in the future, and it is especially in the hour of danger that I wish to share your fortune." My project was received with approbation; but it was necessary afterwards to find money, and to purchase and arm a vessel secretly: all this was accomplished with the greatest despatch.

The period was, however, approaching, which had been long fixed, for my taking a journey to England. I could not refuse to go without risking the discovery of my secret, and by consenting to take this journey I knew I could better conceal my preparations for a greater one. This last measure was also thought most expedient by MM. Franklin and Deane, for the doctor himself was then in France; and, although I did not venture to go to his home, for fear of being seen, I corresponded with him through M. Carmichael, an American less generally known. I arrived in London with M. de Poix; and I first paid my respects to Bancroft, the American, and afterwards to his British Majesty. A youth of nineteen may be, perhaps too fond of playing a trick upon the King he is going to fight with, of dancing at the house of Lord Germain, minister for the English colonies, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York, and of seeing at the opera that Clinton whom he was afterwards to meet at Monmouth. But, while I concealed my intentions, I openly avowed my sentiments. I often defended the Americans; I rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and my spirit of opposition obtained for me an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelbourne. I refused the offers made me to visit the seaports, the vessels fitting out against the

OBVERSE SIDE OF DESIGN.

rebels, and everything that might be construed into an abuse of confidence. At the end of three weeks, when it became necessary for me to return home, while refusing my uncle, the ambassador, to ac-

company him to Court, I confided to him my strong desire to take a trip to Paris. He proposed saying that I was ill during my absence. I should not have made use of this stratagem myself, but I did not object to his doing so.

After having suffered dreadfully in the channel, and being reminded, as a consolation, how very short the voyage would be, I arrived at M. de Kalb's house in Paris, concealed myself three days at Chaillot, saw a few of my friends and some Americans, and set out for Bordeaux, where I was for some time unexpectedly delayed. I took advantage of that delay to send to Paris, from whence the intelligence I received was by no means encouraging; but, as my messenger was followed on the road by one from the government, I lost not a moment in setting sail, and the orders of my sovereign were only able to overtake me at Passage, a Spanish port, at which we stopped on our way. The letters from my own family were extremely violent, and those from the government were peremptory. I was forbidden to proceed to the American continent under the penalty of disobedience; I was enjoined to repair instantly to Marseilles, and await there further orders.* A sufficient number of commentaries were not wanting upon the consequences of such an anathema, the laws of the state, and the power and displeasure of the government; but the grief of his wife, who was pregnant, and the thoughts of his family and friends, had far more effect upon M. de Lafayette. As his vessel could no longer be stopped, he returned to Bordeaux to enter into a justification of his own conduct; and, in a declaration to M. de Fumel, he took upon himself all the consequences of his present evasion. As the Court did not deign to relax in its determination, he wrote to M. de Maurepas that that silence was a tacit consent, and his own departure took place soon after that joking despatch. After having set out on the road to Marseilles, he retraced his steps, and, disguised as a courier, he had almost escaped all danger, when, at Saint Jean de Luz, a young girl recognized him; but a sign from him silenced her, and her adroit fidelity turned away all suspicion. It was thus that M. de Lafayette rejoined his ship, April 26, 1777; and on that same day, after six months' anxiety and labor, he set sail for the American continent.

(1777.) As soon as M. de Lafayette had recovered from the effects of seasickness, he studied the language and trade he was adopting. A heavy ship, two bad cannon, and some guns could not have escaped from the smallest privateer. In his present situation, he resolved rather to blow up the vessel than to surrender. He concerted measures to achieve this end with a brave Dutchman named Bedaulx, whose sole alternative, if taken, would have been the gibbet. The captain insisted upon stopping at the islands; but government orders would have been found there, and he followed a direct course, less from choice than from compulsion. At 40 leagues from shore they were met by a small vessel. The captain turned pale, but the crew were attached to M. de Lafayette, and the officers were numerous: they made a show of resistance. It turned out, fortunately, to be an American ship, whom they vainly endeavored to keep up with; but scarcely had the former lost sight of M. de Lafayette's vessel, when it fell in with two English frigates—and this is not the only time when the elements seemed bent on opposing M. de Lafayette, as if with the intention of saving him. After having encountered for seven weeks various perils and chances, he arrived at Georgetown, in Carolina. Ascending the river in a canoe, his foot touched at length the American soil; and he swore that he would conquer or perish in that cause. Landing at midnight at Major Huger's house, he found a vessel sailing for France, which appeared only waiting for his letters. Several of the officers landed, others remained on board, and all hastened to proceed to Charlestown.

This beautiful city is worthy of its inhabitants; and everything there announced not only comfort, but even luxury. Without knowing much of M. de Lafayette, the Generals Howe, Moultrie, and Gulden received him with the utmost kindness and attention. The new works were shown

* Lafayette here changes his narrative from the first to the third person.

him, and also that battery which Moultrie afterwards defended so extremely well, and which the English appear, we must acknowledge, to have seized the only possible means of destroying. Several adventurers, the refuse of the islands, endeavored vainly to unite themselves to M. de Lafayette, and to infuse into his mind their own feelings and prejudices. Having procured horses, he set out with six officers for Philadelphia. His vessel had arrived; but it was no longer protected by fortune, and on its return home it was lost on the bar of Charlestown. To repair to the Congress of the United States, M. de Lafayette rode nearly 900 miles on horseback. Before reaching the capital of Pennsylvania, he was obliged to travel through the two Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. While studying the language and customs of the inhabitants, he observed also new productions of nature and new methods of cultivation. Vast forests and immense rivers combine to give to that country an appearance of youth and majesty. After a fatiguing journey of one month he beheld at length that Philadelphia so well known in the present day, and whose future grandeur Penn appeared to designate when he laid the first stone of its foundation.

After having accomplished his noble manœuvres at Trenton and Princeton, General Washington had remained in his camp at Middlebrook. The English, finding themselves frustrated in their first hopes, combined to make a decisive campaign. Burgoyne was already advancing with 10,000 men, preceded by his proclamation and his savages. Ticonderoga, a famous stand of arms, was abandoned by Saint-Clair. He drew upon himself much public odium by this deed, but he saved the only corps whom the militia could rally round. While the generals were busied assembling that militia, the Congress recalled them, sent Gates in their place, and used all possible means to support him. At that same time the great English army, of about 18,000 men, had sailed from New York, and the two Howes were uniting their forces for a secret enterprise. Rhode Island was occupied by an hostile corps; and General Clinton, who had remained at New York, was there preparing for an expedition. To be able to withstand so many various blows, General Washington, leaving Putnam on the North River, crossed over the Delaware, and encamped, with 11,000 men, within reach of Philadelphia.

It was under these circumstances that M. de Lafayette first arrived in America; but the moment, although important to the common cause, was peculiarly unfavorable to strangers. The Americans were displeased with the pretensions, and disgusted with the conduct, of many Frenchmen. The imprudent selections they had in some cases made, the extreme boldness of some foreign adventurers, the jealousy of the army, and strong national prejudices, all contributed to confound disinterested zeal with private ambition, and talents with quackery. Supported by the promises which had been given by Mr. Deane, a numerous band of foreigners besieged the Congress. Their chief was a clever but very imprudent man; and, although a good officer, his excessive vanity amounted almost to madness. With M. de Lafayette, Mr. Deane had sent out a fresh detachment; and every day such crowds arrived that the Congress had finally adopted the plan of not listening to any stranger. The coldness with which M. de Lafayette was received might have been taken as a dismissal; but, without appearing disconcerted by the manner in which the deputies addressed him, he entreated them to return to Congress, and read the following note:

"After the sacrifices I have made, I have the right to exact two favors: one is, to serve at my own expense; the other is, to serve at first as volunteer."

The style, to which they were so little accustomed, awakened their attention: the despatches from the envoys were read over; and, in a very flattering resolution, the rank of major-general was granted to M. de Lafayette. Among the various officers who accompanied him, several were strangers to him. He was interested, however, for them all; and to those whose services were not accepted an indemnity for their trouble was granted. Some months afterwards M. —— drowned himself in the Schuylkill, and the loss of that impetuous and imprudent man was perhaps a fortunate circumstance.

The two Howes having appeared before

the capes of the Delaware, General Washington came to Philadelphia, and M. de Lafayette beheld for the first time that great man. Although he was surrounded by officers and citizens, it was impossible to mistake for a moment his majestic figure and deportment; nor was he less distinguished by the noble affability of his manner. M. de Lafayette accompanied him in his examination of the fortifications. Invited by the general to establish himself in his house, he looked upon it from that moment as his own: with this perfect ease and simplicity was formed the tie that united two friends, whose confidence and attachments were to be cemented by the strongest interests of humanity.

The American army, stationed some miles from Philadelphia, was waiting until the movements of the hostile army should be decided: the general himself reviewed the troops. M. de Lafayette arrived there the same day. About 11,000 men, ill armed, and still worse clothed, presented a strange spectacle to the eye of the young Frenchman. Their clothes were parti-colored, and many of them were almost naked. The best clad wore *hunting shirts*, large gray linen coats which were much used in Carolina. As to their military tactics, it will be sufficient to say that, for a regiment ranged in order of battle to move forward on the right of its line, it was necessary for the left to make a continued counter-march. They were always arranged in two lines, the smallest men in the first line: no other distinction as to height was ever observed. In spite of these disadvantages, the soldiers were fine, and the officers zealous; virtue stood in place of science, and each day added both to experience and discipline. Lord Stirling, more courageous than judicious, another general, who was often intoxicated, and Greene, whose talents were only then known to his immediate friends, commanded as majors-general. General Knox, who had changed the profession of bookseller to that of artillery officer, was there also, and had himself formed other officers, and created an artillery. "We must feel embarrassed," said General Washington, on his arrival, "to exhibit ourselves before an officer who has just quitted French troops." "It is to learn, and not to teach, that I come hither," replied M. de Lafayette; and that modest tone, which was not common in Europeans, produced a very good effect.

After having menaced the Delaware, the English fleet again disappeared, and during some days the Americans amused themselves by making jokes at its expense. These jokes, however, ceased when it reappeared in the Chesapeake; and, in order to approach it more closely during the disembarkation, the patriot army crossed through the town. Their heads covered with green branches, and marching to the sound of drums and fifes, these soldiers, in spite of their state of nudity, offered an agreeable spectacle to the eyes of all the citizens. General Washington was marching at their head, and M. de Lafayette was by his side. The army stationed itself upon the heights of Wilmington, and that of the enemy landed in the Elk River, at the bottom of Chesapeake Bay. The very day they landed, General Washington exposed himself to danger in the most imprudent manner. After having reconnoitred for a long time the enemy's position, he was overtaken by a storm during a very dark night, entered a farm-house close to the hostile army, and, from a reluctance to change his own opinion, remained there with General Greene, M. de Lafayette, and their aide-de-camp; but, when at daybreak he quitted the farm, he acknowledged that any one traitor might have caused his ruin. Some days later Sullivan's division joined the army, which augmented it in all to 13,000 men. This Major-General Sullivan made a good beginning, but a bad ending, in an intended surprise on Staten Island.

If, by making too extensive a plan of attack, the English committed a great error, it must also be acknowledged that the Americans were not irreproachable in their manner of defence. Burgoyne, leading his army, with their heads bent upon the ground, into woods from whence he could not extricate them, dragged on, upon a single road, his numerous cannon and rich military equipages. Certain of not being attacked from behind, the Americans could dispute every step they took; this kind of warfare attracted the militia, and Gates improved each day in strength. Every tree shel-

tered a skilful rifleman; and the resources offered by military tactics, and the talents even of their chiefs, had become useless to the English. The corps left in New York could, it is true, laugh at the corps of Putnam, but it was too feeble to succor Burgoyne; and, instead of being able to secure his triumph, its own fate was even dependent upon his. During that time Howe was only thinking of Philadelphia, and it was at the expense of the northern expedition that he was repairing thither by an enormous circuit. But, on the other side, why were the English permitted to land so tranquilly? Why was the moment allowed to pass when their army was divided by the river Elk? Why in the South were so many false movements and so much hesitation displayed? Because the Americans had hitherto had combats, but not battles; because, instead of harassing an army and disputing hollows, they were obliged to protect an open city, and manœuvre in a plain, close to an hostile army, who, by attacking them from behind, might completely ruin them. General Washington, had he followed the advice of the people, would have enclosed his army in a city, and thus have intrusted to one hazard the fate of America; but, while refusing to commit such an act of folly, he was obliged to make some sacrifice, and gratify the nation by a battle. Europe even expected it; and, although he had been created a dictator for six months, the general thought he ought to submit everything to the orders of Congress and to the deliberations of a council of war.

After having advanced as far as Wilmington, the general had detached 1,000 men under Maxwell, the most ancient brigadier in the army. At the first march of the English, he was beaten by their advance-guard near Christiana Bridge. During that time the army took but an indifferent station at Newport. They then removed a little south, waited two days for the enemy, and at the moment when these were marching upon their right wing, a nocturnal council of war decided that the army was to proceed to the Brandywine. The stream bearing that name covered its front. The ford called Chad's Ford, placed nearly in the centre, was defended by batteries. It was in that hardly examined station that, in obedience to a letter from Congress, the Americans awaited the battle. The evening of Sept. 10 Howe advanced in two columns, and, by a very fine movement, the left column (about 8,000 men under Lord Cornwallis, with the grenadiers and guards) directed themselves towards the fords of Birmingham, 3 miles on our right: the other column continued its road, and about nine o'clock in the morning it appeared on the other side of the stream. The enemy was so near the skirts of the wood that it was impossible to judge of his force: some time was lost in a mutual cannonading. General Washington walked along his two lines, and was received with acclamations which seemed to promise him success. The intelligence that was received of the movements of Cornwallis was both confused and contradictory. Owing to the conformity of name between two roads that were of equal length and parallel to each other, the best officers were mistaken in their reports. The only musket-shots that had been fired were from Maxwell, who killed several of the enemy, but was driven back upon the left of the American army, across a ford by which he had before advanced. Three thousand militia had been added to the army, but they were placed in the rear to guard some still more distant militia, and took no part themselves in the action. Such was the situation of the troops when they learned the march of Lord Cornwallis towards the scarcely known fords of Birmingham: they then detached three divisions, forming about 5,000 men, under the Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen. M. de Lafayette, as volunteer, had always accompanied the general. The left wing remaining in a state of tranquillity, and the right appearing fated to receive all the heavy blows, he obtained permission to join Sullivan. At his arrival, which seemed to inspirit the troops, he found that, the enemy having crossed the ford, the corps of Sullivan had scarcely had time to form itself on a line in front of a thinly wooded forest. A few moments after, Lord Cornwallis formed in the finest order. Advancing across the plain, his first line opened a brisk fire of musketry and artillery. The Americans

returned the fire, and did much injury to the enemy; but, their right and left wings having given way, the generals and several officers joined the central division, in which were M. de Lafayette and Stirling, and of which 800 men were commanded in a most brilliant manner by Conway, an Irishman, in the service of France. By separating that division from its two wings, and advancing through an open plain, in which they lost many men, the enemy united all his fire upon the centre: the confusion became extreme; and it was while M. de Lafayette was rallying the troops that a ball passed through his leg. At that moment all those remaining on the field gave way. M. de Lafayette was indebted to Gimat, his aide-de-camp, for the happiness of getting upon his horse. General Washington arrived from a distance with fresh troops. M. de Lafayette was preparing to join him, when loss of blood obliged him to stop and have his wound bandaged: he was even very near being taken. Fugitives, cannon, and baggage now crowded without order into the road leading to Chester. The general employed the remaining daylight in checking the enemy: some regiments behaved extremely well, but the disorder was complete. During that time the ford of Chad was forced, the cannon taken, and the Chester road became the common retreat of the whole army. In the midst of that dreadful confusion, and during the darkness of the night, it was impossible to recover; but at Chester, 12 miles from the field of battle, they met with a bridge which it was necessary to cross. M. de Lafayette occupied himself in arresting the fugitives. Some degree of order was re-established; the generals and the commander-in-chief arrived; and he had leisure to have his wound dressed.

It was thus, at 26 miles from Philadelphia, that the fate of that town was decided (11th September, 1777). The inhabitants had heard every cannon that was fired there. The two parties, assembled in two distinct bands in all the squares and public places, had awaited the event in silence. The last courier at length arrived, and the friends of liberty were thrown into consternation. The Americans had lost from 1,000 to 1,200 men. Howe's army was composed of about 12,000 men. Their losses had been so considerable that their surgeons, and those in the country, were found insufficient; and they requested the American army to supply them with some for their prisoners. If the enemy had marched to Derby, the army would have been cut up and destroyed. They lost an all-important night; and this was perhaps their greatest fault during a war in which they committed so many errors.

M. de Lafayette, having been conveyed by water to Philadelphia, was carefully attended to by the citizens, who were all interested in his situation and extreme youth. That same evening the Congress determined to quit the city. A vast number of the inhabitants deserted their own hearths. Whole families, abandoning their possessions, and uncertain of the future, took refuge in the mountains. M. de Lafayette was carried to Bristol in a boat; he there saw the fugitive Congress, who only assembled again on the other side of the Susquehanna. He was himself conducted to Bethlehem, a Moravian establishment, where the mild religion of the brotherhood, the community of fortune, education, and interests, amongst that large and simple family, formed a striking contrast to scenes of blood and the convulsions occasioned by a civil war.

After the Brandywine defeat the two armies manœuvred along the banks of the Schuylkill. General Washington still remained on a height above the enemy, and completely out of his reach; nor had they again an opportunity of cutting him off. Waine, an American brigadier, was detached to observe the English; but, being surprised during the night, near the White-Horse, by General Grey, he lost there the greatest part of his corps. At length Howe crossed the Schuylkill at Swede's Ford, and Lord Cornwallis entered Philadelphia.

In spite of the declaration of independence of the new States, everything there bore the appearance of a civil war. The names of Whig and Tory distinguished the republicans and royalists; the English army was still called the *regular troops;* the British sovereign was always designated by the name of *the King.* Provinces, towns, and families were divided by the

violence of party spirit: brothers, officers in the two opposing armies, meeting by chance in their father's house, have seized their arms to fight with each other. Whilst, in all the rancor of their pride, the English committed horrible acts of license and cruelty, whilst discipline dragged in her train those venal Germans who knew only how to kill, burn, and pillage, in that same army were seen regiments of Americans, who, trampling under foot their brethren, assisted in enslaving their wasted country. Each canton contained a still greater number whose sole object was to injure the friends of liberty and give information to those of despotism. To these inveterate Tories must be added the number of those whom fear, private interest, or religion, rendered adverse to the war. If the Presbyterians, the children of Cromwell and Fairfax, detested royalty, the Lutherans, who had sprung from it, were divided among themselves. The Quakers hated slaughter, but served willingly as guides to the royal troops. Insurrections were by no means uncommon: near the enemy's stations, farmers often shot each other; robbers were even encouraged. The republican chiefs were exposed to great dangers when they travelled through the country. It was always necessary for them to declare that they should pass the night in one house, then take possession of another, barricade themselves in it, and only sleep with their arms by their side. In the midst of these troubles, M. de Lafayette was no longer considered as a stranger: never was any adoption more complete than his own; and whilst, in the councils of war, he trembled when he considered that his voice (at twenty years of age) might decide the fate of two worlds, he was also initiated in those deliberations in which, by reassuring the Whigs, intimidating the Tories, supporting an ideal money, and redoubling their firmness in the hour of adversity, the American chiefs conducted that revolution through so many obstacles.

[*Here follow accounts of Lafayette's convalescence at Bethlehem and his success at Gloucester, of Gates's campaign in the north, and the establishment of the melancholy headquarters at Valley Forge.*]

Notwithstanding the success in the north, the situation of the Americans had never been more critical than at the present moment. A paper money, without any certain foundation, and unmixed with any specie, was both counterfeited by the enemy and discredited by their partisans. They feared to establish taxes, and had still less the power of levying them. The people, who had risen against the taxation of England, were astonished at paying still heavier taxes now; and the government was without any power to enforce them. On the other side, New York and Philadelphia were overstocked with gold and various merchandises: the threatened penalty of death could not stop a communication that was but too easy. To refuse the payment of taxes, to depreciate the paper currency, and feed the enemy, was a certain method of attaining wealth: privations and misery were only experienced by good citizens. Each proclamation of the English was supported by their seductions, their riches, and the intrigues of the Tories. Whilst a numerous garrison lived sumptuously at New York, some hundreds of men, ill-clothed and ill-fed, wandered upon the shores of the Hudson. The army of Philadelphia, freshly recruited from Europe, abundantly supplied with everything they could require, consisted of 18,000 men: that of Valley Forge was successively reduced to 5,000 men; and two marches on the fine Lancaster road (on which road also was a chain of magazines), by establishing the English in the rear of their right flank, would have rendered their position untenable, from which, however, they had no means of retiring. The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything. They had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes: their feet and legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. From want of money, they could neither obtain provisions nor any means of transport: the colonels were often reduced to two rations, and sometimes even to one. The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both soldiers and officers was a miracle which each moment served to renew. But the sight of their misery prevented new engagements: it was almost impossible to levy recruits;

it was easy to desert into the interior of the country. The sacred fire of liberty was not extinguished, it is true, and the majority of the citizens detested British tyranny; but the triumph of the north and the tranquillity of the south had lulled to sleep two-thirds of the continent. The remaining part was harassed by two armies; and throughout this revolution the greatest difficulty was that, in order to conceal misfortunes from the enemy, it was necessary to conceal them from the nation also; that, by awakening the one, information was likewise given to the other; and that fatal blows would have been struck upon the weakest points before democratic tardiness could have been roused to support them. It was from this cause that during the whole war the real force of the army was always kept a profound secret. Even Congress was not apprised of it, and the generals were often themselves deceived. General Washington never placed unlimited confidence in any person, except in M. de Lafayette, because for him alone, perhaps, confidence sprung from warm affection. As the situation grew more critical, discipline became more necessary. In the course of his nocturnal rounds, in the midst of heavy snows, M. de Lafayette was obliged to break some negligent officers. He adopted in every respect the American dress, habits, and food. He wished to be more simple, frugal, and austere than the Americans themselves. Brought up in the lap of luxury, he suddenly changed his whole manner of living; and his constitution bent itself to privation as well as to fatigue. He always took the liberty of freely writing his ideas to Congress, or, in imitation of the prudence of the general, he gave his opinion to some members of a corps or State Assembly, that, being adopted by them, it might be brought forward in the deliberations of Congress.

In addition to the difficulties which lasted during the whole of the war the winter of Valley Forge recalls others still more painful. At Yorktown, behind the Susquehanna, Congress was divided into two factions, which, in spite of their distinction of south and east, did not the less occasion a separation between members of the same State. The deputies substituted their private intrigues for the wishes of the nation. Several impartial men had retired: several States had but one Representative, and in some cases not even one. Party spirit was so strong that three years afterwards Congress still felt the effects of it. Any great event, however, would awaken their patriotism; and, when Burgoyne declared that his treaty had been broken, means were found to stop the departure of his troops, which everything, even the few provisions for the transports, had foolishly betrayed. But all these divisions failed to produce the greatest of calamities — the loss of the only man capable of conducting the revolution.

Gates was at Yorktown, where he inspired respect by his manners, promises, and European acquirements. Amongst the deputies who united themselves to him may be numbered the Lees, Virginians, enemies of Washington, and the two Adamses. Mifflin, quartermaster-general, aided him with his talents and brilliant eloquence. They required a name to bring forward in the plot, and they selected Conway, who fancied himself the chief of a party. To praise Gates, with a certain portion of the continent and the troops, was a pretext for speaking of themselves. The people attach themselves to prosperous generals, and the commander-in-chief had been unsuccessful. His own character inspired respect and affection; but Greene, Hamilton, Knox, his best friends, were sadly defamed. The Tories fomented these dissensions. The presidency of the war office, which had been created for Gates, restricted the power of the general. This was not the only inconvenience. A committee from Congress arrived at the camp, and the attack of Philadelphia was daringly proposed. The most shrewd people did not believe that Gates was the real object of this intrigue. Though a good officer, he had not the power to assert himself. He would have given place to the famous General Lee, then a prisoner of the English, whose first care would have been to have made over to them his friends and all America.

Attached to the general, and still more so to the cause, M. de Lafayette did not hesitate for a moment; and, in spite of the caresses of one party, he remained faithful to the other whose ruin seemed

then impending. He saw and corresponded frequently with the general, and often discussed with him his own private situation, and the effect that various meliorations in the army might produce. Having sent for his wife to the camp, the general preserved in his deportment the noble composure which belongs to a strong and virtuous mind. "I have not sought for this place," said he to M. de Lafayette: "if I am displeasing to the nation, I will retire; but until then I will oppose all intrigues."

(1778.) The 22d of January Congress resolved that Canada should be entered, and the choice fell upon M. de Lafayette. The generals Conway and Stark were placed under him. Hoping to intoxicate and govern so young a commander, the war office, without consulting the commander-in-chief, wrote to him to go and await his further instructions at Albany. But, after having won over by his arguments the committee which Congress had sent to the camp, M. de Lafayette hastened to Yorktown, and declared there "that he required circumstantial orders, a statement of the means to be employed, the certainty of not deceiving the Canadians, an augmentation of generals, and rank for several Frenchmen, fully impressed," he added, "with the various duties and advantages they derived from their name; but the first condition he demanded was not to be made, like Gates, independent of General Washington." At Gates's own house he braved the whole party, and threw them into confusion by making them drink the health of their general.*

[*Here follow accounts of Lafayette's expedition to Albany and the Mohawk, and his return in the spring to Philadelphia, where a short time after Silas Deane arrived with the treaty between France and the United States.*]

By quitting France in so public a manner, M. de Lafayette had served the cause of the Revolution. One portion of society was anxious for his success; and the attention of the other had become, to say the least, somewhat occupied in the struggle. If a spirit of emulation made those connected with the Court desirous of war, the rest of the nation supported the young rebel, and followed with interest all his movements; and it is well known that the rupture that ensued was truly a national one. Some circumstances relating to his departure having displeased the Court of London, M. de Lafayette omitted nothing that could draw more closely together the nations whose union he so ardently desired. The incredible prejudices of the Americans had been augmented by the conduct of the first Frenchmen who had joined them. These men gradually disappeared, and all those who remained were remarkable for talents, or at least for probity. They became the friends of M. de Lafayette, who sincerely sought out all the national prejudices of the Americans against his countrymen for the purpose of overcoming them. Love and respect for the name of Frenchmen animated his letters and speeches, and he wished the affection that was granted to him individually to become completely national. On the other side, when writing to Europe, he denied the reports made by discontented adventurers, by good officers who were piqued at not having been employed, and by those men who, serving themselves in the army, wished to be witty or amusing by the political contrasts they described in their letters. But, without giving a circumstantial account of what private influence achieved, it is certain that enthusiasm for the cause, and esteem for its defenders, had electrified all France, and that the affair of Saratoga decided the ministerial commotion. Bills of conciliation passed in the English House of Parliament, the five commissioners were sent to offer far more than had been demanded until then. No longer waiting to see *how things would turn out*, M. de Maurepas yielded to the public wish, and what his luminous mind had projected the more unchanging disposition of M. de Vergennes put in execution. A treaty was generously entered into with Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee, and that treaty was announced with more confi-

* After having thus declared himself, he wrote to Congress that "he could only accept the command on condition of remaining subordinate to General Washington, of being but considered as an officer detached from him, and of addressing all his letters to him, of which those received by Congress would be but duplicates." These requests and all the others he made were granted.

dence than had been for some time displayed. But the war was not sufficiently foreseen, or at least sufficient preparations were not made. The most singular fact is that, at the very period when the firm resistance of the Court of France had guided the conduct of two courts, America had fallen herself into such a state of weakness that she was on the very brink of ruin. The 2d of May the army made a bonfire; and M. de Lafayette, ornamented with a white scarf, proceeded to the spot, accompanied by all the French. Since the arrival of the conciliatory bills he had never ceased writing against the commission, and against every commissioner. The advances of these men were ill-received by Congress; and, foreseeing a French co-operation, the enemy began to think of quitting Philadelphia.

[*Here follows the account of the battle of Monmouth, after which Lafayette and Washington "passed the night lying on the same mantle, talking over the conduct of Lee"; and the account of the Rhode Island campaign.*]

Soon afterwards, during M. de Lafayette's residence at Philadelphia, the commission received its death-blow. Whilst he was breakfasting with the members of Congress, the different measures proper to be pursued were frankly and cheerfully discussed. The correspondence which took place at that time is generally known. The Congress remained ever noble, firm, and faithful to its allies. Secretary Thomson, in his last letter to Sir Henry Clinton, informs him that "*the Congress does not answer impertinent letters.*" To conceal nothing from the people, all the proposals were invariably printed; but able writers were employed in pointing out the errors they contained. In that happy country, where each man understood and attended to public affairs, the newspapers became powerful instruments to aid the revolution. The same spirit was also breathed from the pulpit, for the Bible in many places favors republicanism. M. de Lafayette, having once reproached an Anglican minister with speaking only of heaven, went to hear him preach the following Sunday, and the words *the execrable house of Hanover* proved the docility of the minister.

M. de Lafayette addressed a polite letter to the French minister, and wrote also to the Congress that, "whilst he believed himself free, he had supported the cause under the American banner; that his country was now at war, and that his services were first due to her; that he hoped to return; and that he should always retain his zealous interest for the United States." The Congress not only granted him an unlimited leave of absence, but added to it the most flattering expressions of gratitude. It was resolved that a sword, covered with emblems, should be presented to him, in the name of the United States, by their minister in France: they wrote to the King; and the *Alliance*, of thirty-six guns, their finest ship, was chosen to carry him back to Europe. M. de Lafayette would neither receive from them anything farther, nor allow them to ask any favor for him at the Court of France. But the Congress, when proposing a co-operation in Canada, expressed its wish of seeing the arrangement of the affair confided to him. This project was afterwards deferred from the general's not entertaining hopes of its ultimate success; but, although old prejudices were much softened—although the conduct of the admiral and the squadron had excited universal approbation—the Congress, the general, and, in short, every one, told M. de Lafayette that, in the whole circuit of the thirteen States, vessels only were required, and that the appearance of a French corps would alarm the nation. As M. de Lafayette was obliged to embark at Boston, he set out again on this journey of 400 miles. He hoped, also, that he should be able to take leave of M. d'Estaing, who had offered to accompany him to the islands, and whose friendship and misfortunes affected him as deeply as his active genius and patriotic courage excited his admiration.

Heated by fatiguing journeys and overexertion, and still more by the grief he had experienced at Rhode Island, and having afterwards labored hard, drunk freely, and passed several sleepless nights at Philadelphia, M. de Lafayette proceeded on horseback, in a high state of fever, and during a pelting autumnal rain. Fêtes were given in compliment to him through-

out his journey, and he endeavored to strengthen himself with wine, tea, and rum; but at Fishkill, 8 miles from headquarters, he was obliged to yield to the violence of an inflammatory fever. He was soon reduced to the last extremity, and the report of his approaching death distressed the army, by whom he was called *the soldier's friend;* and the whole nation were unanimous in expressing their good wishes and regrets for *the marquis*, the name by which he was exclusively designated. From the first moment, Cockran, director of the hospitals, left all his other occupations to attend to him alone. General Washington came every day to inquire after his friend; but, fearing to agitate him, he only conversed with the physician, and returned home with tearful eyes, and a heart oppressed with grief. Suffering acutely from a raging fever and violent headache, M. de Lafayette felt convinced that he was dying, but did not lose for a moment the clearness of his understanding. Having taken measures to be apprised of the approach of death, he regretted that he could not hope again to see his country and the dearest objects of his affection. Far from foreseeing the happy fate that awaited him, he would willingly have exchanged his future chance of life, in spite of his one-and-twenty years, for the certainty of living but for three months, on the condition of again seeing his friends and witnessing the happy termination of the American war. But to the assistance of medical art and the assiduous care of Dr. Cockran nature added the alarming, though salutary, remedy of an hemorrhage.

At the expiration of three months, M. de Lafayette's life was no longer in danger: he was at length allowed to see the general, and think of public affairs. After having spent some days together, and spoken of their past labors, present situations, and future projects, General Washington and he took a tender and painful leave of each other. At the same time that the enemies of this great man have accused him of insensibility, they have acknowledged his tenderness for M. de Lafayette; and how is it possible that he should not have been warmly cherished by his disciple, he who, uniting all that is good to all that is great, is even more sublime from his virtues than from his talents? Had he been a common soldier, he would have been the bravest in the ranks; had he been an obscure citizen, all his neighbors would have respected him. With a heart and mind equally correctly formed, he judged both of himself and circumstances with strict impartiality. Nature, whilst creating him expressly for that revolution, conferred an honor upon herself; and, to show her work to the greatest possible advantage, she constituted it in such a peculiar manner that each distinct quality would have failed in producing the end required, had it not been sustained by all the others.

In spite of his extreme debility, M. de Lafayette, accompanied by his physician, repaired on horseback to Boston, where Madeira wine effectually restored his health. The crew of the *Alliance* was not complete, and the council offered to institute a press; but M. de Lafayette would not consent to this method of obtaining sailors, and it was at length resolved to make up the required number by embarking some English deserters, together with some volunteers from among the prisoners. After he had written to Canada, and sent some necklaces to a few of the savage tribes, Brice and Nevil, his aides-de-camp, bore his farewell addresses to the Congress, the general, and his friends. The inhabitants of Boston, who had given him so many proofs of their kindness and attention, renewed their marks of affection at his departure; and the *Alliance* sailed on the 11th of January. . . .*

When I saw the port of Brest receive and salute the banner which floated on my frigate, I recalled to mind the state of my country and of America, and my peculiar situation when I quitted France.

[*Here follows the account of his warm welcome at Paris.*]

Amidst the various tumultuous scenes that occupied my mind, I did not forget our revolution, of which the ultimate success still appeared uncertain. Accustomed to see great interests supported by slender means, I often said to myself that the expense of one fête would have organized the army of the United States; and, to

* The first person is here resumed.

clothe that army, I would willingly, according to the expression of M. de Maurepas, have unfurnished the palace of Versailles.

Eulogy by John Quincy Adams. — On Dec. 31, 1834, ex-President Adams delivered the following oration on the life and services to America of Lafayette, in Washington, D. C.:

On the 6th of September, 1757, Lafayette was born. The kings of France and Britain were seated upon their thrones by virtue of the principle of hereditary succession, variously modified and blended with different forms of religious faith, and they were waging war against each other, and exhausting the blood and treasure of their people for causes in which neither of the nations had any beneficial or lawful interest.

In this war the father of Lafayette fell in the cause of his King, but not of his country. He was an officer of an invading army, the instrument of his sovereign's wanton ambition and lust of conquest. The people of the electorate of Hanover had done no wrong to him or to his country. When his son came to an age capable of understanding the irreparable loss that he had suffered, and to reflect upon the causes of his father's fate, there was no drop of consolation mingled in the cup, from the consideration that he had died for his country. And when the youthful mind was awakened to meditation upon the rights of mankind, the principles of freedom, and theories of government, it cannot be difficult to perceive, in the illustrations of his own family records, the source of that aversion to hereditary rule, perhaps the most distinguishing feature of his political opinions, and to which he adhered through all the vicissitudes of his life.

In the same war, and at the same time, George Washington was armed, a loyal subject, in support of his King; but to him that was also the cause of his country. His commission was not in the army of George II., but issued under the authority of the colony of Virginia, the province in which he received his birth. On the borders of that province, the war in its most horrid forms was waged—not a war of mercy, and of courtesy, like that of the civilized embattled legions of Europe—but war to the knife; the war of Indian savages, terrible to man, but more terrible to the tender sex, and most terrible to helpless infancy. In defence of his country against the ravages of such a war, Washington, in the dawn of manhood, had drawn his sword, as if Providence, with deliberate purpose, had sanctified for him the practice of war, all detestable and unhallowed as it is, that he might, in a cause, virtuous and exalted by its motive and its end, be trained and fitted in a congenial school to march in after times the leader of heroes in the war of his country's independence.

At the time of the birth of Lafayette, this war, which was to make him a fatherless child, and in which Washington was laying broad and deep, in the defence and protection of his native land, the foundations of his unrivalled renown, was but in its early stage. It was to continue five years longer, and was to close with the total extinguishment of the colonial dominion of France on the continent of North America. The deep humiliation of France, and the triumphant ascendency on this continent of her rival, were the first results of this great national conflict. The complete expulsion of France from North America seemed to the superficial vision of men to fix the British power over these extensive regions on foundations immovable as the everlasting hills.

Let us pass in imagination a period of only twenty years, and alight upon the borders of the River Brandywine. Washington is commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America; war is again raging in the heart of his native land; hostile armies of one and the same name, blood, and language, are arrayed for battle on the banks of the stream; and Philadelphia, where the United States are in Congress assembled, and whence their decree of independence has gone forth, is the destined prize to the conflict of the day. Who is that tall, slender youth, of foreign air and aspect, scarcely emerged from the years of boyhood, and fresh from the walls of a college; fighting, a volunteer, at the side of Washington, bleeding, unconsciously to himself, and rallying his men to secure

the retreat of the scattered American ranks? It is Gilbert Motier de Lafayette, the son of the victim of Minden; and he is bleeding in the cause of North American independence and of freedom.

We pause one moment to inquire what was this cause of North American independence, and what were the motives and inducements to the youthful stranger to devote himself, his life, and fortune to it.

The people of the British colonies in North America, after a controversy of ten years' duration with their sovereign beyond the seas, upon an attempt by him and his Parliament to tax them without their consent, had been constrained by necessity to declare themselves independent—to dissolve the tie of their allegiance to him—to renounce their right to his protection, and to assume their station among the independent civilized nations of the earth. This had been done with a deliberation and solemnity unexampled in the history of the world; done in the midst of a civil war, differing in character from any of those which for centuries before had desolated Europe. The war had arisen upon a question between the rights of the people and the powers of their government. The discussions, in the progress of the controversy, had opened to the contemplations of men the first foundations of civil society and of government. The war of independence began by litigation upon a petty stamp on paper, and a tax of threepence a pound upon tea; but these broke up the fountains of the great deep, and the deluge ensued. Had the British Parliament the right to tax the people of the colonies in another hemisphere, not represented in the imperial legislature? They affirmed they had; the people of the colonies insisted they had not. There were ten years of pleading before they came to an issue; and all the legitimate sources of power, and all the primitive elements of freedom, were scrutinized, debated, analyzed, and elucidated before the lighting of the torch of Ate, and her cry of havoc upon letting slip the dogs of war.

When the day of conflict came, the issue of the contest was necessarily changed. The people of the colonies had maintained the contest on the principle of resisting the invasion of chartered rights—first by argument and remonstrance, and finally, by appeal to the sword. But with the war came the necessary exercise of sovereign powers. The Declaration of Independence justified itself as the only possible remedy for insufferable wrongs. It seated itself upon the first foundations of the law of nature, and the incontestable doctrine of human rights. There was no longer any question of the constitutional powers of the British Parliament, or of violated colonial charters. Thenceforward the American nation supported its existence by war; and the British nation, by war, was contending for conquest. As, between the two parties, the single question at issue was independence—but in the confederate existence of the North American Union, Liberty—not only their own liberty, but the vital principle of liberty to the whole race of civilized man, was involved.

It was at this stage of the conflict, and immediately after the Declaration of Independence, that it drew the attention, and called into action the moral sensibilities and the intellectual faculties of Lafayette, then in the nineteenth year of his age.

The war was revolutionary. It began by the dissolution of the British government in the colonies; the people of which were, by that operation left without any government whatever. They were then at one and the same time maintaining their independent national existence by war, and forming new social compacts for their own government thenceforward. The construction of civil society; the extent and the limitations of organized power; the establishment of a system of government combining the greatest enlargement of individual liberty with the most perfect preservation of public order, were the continual occupations of every mind. The consequences of this state of things to the history of mankind, and especially of Europe, were foreseen by none. Europe saw nothing but the war; a people struggling for liberty, and against oppression; and the people in every part of Europe sympathized with the people of the American colonies.

With their governments it was not so. The people of the American colonies were

insurgents; all governments abhor insurrection. They were revolted colonists; the great maritime powers of Europe had colonies of their own, to which the example of resistance against oppression might be contagious. The American colonists were stigmatized in all the official acts of the British government as rebels; and rebellion to the governing part of mankind is as the sin of witchcraft. The governments of Europe, therefore, were at heart, on the side of the British government in this war, and the people of Europe were on the side of the American people.

Lafayette, by his position and condition in life, was one of those who, governed by the ordinary impulses which influence and control the conduct of men, would have sided in sentiment with the royal cause.

Lafayette was born a subject of the most absolute and most splendid monarchy of Europe; and in the highest rank of her proud and chivalrous nobility. He had been educated at the college of the University of Paris, founded by the royal munificence of Louis XIV., or Cardinal Richelieu. Left an orphan in early childhood, with the inheritance of a princely fortune, he had been married at sixteen years of age to a daughter of the house of Noailles, the most distinguished family of the kingdom, scarcely deemed in public consideration inferior to that which wore the crown. He came into active life, at the change from boy to man, a husband and a father, in the full enjoyment of everything that avarice could covet, with a certain prospect before him of all that ambition could crave. Happy in his domestic affections, incapable, from the benignity of his nature, of envy, hatred, or revenge, a life of "ignoble ease and indolent repose" seemed to be that which nature and fortune had combined to prepare before him. To men of ordinary mould this condition would have led to a life of luxurious apathy and sensual indulgence. Such was the life into which, from the operation of the same causes, Louis XV. had sunk, with his household and Court, while Lafayette was rising to manhood surrounded by the contamination of their example. Had his natural endowments been even of the higher and nobler order of such as adhere to virtue even in the lap of prosperity and in the bosom of temptation, he might have lived and died a pattern of the nobility of France, to be classed, in after times, with the Turennes and the Montausiers of the age of Louis XIV., or with the Villars or the Lamoignons of the age immediately preceding his own.

But, as in the firmament of heaven that rolls over our heads there is, among the stars of the first magnitude, one so pre-eminent in splendor as, in the opinion of astronomers, to constitute a class by itself, so in the 1,400 years of the French monarchy, among the multitudes of great and mighty men which it has evolved, the name of Lafayette stands unrivalled in the solitude of glory.

In entering upon the threshold of life a career was to open before him. He had the option of the court and the camp. An office was tendered to him in the household of the King's brother, the Count de Provence, since successively a royal exile and a reinstated King. The servitude and inaction of a court had no charms for him; he preferred a commission in the army, and at the time of the Declaration of Independence was a captain of dragoons in garrison at Metz.

There, at an entertainment given by his relative, the Maréchal de Broglie, the commandant of the place, to the Duke of Gloucester, brother to the British King, and then a transient traveller through that part of France, he learns, as an incident of intelligence received that morning by the English prince from London, that the Congress of rebels at Philadelphia had issued a declaration of independence. A conversation ensues upon the causes which have contributed to produce this event, and upon the consequences which may be expected to flow from it. The imagination of Lafayette has caught across the Atlantic tide the spark emitted from the Declaration of Independence, his heart has kindled at the shock, and, before he slumbers upon his pillow, he has resolved to devote his life and fortune to the cause.

You have before you the cause and the man. The self-devotion of Lafayette was twofold. First to the people, maintaining a bold and seemingly desperate struggle against oppression, and for na-

tional existence. Secondly, and chiefly, to the principles of their declaration, which then first unfurled before his eyes the consecrated standard of human rights. To that standard, without an instant of hesitation, he repaired. Where it would lead him, it is scarcely probable that he himself then foresaw. It was then identical with the stars and stripes of the American Union, floating to the breeze from the Hall of Independence, at Philadelphia. Nor sordid avarice, nor vulgar ambition, could point his footsteps to the pathway leading to that banner. To the love of ease or pleasure nothing could be more repulsive. Something may be allowed to the beatings of the youthful breast, which make ambition virtue, and something to the spirit of military adventures imbibed from his profession, and which he felt in common with many others. France, Germany, Poland, furnished to the armies of this Union, in our revolutionary struggle, no inconsiderable number of officers of high rank and distinguished merit. The names of Pulaski and De Kalb are numbered among the martyrs of our freedom, and their ashes repose in our soil side by side with the canonized bones of Warren and of Montgomery. To the virtues of Lafayette, a more protracted career and happier earthly destiny were reserved. To the moral principle of political action, the sacrifices of no other man were comparable to his. Youth, health, fortune; the favor of his King; the enjoyment of ease and pleasure; even the choicest blessings of domestic felicity—he gave them all for toil and danger in a distant land, and an almost hopeless cause; but it was the cause of justice, and of the rights of humankind.

The resolve is firmly fixed, and it now remains to be carried into execution. On Dec. 7, 1776, Silas Deane, then a secret agent of the American Congress at Paris, stipulates with the Marquis de Lafayette that he shall receive a commission, to date from that day, of major-general in the army of the United States; and the marquis stipulates, in return, to depart when and how Mr. Deane shall judge proper, to serve the United States with all possible zeal, without pay or emolument, reserving to himself only the liberty of returning to Europe, if his family or his King should recall him.

Neither his family nor his King were willing that he should depart; nor had Mr. Deane the power, either to conclude this contract, or to furnish the means of his conveyance to America. Difficulties rise up before him only to be dispersed, and obstacles thicken only to be surmounted. The day after the signing of the contract, Mr. Deane's agency was superseded by the arrival of Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee as his colleagues in commission; nor did they think themselves authorized to confirm his engagements. Lafayette is not to be discouraged. The commissioners extenuate nothing of the unpromising condition of their cause. Mr. Deane avows his inability to furnish him with a passage to the United States. "The more desperate the cause," says Lafayette, "the greater need has it of my services; and, if Mr. Deane has no vessel for my passage, I shall purchase one for myself, and will traverse the ocean with a selected company of my own."

Other impediments arise. His design becomes known to the British ambassador at the Court of Versailles, who remonstrates to the French government against it. At his instance, orders are issued for the detention of the vessel purchased by the marquis and fitted out at Bordeaux, and for the arrest of his person. To elude the first of these orders, the vessel is removed from Bordeaux to the neighboring port of Passage, within the dominion of Spain. The order for his own arrest is executed; but, by stratagem and disguise, he escapes from the custody of those who have him in charge, and, before a second order can reach him, he is safe on the ocean wave, bound to the land of independence and of freedom.

The war of American Independence is closed. The people of the North American Confederation are in union, sovereign and independent. Lafayette at twenty-five years of age has lived the life of a patriarch, and illustrated the career of a hero. Had his days upon earth been then numbered, and had he then slept with his fathers, illustrious as for centuries their names had been, his name, to the end of time, would have transcended

them all. Fortunate youth! fortunate beyond even the measure of his companions in arms with whom he had achieved the glorious consummation of American Independence. His fame was all his own; not cheaply earned; not ignobly won. His fellow-soldiers had been the champions and defenders of their country. They reaped for themselves, for their wives, their children, their posterity to the latest time the rewards of their dangers and their toils. Lafayette had watched, and labored, and fought, and bled, not for himself, not for his family, not, in the first instance, even for his country. In the legendary tales of chivalry we read of tournaments at which a foreign and unknown knight suddenly presents himself, armed in complete steel, and, with the vizor down, enters the ring to contend with the assembled flower of knighthood for the prize of honor, to be awarded by the hand of beauty; bears it in triumph away, and disappears from the astonished multitude of competitors and spectators of the feats of arms. But where in the rolls of history, where in the fictions of romance, where but in the life of Lafayette, has been seen the noble stranger, flying, with the tribute of his name, his rank, his influence, his ease, his domestic bliss, his treasure, his blood, to the relief of a suffering and distant land, in the hour of her deepest calamity—baring his bosom to her foes; and not at the transient pageantry of a tournament, but for a succession of five years sharing all the vicissitudes of her fortunes; always eager to appear at the post of danger—tempering the glow of youthful ardor with the cold caution of a veteran commander; bold and daring in action; prompt in execution; rapid in pursuit; fertile in expedients; unattainable in retreat; often exposed, but never surprised, never disconcerted; eluding his enemy when within his fancied grasp; bearing upon him with irresistible sway when of force to cope with him in the conflict of arms? And what is this but the diary of Lafayette, from the day of his rallying the scattered fugitives of the Brandywine, insensible of the blood flowing from his wounds, to the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown?

Henceforth, as a public man, Lafayette is to be considered as a Frenchman, always active and ardent to serve the United States, but no longer in their service as an officer. So transcendent had been his merits in the common cause, that, to reward them, the rule of progressive advancement in the armies of France was set aside for him. He received from the minister of war a notification that from the day of his retirement from the service of the United States as a major-general, at the close of the war, he should hold the same rank in the armies of France, to date from the day of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

Henceforth he is a Frenchman, destined to perform in the history of his country a part as peculiarly his own, and not less glorious, than that which he had performed in the war of independence. A short period of profound peace followed the great triumph of freedom. The desire of Lafayette once more to see the land of his adoption and the associates of his glory, the fellow-soldiers who had become to him as brothers, and the friend and patron of his youth, who had become to him as a father; sympathizing with their desire once more to see him—to see in their prosperity him who had come to them in their affliction—induced him, in the year 1784, to pay a visit to the United States.

On Aug. 4, of that year, he landed at New York, and, in the space of five months from that time, visited his venerable friend at Mount Vernon, where he was then living in retirement, and traversed ten States of the Union, receiving everywhere, from their legislative assemblies, from the municipal bodies of the cities and towns through which he passed, from the officers of the army, his late associates, now restored to the virtues and occupations of private life, and even from the recent emigrants from Ireland, who had come to adopt for their country the self-emancipated land, addresses of gratulation and of joy, the effusions of hearts grateful in the enjoyment of the blessings for the possession of which they had been so largely indebted to his exertions; and, finally, from the United States of America, in Congress assembled, at Trenton.

On Dec. 9 it was resolved by that body that a committee, to consist of

one member from each State, should be appointed to receive and, in the name of Congress, take leave of the marquis. That they should be instructed to assure him that Congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they had frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions, and which the recent marks of his attention to their commercial and other interests had perfectly confirmed. "That, as his uniform and unceasing attachment to this country has resembled that of a patriotic citizen, the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity; and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him."

And it was further resolved that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, to be signed by his Excellency, the president of Congress, expressive of the high sense which the United States, in Congress assembled, entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his Majesty.

The first of these resolutions was, on the next day, carried into execution. At a solemn interview with the committee of Congress, received in their hall, and addressed by the chairman of their committee, John Jay, the purport of these resolutions was communicated to him. He replied in terms of fervent sensibility for the kindness manifested personally to himself, and, with allusions to the situation, the prospects, and the duties of the people of this country, he pointed out the great interests which he believed it indispensable to their welfare that they should cultivate and cherish. In the following memorable sentences the ultimate objects of his solicitude are disclosed in a tone deeply solemn and impressive:

"May this immense temple of freedom," said he, "ever stand, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! and may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders."

Fellow-citizens, ages have passed away since these words were spoken; but ages are the years of the existence of nations. The founders of this immense temple of freedom have all departed, save here and there a solitary exception, even while I speak, at the point of taking wing. The prayer of Lafayette is not yet consummated. Ages upon ages are still to pass away before it can have its full accomplishment; and, for its full accomplishment, his spirit, hovering over our heads, in more than echoes talks around these walls. It repeats the prayer which from his lips fifty years ago was at once a parting blessing and a prophecy; for, were it possible for the whole human race, now breathing the breath of life, to be assembled within this hall, your orator would, in your name and in that of your constituents, appeal to them to testify for your fathers of the last generation, that, so far as has depended upon them, the blessing of Lafayette has been prophecy. Yes! this immense temple of freedom still stands, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, and a sanctuary for the rights of mankind. Yes! with the smiles of a benignant Providence, the splendor and prosperity of these happy United States have illustrated the blessings of their government, and, we may humbly hope, have rejoiced the departed souls of its founders. For the past your fathers and you have been responsible. The charge of the future devolves upon you and upon your children. The vestal fire of freedom is in your custody. May the souls of its departed founders never be called to witness its extinction by neglect, nor a soil upon the purity of its keepers!

With this valedictory Lafayette took, as he and those who heard him then believed, a final leave of the people of the United States. He returned to France, and arrived at Paris on Jan. 25, 1785.

Such, legislators of the North American Confederate Union, was the life of Gilbert Motier de Lafayette, and the record of his life is the delineation of his character. Consider him as one human being of 1,000,000,000, his contemporaries on the surface of the terraqueous globe.

Among that 1,000,000,000 seek for an object of comparison with him; assume for the standard of comparison all the virtues which exalt the character of man above that of the brute creation; take the ideal man, little lower than the angels; mark the qualities of mind and heart which entitle him to his station of pre-eminence in the scale of created beings, and inquire who, that lived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Christian era, combined in himself so many of those qualities, so little alloyed with those which belong to that earthly vesture of decay in which the immortal spirit is enclosed, as Lafayette.

Pronounce him one of the first men of his age, and you have not yet done him justice. Try him by that test by which he sought in vain to stimulate the vulgar and selfish spirit of Napoleon; class him among the men who, to compare and seat themselves, must take in the compass of all ages; turn back your eyes upon the records of time; summon from the creation of the world to this day the mighty dead of every age and every clime —and where, among the race of merely mortal men, shall one be found, who, as the benefactor of his kind, shall claim to take precedence of Lafayette?

There have doubtless been, in all ages, men, whose discoveries or inventions, in the world of matter or of mind, have opened new avenues to the dominion of man over the material creation; have increased his means or his faculties of enjoyment; have raised him in nearer approximation to that higher and happier condition, the object of his hopes and aspirations in his present state of existence.

Lafayette discovered no new principles of politics or of morals. He invented nothing in science. He disclosed no new phenomenon in the laws of nature. Born and educated in the highest order of feudal nobility, under the most absolute monarchy of Europe, in possession of an affluent fortune, and master of himself and of all his capabilities, at the moment of attaining manhood, the principle of republican justice and of social equality took possession of his heart and mind, as if inspired from above. He devoted himself, his life, his fortune, his hereditary honors, his towering ambition, his splendid hopes, all to the cause of liberty. He came to another hemisphere to defend her. He became one of the most effective champions of our independence; but, that once achieved, he returned to his own country, and thenceforward took no part in the controversies which have divided us. In the events of our Revolution, and in the forms of policy which we have adopted for the establishment and perpetuation of our freedom, Lafayette found the most perfect form of government. He wished to add nothing to it. He would gladly have abstracted nothing from it. Instead of the imaginary republic of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, he took a practical existing model, in actual operation here, and never attempted or wished more than to apply it faithfully to his own country.

It was not given to Moses to enter the promised land; but he saw it from the summit of Pisgah. It was not given to Lafayette to witness the consummation of his wishes in the establishment of a republic, and the extinction of all hereditary rule in France. His principles were in advance of the age and hemisphere in which he lived. A Bourbon still reigns on the throne of France, and it is not for us to scrutinize the title by which he reigns. The principles of elective and hereditary power, blended in reluctant union in his person, like the red and white roses of York and Lancaster, may postpone to aftertime the last conflict to which they must ultimately come. The life of the patriarch was not long enough for the development of his whole political system. Its final accomplishment is in the womb of time.

The anticipation of this event is the more certain, from the consideration that all the principles for which Lafayette contended were practical. He never indulged himself in wild and fanciful speculations. The principle of hereditary power was, in his opinion, the bane of all republican liberty in Europe. Unable to extinguish it in the revolution of 1830, so far as concerned the chief magistracy of the nation, Lafayette had the satisfaction of seeing it abolished with reference to the peerage. A hereditary crown, stripped of the support which it may derive from an hereditary

peerage, however compatible with Asiatic despotism, is an anomaly in the history of the Christian world, and in the theory of free government. There is no argument producible against the existence of an hereditary peerage but applies with aggravated weight against the transmission from sire to son of an hereditary crown. The prejudices and passions of the people of France rejected the principle of inherited power in every station of public trust, excepting the first and highest of them all; but there they clung to it, as did the Israelites of old to the savory deities of Egypt.

This is not the time or the place for a disquisition upon the comparative merits, as a system of government, of a republic and a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. Upon this subject there is among us no diversity of opinion, and if it should take the people of France another half-century of internal and external war, of dazzling and delusive glories, of unparalleled triumphs, humiliating reverses, and bitter disappointments, to settle it to their satisfaction, the ultimate result can only bring them to the point where we have stood from the day of the Declaration of Independence—to the point where Lafayette would have brought them, and to which he looked as a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Then, too, and then only, will be the time when the character of Lafayette will be appreciated at its true value throughout the civilized world. When the principle of hereditary dominion shall be extinguished in all the institutions of France; when government shall no longer be considered as property transmissible from sire to son, but as a trust committed for a limited time, and then to return to the people whence it came; as a burdensome duty to be discharged and not as a reward to be abused; when a claim, any claim, to political power by inheritance shall, in the estimation of the whole French people, be held as it now is by the whole people of the North American Union—then will be the time for contemplating the character of Lafayette, not merely in the events of his life, but in the full development of his intellectual conceptions, of his fervent aspirations, of the labors and perils and sacrifices of his long and eventful career upon earth; and thenceforward, till the hour when the trump of the archangel shall sound to announce that Time shall be no more, the name of Lafayette shall stand enrolled high on the list of the pure and disinterested benefactors of mankind. See IRELAND, JOHN.

Lafitte, JEAN, adventurer; born in France about 1780. Early in 1800 he went to New Orleans, La., where for a time he engaged in the blacksmith business. Later he and his brother, Pierre, became the leaders of the Corsairs, a band of smugglers who operated along the coast. The principal stronghold of these buccaneers was on the island of Grand Terre, which commanded the pass of Barataria. Several expeditions were sent to capture them, but through the warnings of friends they escaped. In 1814, when the British were planning to attack New Orleans, they were anxious to secure the services of these outlaws, and sent Jean Lafitte a letter, in which he was offered a captaincy in the British navy and $30,000, with a pledge of pardon for himself and men for past offences, reparation for losses, and further rewards in land and money. If this invitation was not accepted, a threat was made that the inhabitants of Barataria would be annihilated. Lafitte told the bearer of this letter to return in ten days and he would give him an answer. In the mean time he sent a communication containing this letter to the governor of Louisiana, offering to join the American forces with his followers if he and they were pardoned for their past offences. Governor Claiborne called a council, which decided that the letters sent by Lafitte were forgeries. A little later an expedition was fitted out against Barataria, which took the place completely by surprise. Jean and Pierre Lafitte, however, escaped and collected their scattered followers at Last Island, close to the mouth of Bayou Lafourche. After the war Jean settled in Galveston, but in 1820 was driven out by the United States authorities, and went to Yucatan, where he died in 1826.

La Follette, ROBERT MARION, lawyer; born in Primrose, Wis., June 14, 1855; was graduated at the University of Wisconsin in 1879; admitted to the bar in 1880; was a member of Congress in 1887–

91; and governor of Wisconsin in 1901–05. While in Congress he was a member of the Committee on Ways and Means which framed the McKinley tariff bill.

Laidley, THEODORE THADDEUS SOBIESKI, military officer; born in Guyandotte, Va., April 14, 1822; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1842; served with distinction during the Mexican War. Just before the engagement at Cerro Gordo, with Lieut. Roswell S. Ripley, he was ordered to place an 8-inch howitzer in such a position as to enfilade the Mexicans from the right. He was the author of *Ordnance Manual of 1861; Instructions in Rifle Practice,* etc. He died in Palatka, Fla., April 4, 1886.

Lake. Special articles will be found under the respective names of the lakes, such as Borgne, Champlain, Erie, Huron, Michigan, Ontario, Superior, etc.

Lake George, BATTLE OF. See DIESKAU, L. A.; GEORGE, LAKE; JOHNSON, SIR WILLIAM.

Lake State, name popularly given to Michigan, which borders upon the four lakes, Superior, Huron, Michigan, and Erie. It is sometimes called the "Wolverine State," from its formerly abounding with wolverines.

Lala, RAMON REYES, author; born in the city of Manila, Philippines, March 1, 1857; was educated at Singapore, at St. Xavier's College, Hong-Kong; at St. John's College, London; at the Civil Service Co-operative Society, London (business course), and at Neuchâtel, Switzerland. After travelling extensively he returned to Manila and entered into business with his father. Later he was forced to leave home by Spanish oppression, and came to the United States, becoming the first naturalized Filipino-American citizen. Since his arrival in the United States he has lectured extensively on the people and country of his youth; published *The Philippine Islands;* and contributed largely to periodicals on Filipino interests.

LAMAR, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS

Lamar, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS, jurist; born in Putnam county, Ga., Sept. 1, 1825; graduated at Emory College in 1845; and was admitted to the bar in Macon. In 1847 he went to Oxford, Miss., where he began practice. Later, he was made Professor of Mathematics in the State University, and also became an editorial writer on the *Southern Review.* After a short service in these posts, he returned to Georgia, and in 1853–55 was a member of the legislature. He then returned to Mississippi, where, in 1857 and 1859, he was elected to Congress. He resigned his seat in 1860, and was elected a delegate to the Mississippi secession convention. In 1861 he joined the Confederate army; in 1863–64 was a representative of the Confederacy in Europe, where he procured financial aid, but was unsuccessful in securing the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. After the war he became Professor, first of Political Economy and Social Science, in the Mississippi State University, and afterwards of Law. In 1872–76 he was a member of Congress. On April 27, 1874, he delivered an eloquent address on the death of Charles Sumner, for which he was highly praised, excepting by a few of his constituents, who, because of it, unsuccessfully endeavored to prevent his re-election. In 1877 he was elected to the United States Senate, and there strongly opposed both the debasement and the inflation of the currency. His views upon this question were widely repudiated in his State, whose legislature formally called on him to change his views or resign his seat. Although he refused to obey his legislature in either respect, he was re-elected to the Senate in 1882 by a much larger majority than he received six years before. In 1885 he was appointed Secretary of the Interior, and in 1887 an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He died in Vineville, Ga., Jan. 23, 1893.

On Feb. 15, 1878, he addressed the president of the Senate as follows:

Mr. President, having already expressed my deliberate opinion at some length upon this very important measure now under consideration, I shall not tres-

pass upon the attention of the Senate further. I have, however, one other duty to perform; a very painful one, I admit, but one which is none the less clear. I hold in my hand certain resolutions of the legislature of Mississippi, which I ask to have read.

[He then sent to the clerk's desk and had read the resolutions of the Mississippi legislature instructing their Senators to vote for the silver bill. Mr. Lamar, continuing, said:]

Mr. President, between these resolutions and my convictions there is a great gulf; I cannot pass it. Of my love to the State of Mississippi I will not speak; my life alone can tell it. My gratitude for all the honor her people have done me no words can express; I am best proving it by doing, to-day, what I think their true interests and their character require me to do. During my life in that State it has been my privilege to assist the education of more than one generation of her youth; to have given the impulse to wave after wave of young manhood that has passed into the troubled sea of her social and political life. Upon them I have always endeavored to impress the belief that truth was better than falsehood, honesty better than policy, courage better than cowardice.

To-day my lessons confront me. To-day I must be true or false, honest or cunning, faithful or unfaithful to my people even in this hour of their legislative displeasure and disapprobation. I cannot vote as these resolutions direct. I cannot and will not shirk the responsibility which my position imposes. My duty, as I see it, I will do, and I will vote against this bill. When that is done my responsibility is ended.

My reasons for my vote shall be given to my people. Then it will be for them to determine if adherence to my honest convictions has disqualified me from representing them—whether a difference of opinion upon a difficult and complicated subject, to which I have given patient, long-continued, conscientious study; to which I have brought entire honesty and singleness of purpose and upon which I have spent whatever ability God has given me, is now to separate us—whether this difference is to override that complete union of thought, sympathy, and hope, which on all other, and, as I believe, even more important subjects binds us together. Before them I must stand or fall. But be their present decision what it may, I know that the time is not far distant when they will recognize my action to-day as wise and just, and, armed with honest convictions of my duty, I shall calmly await results, believing in the utterance of a great American who never trusted his countrymen in vain, that "truth is omnipotent and public justice certain."

The Race Problem.—On Aug. 2, 1876, he delivered a speech in the House of Representatives concerning the cause and cure of race troubles in the Southern States, from which the following extracts are taken:

I believe the apprehension growing out of the united Southern support of the Democratic party is wholly unfounded and should not stand in the way of the aspirations of a great people for progress and reform in their government. The idea that the South under any combination of parties will ever again obtain the control of this giant republic and wield its destinies against the will of its mighty people is of all ideas the most visionary and baseless.

Sir, if such an idea has any effect whatever with the North, no such hallucination inflames the imagination of the South. The Southern people are a prostrate people. They have been defeated in war, the humiliation and helplessness of defeat are theirs; while the North have reaped the rich results of a victorious war, and have interfused them into the very elements of the national life and constitution. Their institutions, political and social, have been destroyed as completely as if an earthquake had overwhelmed them; their agricultural industries are disorganized; their fertile soil sterilized by an all-devouring taxation; their educational institutions languishing; their population impoverished and so inferior in numbers as to place them in every department of the government in such a hopeless minority that, so far from ruling the interests of other sections, they are impotent to protect a single interest or right of their own.

Sir, even if such a dream were in their

minds, the occasion for it is gone. The conflict in the past grew out of questions connected with slavery, its area, and the maintenance of its constitutional right, its political privileges, and its property interests. These questions are eliminated from the problem of American politics, and with them have gone all the passions and antagonisms to which they gave rise. Nor is there any influence or incident connected with their present condition which makes them not fully homogeneous with the whole American people; nor anything, except harsh and ungracious administration, to prevent their sympathy and identity with the interest and destiny of the American nation. She feels that she must be either part of the nation or its province; must be part of the government or held in duress under it. With her people national patriotism is a philosophy, a moral and political necessity. To obey the laws of their country, and to recognize its authority over themselves and their society as a mere matter of force and compulsion and fear, would be, as they well know, degrading to their character. As Southern men, they well know that to keep up the high moral standard of a high-spirited people obedience must emanate from patriotic love and not from ignoble fear. Their very sectionalism, which has hitherto tended to insulation, now identifies them with the national life and makes them cultivate that wider and broader patriotism which is co-extensive with the Union. They have no aspirations not bounded by the horizon of that Union, no purpose adverse to the national instincts, no scheme that looks to the disturbance of the elective franchise as it exists in the Constitution.

In acting unitedly with the Democratic party they are simply obeying the imperative law of self-preservation. It is not that they desire to reverse the policy of this government as fixed and fortified in the fundamental law by the victorious forces of the Union, but simply because they desire to escape from the practical grievances and sufferings which the hostile and oppressive policy of the Republican party brings upon them. . . .

Equally unfounded, I think, sir, is the apprehension that the results of the war as embodied in the Constitution are unsafe in the hands of the Democratic party. Whatever may be the future administration of this country, freedom, citizenship, and suffrage are established institutions, embodied in the fundamental law, recognized in all statutes, federal and State, enforced by courts, accepted and acted on by the people. To say that these conditions will be perilled by trusting them to the party which opposed their original establishment, is to contradict the philosophy of history; and if acted upon would in every free government keep the administration of its affairs always in the hands of one single party. There has not been a single great measure in the constitutional history of England, not a single great reform, which after its establishment by one party was not in the course of time, and a very short period, placed in the hands of the party originally opposed to it. Repeated instances might be given; indeed, no instance to the contrary can be found. The repeal of the corn laws, the great measures for law reform, the more recent measures of parliamentary reform which brought England to the verge of revolution and came near sweeping from the English constitution the House of Lords, where the Tory party had its greatest strength, have by the suffrages of the English people over and over again been placed in the hands of that Tory party with perfect confidence of security. Indeed, it is considered the very highest policy, after securing reforms adopted and pushed by the party of progress, to mature and consolidate them by placing them in the hands of the party of conservation and opposition. The Democratic party, when these measures were proposed, stood by the inviolability of the Constitution and opposed them on that account. But these very principles of devotion to the Constitution, which forced that party into opposition, makes them now the safest custodians of those very innovations which by the vote of the people have become established parts of the Constitution itself. . . .

Events have galloped upon this subject and both parties have been more or less the subjects of prodigious revolutions of sentiment. It was but a short time since, in 1861, that a Republican House of Representatives by a large majority adopted

resolutions in favor of the enforcement of the fugitive slave provision of the Constitution and called upon the States to enact laws for remanding all fugitive slaves to their condition of servitude. It was but a few days prior to the publication of the proclamation of emancipation that the illustrious author of that historical document declared in a public letter that he would be in favor of establishing slavery if the doing so would save the Union. It was but a short time previous to the incorporation of these great amendments into our Constitution that State after State in the North by overwhelming popular majorities recorded what seemed to be an inflexible hostility to granting to this newly emancipated race any of the rights of citizenship. As late as 1865 the most distinguished war governors of the North were unequivocally opposed to the policy of incorporating the 4,000,000 emancipated slaves into the political system of the country and investing them with citizenship and the right of voting. . . .

Sir, I ask a patient, charitable consideration of the reply which it is my duty as a Southern Representative to make on this subject. I think, sir, if gentlemen will accompany me into an examination of the causes which produced the present condition of things in the South, they will find that it does not grow out of any natural or necessary conflict of race or any desire to abridge the rights, political or personal, of any class of American citizens.

The first to which I would call attention is the sudden incorporation into the political system of the South of an element, not only incongruous with the political habitudes of our people and to the established conditions of their old society, but impossible except through time and education to be raised to that level of ordinary citizenship to which a century's training of freedom has elevated the white citizens of the country. The magnitude alone of this new element, 4,000,000 people made citizens, 800,000 of them voters, made such in the twinkling of an eye, was of itself sufficient to shock and shatter the political order of any community on earth.

Mr. Chairman, but a short time since when it was proposed to admit the distant and sparsely settled Territory of New Mexico into our federal community of States, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar], who addressed the House to-day so impressively and so earnestly, objected strenuously to the measure upon the ground that that feeble population of 120,000 inhabitants, largely composed of Mexicans and Indians, because they could not read or speak the English language, was disqualified to exercise the privileges of citizenship, and should not therefore be admitted into the community of American States. . . .

Sir, but the other day a distinguished Senator from the coast made a most striking protest against the further immigration of Chinese into the community there, and still more recently both parties seemed to be vying with each other as to which should go furthest in preventing this admixture of the Mongolian race with ours. To illustrate the disturbing force of this measure, let us suppose that in the six New England States and the States of New York and New Jersey, whose population corresponds most nearly to that of our Southern States, in one night 4,000,000 of unaccustomed, incongruous population, such as Mexicans and Chinese, should be incorporated into the political system of those commonwealths, and by some paramount power outside of those States should be so compacted together as to gain control of all the departments of their government, of all the offices, all the institutions, State and municipal—in a word, invested with the entire sovereignty of their body-politic, I ask you would not the repose of society be disturbed; would not all assurance of law, of healthful industry, of business arrangements and investments—would not all confidence give way to dismay and perplexity, to restless fears, wild passions, and bloody scenes? Why, sir, the more splendid their political civilization, the more complex their system of laws, and the more perfectly adjusted their social and economic forces, and the higher the moral tone of their society, the more hideous would be the ruin and the more refined the agony of the people subjected to such a catastrophe.

But the case as supposed is not as

strong as the case which actually occurred in the Southern States. The 4,000,000 people who by a scratch of the pen were made citizens and crushed into our political system, the 800,000 voters and office-holders and legislators and magistrates, had just emerged from the immemorial condition of slaves.

This fearful experiment was regarded by thinking men all over the world with the profoundest concern and misgiving. It was viewed with disfavor by a large majority even of the Republican party. Its most able and its most extreme leaders looked upon it as committing society to the sway of ignorance, servility, corruption, and tyranny; and such was their sentiment until the conflict of the Republican party with President Johnson and one other cause, which I shall notice before I close, seemed to sweep away every consideration of reason and justice. In 1865, the year in which there was in the South certain legislation, which has been the subject of much denunciation of the South and the occasion and excuse for the oppressive and humiliating methods which have been applied to her people—I say, in that year Mr. O. P. Morton in a message to the legislature of Indiana used the following language:

"It is a fact so manifest that it should not be called in question by any, that a people who are just emerging from the barbarism of slavery are not qualified to become a part of our political system and take part not only in the government of themselves and their neighbors, but of the whole United States.

"So far from believing that negro suffrage is a remedy for all of our national ills, I doubt whether it is a remedy for any, and rather believe that its enforcement by Congress would be more likely to subject the negro to a merciless persecution than to confer upon him any substantial benefit.

"By some it is thought that suffrage is already cheap enough in this country; and the immediate transfer of more than 500,000 men from the bonds of slavery, with all the ignorance and the degradation upon them which the slavery of generations upon Southern fields has produced, would be a declaration to the world that the exercise of American suffrage involves no intellectual or moral qualifications, and that there is no difference between an American freeman and an American slave which may not be removed by a mere act of Congress." . . .

Now, sir, in a speech which this gentleman made in Indiana before these people became invested with any political rights, here is his language:

"I believe that, in the case of 4,000,000 slaves just freed from bondage, there should be a period of probation and preparation before they are brought to the exercise of political power. . . . What is their condition? Perhaps not one in 500—I might say one in 1,000—can read, and perhaps not one in 500 is worth $5 in property of any kind."

Now, sir, notice the language of Mr. Morton in the following sentences:

"Can you conceive that a body of men, white or black, who have been in this condition, and their ancestors before them, are qualified to be immediately lifted from their present state into the full exercise of power, not only to govern themselves and their neighbors, but to take part in the government of the United States? Can they be regarded as intelligent and independent voters? The mere state of fact furnishes the answer to the question. . . . To say that such men—and it is no fault of theirs; it is simply a misfortune and crime of this nation—to say that such men, just emerged from slavery, are qualified for the exercise of political power, is to make the strongest pro-slavery argument I ever heard. It is to pay the highest compliment to the institution of slavery."

Then he goes on with his objections to clothing the people with the rights of citizenship and suffrage. Says he:

"The right to vote carries with it the right to hold office. You cannot say that the negro has a natural right to vote, but that he must vote for white men for office."

Then, after demonstrating that point, he makes this conclusion:

"If you enfranchise all the negroes in these States, you will have at least twenty negro votes to one white vote, and in the work of reconstructing the States of South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida you will have a larger proportion—per-

haps thirty colored votes to one white. Now, I ask you what is to be the effect of that? The first effect will be, you will have colored State governments."

After going into a long argument to prove this fact, he reaches this conclusion:

"They will have colored governors and colored members of Congress and Senators, and judges of the Supreme Court, etc. Very well; and suppose they do send colored Senators and Representatives to Congress, I have no doubt you will find men in the North who will be willing to sit beside them, and will not think themselves degraded by doing so. I have nothing to say to this. I am simply discussing the political effect of it. In every State where there is a colored State government, a negro for governor, and a negro for supreme judge, white emigration will cease; there will be no more white emigration to any such State. You cannot find the most ardent anti-slavery man in Wayne county who will go and locate in a State that has a colored State government."

Now, sir, why ascribe to the conduct of the people of the South this exclusion of emigration when here is predicted beforehand the result of the state of things which have occurred? Here is his conclusion:

"I submit, then, however strongly and clearly we may admit the natural right of the negro—I submit it to the intelligence of the people that colored State governments are not desirable; that they will bring about results that are not to be hoped for; that finally they would threaten to bring about, and I believe would result in, a war of races."

Those are his predictions in 1865. Now, what is his remedy? Here it is:

"If I had the power I would arrange it in this way: I would give these men a probation and a preparation; I would give them time to acquire a little property and get a little education; time to learn something about the simplest forms of business and prepare themselves for the exercise of political power."

Well, sir, that looks amiable and friendly towards these men. But why put them under this system of probation? For the benefit of the race? In order to elevate them? That is not the motive which upon that occasion he declared. Here is what he says:

"At the end of ten, fifteen or twenty years—"

Sir, that time has not elapsed. What would he do at the end of ten, fifteen or twenty years?

"At the end of ten, fifteen or twenty years let them come into the enjoyment of their political rights."

Why then?

"By that time these States will have been so completely filled up by emigration from the North and from Europe that *the negroes will be in a permanent minority.*"

There is his devotion to the colored race! Keep them ten, fifteen or twenty years out of the enjoyment of their political rights, until under the influence of immigration the negroes shall be in a permanent minority!

That being his advice, it is strange, I repeat, that the people of the South, just returned from the war, all their society in ruins, full of wretchedness and disappointment, this race emancipated lying upon their plantations, neither slave nor citizen and without any indication of the national sentiment that they were to become citizens; in disorder, without law—for the slave laws were abolished and they were at that time not within the provision of the civil code which applied to the white race—is it strange, sir, that in improvising legislation which under this terrible pressure, this appalling calamity, these bewildering changes, which have followed one upon the other with such rapidity—is it strange that that system should have some of the incidents of the old system?

Sir, is it to be arrayed against them until the end of time as an evidence on their part of a purpose to remand that people to the servitude of slavery? Measure these people by what the sentiment was at that time, and not by standards you have erected at this time. It was not a system which was well advised or well executed, for, sir, it was repealed by the legislatures which passed it the very moment the public sentiment of the South could reach those who did pass it.

It is worthy of special attention that

Governor Morton predicts the results of this policy which have actually followed its adoption. If, sir, that policy furnishes an adequate and inevitable cause of these disorders which he beforehand said it would do, why seek to attribute them, when they come, to a different cause? Why send investigating committees to the South to charge them upon the murderous and rebellious purposes of the whites? . . .

The result of that conflict was that the federal government assumed, as a political necessity, the exclusive prerogative of reconstructing government in the South. The policy of reconstruction excluded the white race (on account of its suspected disloyalty) as the basis of the new order. But as the black race was considered as incompetent to manage the new structures built for them, military power, for the first time in the history of the American government, was employed as the force to put and keep in operation the machinery of civil government. I do not propose to discuss this policy, but simply to call special attention to one feature of it. All the measures in the furtherance of that policy, the Freedmen's Bureau, which cut all connection of the two races sheer asunder, whose agents and officers were made judges to try and punish offences by the whites against the rights of freedmen, without jury or the right of judicial appeal; the act dividing the South without reference to State lines into military districts, and vesting the power of appointing all civil officers in a commanding general; the acts for restoring civil governments—were all based upon this one idea of protecting the enfranchised black race against the wrongs anticipated from the disfranchised white race; and as a matter of fact, therefore, this reconstruction legislation, as conceived and enforced, actually arrayed the two races into distinct and opposing classes, and drew the color line as distinctly and perfectly as if such race distinction had been enjoined in the Constitution. The very first principle of government your new-made citizens saw in operation was the principle of race discrimination. The very first lesson in civil government which they learned was the proscription of the white race as an object of political distrust and resentment.

The strange spectacle of these two races locally intermingled, bound together by the strongest ties of interest and affection, yet as completely separated politically as if a deep gulf had sunk between them; the passions incident to party contests in which the contestants differ not in conviction, but in race, and now charged as one of the heavy items against the South, find their authorship and origin in the legislation of the government and the action of its agents. One moment's consideration will convince any fair mind of this. The measures devised for the sole benefit, protection, and ascendency of one race will surely command the support of that race; and if the same policy disfranchises the other race, hurls it from its proud tradition into a condition rife with all the elements of humiliation, and deprives it even of its ancient guarantees against the oppression of arbitrary power, the inevitable effect is, perforce, to drive that race into opposition to those measures. Thus, I repeat, by a policy which drew one race to its support and drove the other into opposition, the separation of the two was produced without the voluntary agency of either and against the natural tendencies of both.

[Mr. Lamar here entered into a discussion of the Presidential election in Louisiana in 1876, and then continued:]

Sir, this race problem is capable of solution. Two English statesmen such as Lord Derby and Earl Russell, or Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, could agree upon a basis of settlement in three days; and we could do the same here but for the interposition of the passions of party in the contest for the power and emoluments of government. It could be settled in this District and throughout the South without abridging universal suffrage or subjecting either race to the control of the other. Take the question out of national politics and it can be settled on a basis which would consolidate all the rights of the black man, make him free and equal with every citizen before the law, protected in the fruits of his labor, safe in his person, happy in his household, secure in the enjoyment of whatever he can acquire in fair competition, whether it be of fortune or fame, and thus secure to him a higher and better life than he now leads as the mis-

guided and deluded constituency of dishonest office-holders.

I have not intended to intimate that the capacity of the black race for freedom and the duties of citizenship should be determined by the considerations which I presented. The freedom of this race, its citizenship, have not had a fair opportunity for favorable development at the South. Controlled through the authority of the government by the worst men as they have been, it would be unjust to them to form any estimate of their capacity to meet the demands of their high position by the events of the last ten years.

Sir, we know that one great cause of the jealousy with which the Southern people are regarded is the fact that they stand between the ambition of a party and the glittering prizes of honor and emoluments and patronage which the control of the government for another four years will give. I believe, sir, if they could do so consistently with their constitutional obligations, our people would willingly stand aloof and let the Northern people settle the question of President for themselves, upon the condition that there shall be no further intervention in their local affairs. But, sir, they cannot abnegate their rights and duties as American citizens and impose on themselves a sullen and inactive incivism. They must go forward and keep abreast with American progress and American destiny, and take their share of the responsibility in the settlement of the questions in which all parts of the country are alike interested.

But it is asked why we are united in support of the Democratic party. A celebrated author in his work on political ethics says that in the history of all free countries there is no instance of a people being unanimous in sentiment and action, unless they were made so by the imminence of some great and common peril or by the inspiration of some enthusiastic sentiment.

The people of the South are not moved by the latter. Even if the events of the war and the sufferings since the war had not, as they have done, crushed out all their party attachments, nearly one-half the people of the South have no attachment to the Democratic party, and in acting with it for the time being, they only obey, as I said before, the imperious law of self-preservation.

The motive which prompts their cooperation is not the expectation of filling cabinets and directing politics, but simply to get an administration which will not be unfriendly to them, an administration which, in place of the appliances of force, subjugation, and domination, will give them amnesty, restoration to the privileges of American citizenship; which will accord to their States the same equal rights with other States in this Union; equality of consideration, equality of authority and jurisdiction over their own affairs; equality, sir, in exemption from the domination of their elections by the bayonet and by soldiers as the irresistible instruments of a revolting local despotism. Give them that, give them local self-government, and you will then see at last what will be the dawn of prosperity in all the industries and enterprises of the North; you will see, sir, a true Southern renaissance, a real grand reconstruction of the South, in all the elements of social order, strength, justice, and equality of all her people. Rising from her confusion and distress, rejoicing in her newly recovered liberty, prosperous, free, great, her sons and daughters of every race happy in her smile, she will greet your benignant republic in the words of the inspired poet—

"Thy gentleness hath made me great."

Lamar, Mirabeau Buonaparte, statesman; born in Louisville, Ga., Aug. 16, 1798; uncle of the preceding. In 1835 he went to Texas, and commanded the cavalry in the battle of San Jacinto, which secured the independence of the province. He was attorney-general and secretary of the new State, and was elected its first vice-president in 1836, then holding the rank of major-general. He was president from 1838 to 1841, and in 1846 he joined General Taylor in the invasion of Mexico. In 1858 he published the Columbus *Inquirer*, a "State rights" journal. Just previous to his death, in Richmond, Tex., Dec. 19, 1859, he was United States minister to Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

Lamb, John, artillery officer; born in

New York City, Jan. 1, 1735; was one of the most active of the Sons of Liberty, and when the war for independence began he entered the military service. He was in command of the artillery in Montgomery's expedition into Canada, and during the

JOHN LAMB.

siege of Quebec (Dec. 31, 1775) he was wounded and made prisoner. The following summer, as major of artillery, he was attached to the regiment of Knox; and he was commissioned colonel of the New York Artillery, Jan. 1, 1777. After doing good service throughout the war, he ended his military career at Yorktown. At about the close of the war he was elected to the New York Assembly; and Washington appointed him (1789) collector of the customs at the port of New York, which office he held until his death, May 31, 1800.

Lamb, MARTHA JOAN READE NASH, historian; born in Plainfield, Mass., Aug. 13, 1829; was educated in the higher branches of English and the modern languages. In 1852 she married Charles A. Lamb and removed to Chicago, where she aided in establishing the Home for the Friendless and Half-orphan Asylum. In 1863 she was secretary of the United States Sanitary Commission Fair. Three years later she went to New York City, and from that time gave her whole attention to authorship. In 1883 she became editor of the *Magazine of American History.* She belonged to about thirty historical and other societies. Her chief work is the *History of the City of New York.* Her other publications include *Spicy; The Homes of America; The Christmas Owl; Snow and Sunshine; Wall Street in History; Memorial of Dr. J. D. Russ,* etc. She died in New York City, Jan. 2, 1893.

Lamb, ROGER, military officer; born in Dublin, Ireland, Jan. 17, 1756; joined the British army and fought against the colonies in the American Revolution; was twice taken prisoner, but escaped each time, bearing important news regarding the American troops to his superiors; was made adjutant to the Merchant Volunteers in New York about 1782. His publications, which are among the most valuable sources for the history of the Revolutionary period, include *A Journal of Occurrences during the Late American War,* and *Memoir of My Own Life.* He died in May, 1830.

Lamberville, JEAN DE. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Lamont, DANIEL SCOTT, statesman; born in Cortlandville, N. Y., Feb. 9, 1851; graduated at Union College; and engaged in journalism. In 1885–89 he was private secretary to President Cleveland, and in 1893–97 was Secretary of War. On retiring from the last office he was elected vice-president of the Northern Pacific Railway Company.

Lamson, CHARLES MARION, clergyman; born in North Hadley, Mass., May 16, 1843; graduated at Amherst College and at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass.; and after holding several pastorates was elected president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1897, succeeding Richard S. Storrs, D.D. He died in St. Johnsbury, Vt., Aug. 8, 1899.

Lancaster, JOSEPH, educator; born in London, Nov. 25, 1778; became interested in educating poor children, for whom he opened a school in Southwark, in 1798, and taught for scarcely any remuneration. The success of this led him to establish similar schools in different parts of England, on the plan of having the more advanced pupils teach those in the lower classes. In 1818 he came to the United States, where his system had already been adopted in many schools, owing to which fact he did not derive much financial benefit by the change. His publications include *Improvements in Ed-*

cation; Epitome of the Chief Events and Transactions of My Own Life, etc. He died in New York City, Oct. 24, 1838.

Lancaster, TREATY OF. At Lancaster, Pa., a treaty was made in 1744 between the commissioners of Maryland and Virginia and the deputies of the Iroquois Confederacy, which, since their union with the Tuscaroras of North Carolina, had been called the Six Nations. That treaty provided for the cession of all lands that were and should be claimed by the Indians within the province of Virginia, for the consideration of about $2,000. Their claimed lands in Maryland were, in like manner, confirmed to Lord Baltimore, with definite limits. Thus did Great Britain at once acquire and confirm its claims to the basin of the Ohio, and, at the same time, secure protection to its northern frontier.

Lance, WILLIAM, author; born in Charleston, S. C., in 1791; was educated in his native city and became a lawyer in 1812; served for a time as a member of the South Carolina legislature. He was the author of a *Life of Washington* (published in Latin). He died in Texas in 1840.

Land Companies. After the treaty at Fort Stanwix, the banks of the Kanawha, flowing north at the foot of the great Alleghany ridge into the Ohio, began to attract settlers, and application was soon made to the British government by a company, of which Dr. Franklin, Sir William Johnson, Walpole (a wealthy London banker), and others were members, for that part of the newly acquired territory north of the Kanawha, and thence to the upper Ohio. They offered to refund the whole amount (about $50,000) which the government had paid the Indians, and proposed the establishment of a new and separate colony there. This project was approved by Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, and the ministry finally agreed to it, but the troubles between the parent government and her children in America, then rapidly tending towards open war, prevented a completion of the scheme. Such was the origin of the "Walpole," or "Ohio Company," the "Vandalia Company," and the "Indiana Company," founded on a cession said to have been made by the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. These schemes of land speculators were dissipated by the same cause that arrested the completion of the Walpole scheme.

Lander, FREDERICK WEST, military officer; born in Salem, Mass., Dec. 17, 1821; studied civil engineering, and was employed by the government in conducting explorations across the continent. He made two surveys to determine the practicability of a railroad route to the Pacific. In the last, he alone of all the party returned alive. He surveyed and constructed a great overland wagon-road, which had been recently completed when the Civil War broke out, when he was employed on secret missions to the South. On the staff of General McClellan he was very active in the vicinity of the upper Potomac. In a skirmish at Edwards's Ferry, after the disaster at BALL'S BLUFF (*q. v.*), he was wounded in the leg. In JANUARY, 1862, he was on active duty, and repulsed a large Confederate force at Hancock, Va. Before his wound was healed he made a brilliant dash, Feb. 14, 1862, on Blooming Gap, for which the Secretary of War gave him special thanks. His health was evidently giving away, and he applied for temporary relief from military duty; but, impatient, he prepared to make another attack on the Confederates, when he died in Paw Paw, Va., March 2, 1862.

Landon, JUDSON STUART, jurist; born in Connecticut in 1832; was admitted to the bar; practised in Schenectady, N. Y.; and was elected justice of the Supreme Court of the fourth district of New York. He is the author of *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States.*

Lands, Public. See PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Lane, ALFRED CHURCH, geologist; born in Boston, Jan. 29, 1863; graduated at Harvard University in 1883, and took an advanced course at Heidelberg, Germany. Returning to the United States he was appointed an instructor of mathematics in Harvard University, and later of petrography in the Michigan College of Mines. Afterwards he was made assistant State Geologist of Michigan. He is author of part ii. of vol. v., and part i. of vol. vi. of *Reports of the Geological Survey of Michigan.* He has also writ-

ten articles for *The Outlook; The Popular Science Monthly*, and technical periodicals.

Lane, Henry Smith, legislator; born in Montgomery county, Ky., Feb. 24, 1811; removing to Indiana, was there admitted to the bar; and was a member of the legislature in 1837. He served one term in Congress (1841–43), and was lieutenant-colonel of volunteers in the war with Mexico. In 1860 he was elected governor of Indiana, but, being chosen United States Senator, he soon afterwards resigned the governorship. He died in Crawfordsville, Ind., June 11, 1881.

Lane, James Henry, military officer; born in Lawrenceburg, Ind., June 22, 1814; son of Amos Lane; was admitted to the bar in 1840; served as a volunteer in the war with Mexico, commanding a brigade at Buena Vista; and, in 1848, was elected lieutenant-governor of Indiana. He served one term in Congress; settled in Kansas, and was chosen its first United States Senator. He served well during the Civil War, and was again elected United States Senator in 1865. He died near Leavenworth, Kan., July 1, 1866.

Lane, Joseph, military officer; born in Buncombe county, N. C., Dec. 14, 1801; great-nephew of Joel Lane, the pioneer. Going early to Indiana, he engaged in business there, and was frequently a member of the legislature between 1822 and 1846. He served in the war against Mexico, in which he gained distinction; rose to the rank of brigadier-general; and was brevetted major-general. In 1848 he was appointed governor of Oregon Territory, organized its government, was its delegate in Congress from 1851 to 1859, and United States Senator from 1859 to 1861. He was again governor in 1863. Mr. Lane was nominated for Vice-President in 1860 on the Breckinridge ticket. He died in Oregon, April 19, 1881.

Lane, Sir Ralph, colonial governor; born in Northamptonshire, England, about 1530; was son of Sir Ralph Lane, and Maud, daughter of Lord Parr, uncle of Catharine Parr, one of the queens of Henry VIII. He was equerry in the Court of Queen Elizabeth; commanded troops in Ireland, first in 1569, and again in 1583–84; and was sent from England with Sir Richard Granville, by Sir Walter Raleigh, to be governor of Virginia, in 1585. After his return from Virginia he was colonel in the expedition of Norris and Drake against Portugal in 1589, and in 1591 was mustermaster-general in Ireland. He was knighted by the lord-deputy in 1593. Lane's administration as governor of Virginia was fruitless of any good. By following the example of Grenville he exasperated the Indians. Had he been kind and wise the colony might have prospered; but he and his followers were greedy for gold, and only Harriott, the historian, acted like a sensible Christian. Lane had the gold fever severely, and all trusted more to fire-arms than to friendship to secure the good-will of the Indians. Sometimes the latter were treated with cruelty, and a flame of vengeance was kindled and kept alive. The Indians deceived the English with tales of gold-bearing regions near, and that the source of the Roanoke River was among rocks near the Pacific Ocean, where the houses were lined with pearls. Lane explored, found himself deceived, and returned. The Indians, who wanted to have the English dispersed in the forest, so as to exterminate them in detail, were discomfited. They looked with awe upon the English with fire-arms, and, believing more were coming to take their lands away from them, they determined to slay them. Lane, satisfied that there was a wide-spread conspiracy against the colony, struck the first blow. He invited King Wingina and his principal chiefs to a friendly conference. They came, confidingly, without weapons. At a preconcerted signal Lane and his followers fell upon and murdered the king and his companions. Thenceforth both parties stood on the defensive. The condition of the English became desperate. Their supplies became exhausted, and none could be got from the natives; only from the woods and waters could food be obtained. The colony was on the verge of starvation and despair, when Sir Francis Drake, returning from a raid upon Spanish towns, came to Roanoke Island. In his ship the colonists gladly embarked for England. Sir Ralph died in Ireland, in 1604.

Langdell, Christopher Columbus,

lawyer; born in Hillsboro county, N. H., May 22, 1826; studied at Harvard College in 1848–49; engaged in teaching; graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1853, and practised in New York until 1870, when he was made Professor of Jurisprudence and dean of the law faculty at Harvard. In 1900 he resigned his chair, owing to failing eyesight and advanced age. His works include *Selections of Cases on the Law of Contracts; Cases on Sales; Summary of Equity Pleading; Cases in Equity Pleading,* etc.

Langdon, JOHN, statesman; born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1739; was a successful merchant, and took an early and active part in the events preceding the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. He was a member of the Continental Congress (1775–76), but in June, in the latter year, he resigned his seat and became navy agent. He was speaker of the Assembly, and was ready to make any reasonable sacrifice to promote the cause. When means were needed to support a New Hampshire regiment, he gave all his "hard money," pledged his plate, and applied to the same purpose the proceeds of seventy hogsheads of tobacco. He furnished means for raising a brigade of the troops with which Stark gained the victory at Bennington. He was active in civil affairs, also, all through the war, serving in the Continental Congress and his State legislature. In 1785 he was president of New Hampshire, and in 1787 was one of the framers of the federal Constitution. He was governor of his State in 1788, and again from 1805 to 1811; was United States Senator from 1789 to 1801, and declined the office of Secretary of the Navy (1811) and of Vice-President of the United States (1812). He died in Portsmouth, Sept. 18, 1819.

Langford, LAURA CARTER HOLLOWAY, author; born in Nashville, Tenn., in 1848; graduated at the Nasville Female Academy; subsequently settled in New York City. She was twice married. For twelve years she was associate editor of the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle,* and for nine years president of the Brooklyn Seidl Society of Music. She was co-editor with Anton Seidl of the department of musical terms of the *Standard Dictionary.* Her works include *The Ladies of the White House; The Hearth-stone, or Life at Home; Chinese Gordon; Howard, The Christian Hero; The Buddhist Diet Book,* etc.

Langley, JOHN WILLIAMS, educator; born in Boston, Oct. 21, 1841; graduated at Harvard College in 1861; assistant Professor of Physics in the United States Naval Academy in 1867–70; Professor of Chemistry at the Western University of Pennsylvania in 1871–74; and Professor of Chemistry and Physics at the University of Michigan in 1875–89. He became Professor of Electrical Engineering in the Case School of Applied Science in 1892. He is a member of several scientific organizations and the author of various scientific papers.

Langley, SAMUEL PIERPONT, astronomer; born in Boston, Mass., Aug. 22, 1834; graduated at the Boston High School, and engaged in the practice of architecture and civil engineering. In 1865 he was made an assistant at Harvard Observatory, and later became Professor of Mathematics in the United States Naval Academy. In 1867 he was selected for director of the Allegheny Observatory, where two years later he established the system of railroad time service from observatories, which soon went into general use. He also made the bolometer, which has been widely adopted, and other apparatus. Professor Langley has made many experiments on the problem of aerial navigation and firmly believes that a machine, not a balloon, can be created which will produce sufficient mechanical power to support itself in the air and fly. He founded the Astrophysical Observatory and the National Zoological Park at Washington. His works include *The New Astronomy; Researches on Solar Heat; Experiments in Aerodynamics,* and numerous other kindred works, and papers and articles in magazines.

Lanier, SIDNEY, poet; born in Macon, Ga., Feb. 3, 1842; graduated at Oglethorpe College in 1860; enlisted in the Confederate army in 1861; took part in the seven days' battles near Richmond; was captured while in command of a blockade-runner in 1863. In addition to his poetical works, he wrote a *History of*

Florida; The Boys' Froissart, etc. He died in Lynn, N. C., Sept. 7, 1881.

Lanman, CHARLES, author; born in Monroe, Mich., June 14, 1819; received an academical education; spent ten years in a business house in New York City; and in 1845 became editor of the *Gazette* of Monroe. He was editor of the Cincinnati *Chronicle* in 1846; of the *Express* in New York in 1847. He was chosen librarian of the War Department in 1849, and librarian of copyrights in 1850. He next became private secretary to Daniel Webster. In 1855–57 he was librarian of the Department of the Interior, and in 1871–82 was secretary of the Japanese legation at Washington. He was the first man to explore the Saguenay region in Canada, and among the first to explore the mountains of North Carolina. His works include *Essays for Summer Hours; Letters from a Landscape Painter; A Tour to the River Saguenay; Private Life of Daniel Webster; Resources of America*, etc. He also compiled several works for the Japanese government. He died in Washington, D. C., March 4, 1895.

Lanman, JAMES HENRY, author; born in Norwich, Conn., Dec. 4, 1812; became a lawyer and after several years' practice in Norwich and New London, Conn., and Baltimore, Md., he settled in New York City and engaged in literary work. Later he became interested in the State of Michigan. His publications include *History of Michigan, Civil and Topographical*, which was afterwards published under the title of *History of Michigan from its Earliest Colonization to the Present Time*, etc. He died in Middletown, Conn., Jan. 10, 1887.

Lanman, JOSEPH, naval officer; born in Norwich, Conn., July 11, 1811; entered the navy in 1825; became captain in 1861, and commodore in 1862. He commanded the frigate *Minnesota* in the North Atlantic squadron, in 1864–65, and had the command of the second division of Porter's squadron in both attacks on Fort Fisher. On Dec. 8, 1867, he was promoted to rear-admiral, and in May, 1872, he was retired. He died in Norwich, March 13, 1874.

Lansdowne. See SHELBURNE.

Lanza, GAETANO, educator; born in Boston, Mass., Sept. 26, 1848. For two years he was assistant instructor of mathematics in the University of Virginia; was instructor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1871–72; assistant Professor in 1872–75; since 1875 has been Professor of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics, and since 1883 has also had charge of the department of mechanical engineering. He is a member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Boston Society of Civil Engineers, American Mathematical Society, American Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, and of other scientific societies; and is a fellow of the American Society for the Advancement of Science, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Professor Lanza has published *Applied Mechanics* and many scientific papers.

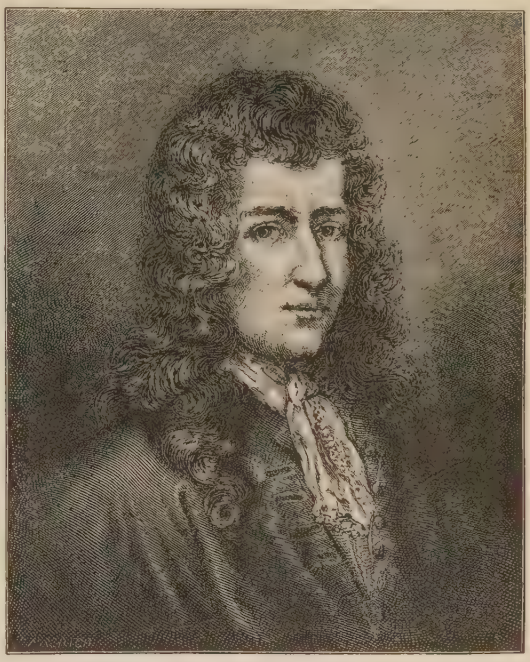
Larned, JOSEPHUS NELSON, author; born in Chatham, Ont., Canada, May 11, 1836; received a public school education in Buffalo; was on the editorial staff of the Buffalo *Express* in 1859–72; superintendent of education in that city in 1872–73; superintendent of the Buffalo Library in 1877–97; and president of the American Library Association in 1893–94. He is author of *History for Ready Reference* and *Talks About Labor*.

Larsen, LAUR, educator; born in Christiansand, Norway, Aug. 10, 1833; graduated at the University of Christiania in 1850, and at its theological department in 1855, and entered the ministry of the Lutheran Church. He was minister in Pierce county, Wis., in 1857–59; Norwegian Professor of Concordia College and Seminary, St. Louis, in 1859–61; president of the Norwegian Lutheran College since 1861; vice-president of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod in 1876–93; vice-president of the Synodical Conference in 1879–82, and acting president part of the time; and editor of the church paper of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod in 1868–69.

La Salle, ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE, explorer; born in Rouen, France, Nov. 22, 1643; in early life became a Jesuit, and thereby forfeited his patrimony. He afterwards left the order, and went to Canada as an adventurer in 1666. From the Sulpicians, seigneurs of Montreal, he ob-

tained a grant of land and founded Lachine. Tales of the wonders and riches of the wilderness inspired him with a desire to explore. With two Sulpicians, he went into the wilds of western New York, and afterwards went down the Ohio River as far as the site of Louisville. Governor Frontenac became his friend, and in the autumn of 1674 he went to France bearing a letter from the governor-general, strongly recommending him to Colbert, the French premier. Honors and privileges were bestowed upon him at the French Court, and he was made governor of Fort Frontenac, erected on the site of Kingston, at the foot of Lake Ontario, which he greatly strengthened, and gathered Indian settlers around it. He had very soon a squadron of four vessels on the lake, engaged in the fur-trade, and Fort Frontenac was made the centre of that traffic, in which he now largely engaged and sought the monopoly. Conceiving a grand scheme of explorations and trade westward, perhaps to China, he went to France in 1678 and obtained permission to execute it. He was allowed to engage in explorations, build forts, and have the monopoly of the trade in buffaloskins, during five years, but was forbidden to trade with tribes accustomed to take furs to Montreal. Henri de Tonti, a veteran Italian, joined him, and, with thirty mechanics and mariners, they sailed from Rochelle in the summer of 1678, and reached Fort Frontenac early in the autumn. De Tonti was sent farther west to establish a trading-post at the mouth of the Niagara River. He proceeded, also, to build a vessel above the great falls for traffic on Lake Erie, and named it the *Griffin*.

In August, 1679, La Salle sailed with De Tonti through the chain of lakes to Green Bay, in the northwestern portion of Lake Michigan. Creditors were pressing him with claims, and he unlawfully gathered furs and sent them back in the *Griffin* to meet those claims. Then he proceeded, with his party, in canoes, to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, in southwestern Michigan, where he established a trading-house and called it Fort Miami. Ascending the St. Joseph, he crossed to the Kankakee, and paddled down it until he reached an Illinois village, and, in January, 1680, he began the establishment of a trading-post on the site of the present Peoria, Ill., which he called Fort Crèvecœur. Disappointed in the failure of the *Griffin* to make a return voyage with supplies, he put De Tonti in command of the fort and despatched Hennepin and Acau to explore the Illinois to its mouth and the Mississippi northward. With five companions, La Salle started back for Canada, and from the mouth of the St. Joseph he crossed Michigan to a river flowing into the Detroit, and thence overland to Lake Erie. From its western end he navigated it in a canoe to Niagara, where he was satisfied that the *Griffin* had perished somewhere on the lakes. He also heard of the loss of a ship arriving from France with supplies. Settling as



ROBERT CAVELIER SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

well as he could with his creditors, La Salle, with a fresh party of twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen New England Indians, with ten women and children, began a return journey to Fort Crèvecœur, with supplies. De Tonti had been driven away by an attack on the Illinois settlement of the Iroquois. The desertion of his men had compelled him to abandon the fort and return to Green Bay.

La Salle and his party went down the Illinois to its mouth, when he returned to gather his followers and procure means for continuing his explorations. Late in December, 1681, he started from Fort Miami with his expedition, coasted along the southern shore of Lake Michigan, ascended the Chicago River, crossed to the Illinois, descended to the Mississippi, and went down that stream until it separated into three channels, which he explored to the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle named the great stream River Colbert, in compliment to his patron at the Court of France. De Tonti explored the great middle channel. Then the whole company assembled at a dry spot near the Gulf, and there prepared a cross and a column, affixing to the latter the arms of France and this inscription, "Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, April 9, 1682." He also buried there a leaden plate, with a Latin inscription. The whole company then signed a *proces verbal*, in the following order: La Métarie (notary), De la Salle, P. Zenobe (Récollet missionary), Henri de Tonti, François de Bousvoudet, Jean Bourdon, Sieur d'Autray, Jacques Cauclois, Pierre You, Giles Mencret, Jean Michel (surgeon), Jean Mas, Jean Duglignon, Nicholas de la Salle. La Salle formally proclaimed the whole valley of the Mississippi and the region of its tributaries a part of the French dominions, and named the country Louisiana, in compliment to the King. So was first planted the germ of the empire of the French in that region, which flourished in the eighteenth century.

La Salle ascended the Mississippi the next year, and returned to Quebec in November, leaving Tonti in command in the west, with directions to meet him at the mouth of the Mississippi the following year. Then he proceeded to France and proposed to the government a settlement in Louisiana and the conquest of the rich mining country in northern Mexico. A patent was granted him, and he was made commandant of the vast territory from the present State of Illinois to Mexico, and westward indefinitely. With 280 indifferent persons he sailed from France Aug. 1, 1684, with four ships; but disputes between Beaujeu, the navigator of the squadron, and La Salle proved disastrous to the expedition. Touching at Santo Domingo, they entered the Gulf of Mexico, and, by miscalculations, passed the mouth of the Mississippi without knowing it. La Salle became satisfied of this fact, but Beaujeu sailed obstinately on, and finally anchored off the entrance to Matagorda Bay. The colonists debarked, but the store-ship containing most of the supplies, was wrecked. Beaujeu, pleading a lack of provisions, deserted La Salle, leaving him only a small vessel. He cast up a fort, which he called St. Louis, and attempted to till the soil; but the Indians were hostile. Some of the settlers were killed, others perished from disease and hardships, and, after making some explorations of the country, the party, at the end of the year, was reduced to less than forty souls.

Leaving half of them, including women and children, La Salle set out, at the beginning of 1688, to make his way to the Illinois. His party consisted of his brother, two nephews, and thirteen others, some of whom were sullen and ripe for revolt. Penetrating the present domain of Texas to Trinity River, revolt broke out, and the two ringleaders killed La Salle's nephew in a stealthy manner; and when the great explorer turned back to look for him, they shot him dead, March 20, 1687. Nearly all of those who were left at Fort St. Louis were massacred by the Indians, and the remainder fell into the hands of the Spaniards, sent to drive out the French. La Salle, lured by tales of an abundance of precious metals in New Mexico, had penetrated that country, with a few followers, before leaving Fort St. Louis, but he was disappointed.

Las Casas, BARTOLOMÉ DE, missionary; born in Seville, Spain, in 1474. His father was a companion of Columbus in his two earlier voyages, and in the second one he took this son, then a student

at Salamanca, with him. Bartolomé accompanied Columbus on his third and fourth voyages, and, on his return, entered the order of the Dominicans, that he might become a missionary among the natives of the new-found islands of the West. He went to Santo Domingo, and was there ordained a priest, in 1510, and gave the name to the island in compliment to his order. Las Casas was chaplain to Velasquez when the latter conquered Cuba, and did much to alleviate the sufferings of the conquered natives. In 1515 he went to Spain to seek redress for them, and found a sympathizer in Cardinal Ximenes, who became regent of Spain the following year, and sent out three monks to correct abuses. Their services were not satisfactory, and, returning to Spain, Las Casas was appointed "Universal Protector of the Indies." Seeing the few negroes who were in Santo Domingo and Cuba growing robust while laboring under the hot sun, he proposed the introduction of negro slaves to relieve the more effeminate natives. This benevolent proposition gave rise to a lucrative traffic, and a perversion of the purpose of Las Casas, and he obtained from Charles V. a grant of a large domain on the coast of Venezuela, for the purpose of collecting a colony under his own guidance. This project failed, and in 1527 he proceeded to labor as a missionary among the Indians in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru. To reward him for his benevolent labors, his King appointed him bishop of Cuzco, a rich see; he declined it, but accepted that of Chiapa, in Mexico. The Spaniards were offended by his zeal in behalf of the Indians, and an officer of the Spanish Court undertook to justify the conduct of the Spaniards towards the natives. Las Casas, in self-defence, wrote a work upon the natives, which contained many particulars of the cruelties of the Spanish colonists. It was translated into several European languages, and increased the hostilities of the colonists and offended the Church. He returned to Spain in 1551, after about fifty years of benevolent missionary labor, and passed the remainder of his days in a convent at Valladolid. There he completed his *General History of the Indies*, published in 1875, and several other works, in Latin and Spanish. He died in Madrid, in July, 1566.

Las Guasimas, a town in Cuba, east of Santiago, and between that city and Siboney. It was here that the American troops met their first serious opposition in the Santiago campaign of 1898. On the night of June 23, after all the American forces had been landed at DAIQUIRI (*q. v.*), General Wheeler, accompanied by the brigade of Gen. Samuel M. B. Young, marched from Siboney, and in the morning he was considerably in advance of the main army. Having ascertained from Cuban scouts that a Spanish force was intrenched at Las Guasimas, where two roads running from Santiago met, he determined to drive them out. General Young's regular cavalry had hardly come in contact with the Spaniards when the "Rough Riders," who were marching along another route, were suddenly brought to a halt and a little confused by an unexpected volley with smokeless powder. They fell back, but rallied quickly. On the other side, the colored cavalry, which had come up, forced a ridge with unflinching courage, and the enemy were compelled to retire a mile or more from their intrenchments. In the mean time, reinforcements were called for, but before General Chaffee arrived with the 2d Infantry, the troops mentioned had put the Spaniards to utter rout. In the engagement there were 964 American soldiers, and about 500 Spanish. The Americans lost, in killed, Capt. Allyn K. Capron and fourteen men, and had six officers and forty-six men wounded. The Spanish casualties were nine killed and twenty-seven wounded.

Lathrop, GEORGE PARSONS, author; born near Honolulu, Hawaii, Aug. 25, 1851; son of Dr. George A. Lathrop, then United States consul in that city. He was educated in private schools in New York City, and in Dresden, Germany; began his literary career when twenty years of age; and continued at it with indefatigable energy till the close of his life. He excelled both in poetry and prose, and was a critic of high merit in art and literature. He was also prominent as an editorial writer. He married Rose, a daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, in 1871. His publications include *A*

Study of Hawthorne; In the Distance; Rose and Roof-tree Poems; Newport; Spanish Vistas; Behind Time; Libretto of the Scarlet Letter; A Story of Courage, etc. He also edited the standard edition of Nathaniel Hawthorne's works. At different times he was assistant editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the Boston *Courier;* and editor of the Providence *Visitor.* He died in New York City, April 19, 1898.

Lathrop, or **Lothrop,** JOHN, clergyman; born in Norwich, Conn., May 17, 1740; graduated at Princeton College in 1763; became pastor of the Old North Church in Boston, in 1768. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War his church was demolished by the British. He then became the assistant of Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton in the New Brick Church of Boston, and when the latter died, in 1779, he was chosen pastor of the united congregations. He was the author of a *Biographical Memoir of the Rev. John Lothrop;* and *Compendious History of the Late War.* He died in Boston, Mass., Jan. 4, 1816.

Lathrop, ROSE HAWTHORNE, author and philanthropist; born in Lenox, Mass., May 20, 1851; daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne. She received a common school education, and, after her marriage to George Parsons Lathrop, became greatly interested in the condition of the poor of New York, and particularly destitute and diseased women who were unable to gain an entrance into any hospital. She established a hospital for incurable cancer patients exclusively, and has carried it on successfully. Her publications include *Memories of Hawthorne; A Story of Courage;* etc.

Latimer, ASBURY CHURCHILL, legislator; born near Lowndesville, Abbeville county, S. C., July 31, 1851; received a common-school education; removed to Belton, S. C., in 1880, and engaged in farming. He was a member of Congress in 1893–1903; and a Democratic United States Senator in 1903–09.

Latitudinarians, a school of divines that sprang up among Protestants towards the close of the sixteenth century, who attempted the delicate task of reconciling reason with revelation. They rejected the authority of tradition. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other, but were tolerant towards those who dissented from them. They were, in fact, Low Churchmen with Arminian principles. These principles had penetrated Massachusetts at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as evinced by the organization of the Brattle Street Church in Boston. Their practice of what was denominated the "half-way covenant"—of admitting to the holy communion all persons not immoral in their lives; indeed, to all the privileges of church-membership—shocked the Mathers and others; and when, presently, Harvard College passed under the control of the new party, theocracy in New England expired, and the absolute reign of theological rule was at an end. The result on the intellectual history of New England was important. Some Independents attempted to establish a Latitudinarian church at Weymouth in 1639. The theocratic government of Boston, zealous for the preservation of the purity of the faith, promptly suppressed this movement. The intended pastor (Lenthall) was forced to make a humble apology, and soon found it expedient to take refuge in Rhode Island. Several laymen who had been active in the matter were heavily fined; one was whipped, and one was disfranchised.

La Tour, CHARLES, proprietary governor. When Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was returned to the French (1632), it was apportioned into provinces, under proprietary governors. To Razillé, commander-in-chief, was granted the southern portion of the peninsula, and one of his lieutenants was Charles La Tour, to whom was assigned a large portion of the territory. He and Seigneur D'Aulnay Charissy (another lieutenant), who controlled a section extending westward to the Kennebec River, were both engaged in trade, and bitter quarrels arose between them, on account of mutual (alleged) infringements of rights. After the death of Razillé, D'Aulnay, an unscrupulous man, attempted to assume control of the whole country. He was a Roman Catholic; La Tour was a Protestant. Through the powerful influence at Court of Cardinal Richelieu, the King revoked the commission of La Tour, and ordered his arrest. The latter denied the allega-

tions of D'Aulnay, and refused to submit to arrest. With 500 men in vessels, D'Aulnay appeared off the mouth of the St. John River, in the spring of 1643, and blockaded La Tour in his fortified trading-house. A ship was daily expected from Rochelle, with a company of 140 emigrants, and might fall into the power of the blockading squadron. La Tour managed to give the vessel intimations of danger, and under cover of night he and his wife were conveyed on board of her, and sailed for Boston, to seek the aid of the colony of Massachusetts in defence of their rights. La Tour was permitted by Governor Winthrop to fit out a small naval and military force at Boston. He chartered five vessels, mounting forty pieces of cannon, and procured eighty volunteers for the land service and fifty sailors. When the armament appeared, D'Aulnay raised the blockade, and sought refuge under the guns of his own fort at Port Royal, where two of his vessels were wrecked. La Tour would have captured that stronghold, had not the New Englanders left him before their term of service had expired.

D'Aulnay sent a protest to Winthrop against this violation of neutrality, and a copy of the order for La Tour's arrest. A treaty of peace was concluded in 1644. Meanwhile the intrepid Madame La Tour was in England obtaining supplies for her husband's fort. On her return, she was landed at Boston instead of the St. John, as agreed upon. She brought action against the captain of the vessel, and recovered $10,000 damages, with which she purchased supplies and munitions of war for the fort. It was put in a condition for a vigorous defence. During the temporary absence of her husband, D'Aulnay laid siege to it. Madame La Tour conducted an effective defence, attacking and disabling a frigate and killing or wounding thirty-three of the assailants. The baffled D'Aulnay was compelled to retire, greatly mortified. La Tour, meanwhile, continued to receive stores and munitions from New England, notwithstanding the treaty of neutrality. In reprisal, D'Aulnay seized and confiscated a Boston vessel, and this source of supply for La Tour was cut off. In the spring of 1647 D'Aulnay, hearing that La Tour and most of his men were absent from his fort, again besieged it. Madame La Tour determined to hold it to the last extremity. For three days the assailants were kept at bay. On Easter Sunday a treacherous Swiss sentinel allowed the assailants to enter the outer works. The brave woman rushed to the ramparts with her handful of soldiers, and would have repulsed the besiegers had not D'Aulnay, fearing the disgrace of another defeat at the hands of a woman, offered her honorable terms of capitulation.

Anxious to save the lives of her little garrison, Madame La Tour yielded, when the perfidious D'Aulnay violated his solemn pledge. He caused every man of the garrison to be hanged save one, whom he made the executioner of his comrades. The ruffians compelled the twice-betrayed Madame La Tour to witness these executions, with a rope around her own neck. D'Aulnay pillaged the fort of all the property, amounting to $50,000, and retreated to Port Royal. La Tour was a ruined man, and wandered in exile on the shores of Newfoundland and in the wilds around the southern shores of Hudson Bay. These disasters broke the heart of his brave wife, and she died. Retributive justice brought about changes in favor of La Tour. Four years after his property was wasted, D'Aulnay died in debt and disgrace. La Tour now came back from the wilderness, vindicated his character before his sovereign, was made lieutenant-governor of Acadia, and again recovered his fort at St. John. He married the widow of his rival, and inherited his shattered estate, and prosperity once more smiled upon the Huguenot; for his claim to extensive territorial rights in Acadia, by virtue of Sir William Alexander's grant to his father, was recognized in 1656. He soon afterwards died. Acadia had then passed once more into the hands of the English.

Latrobe, John Hazlehurst Boneval, lawyer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., May 4, 1803; was admitted to the bar in 1825 and practised for more than sixty years. He became identified with the American Colonization Society in 1824, and was deeply interested in the work of that body for many years. With General Harper he drew up the first map of Liberia, and

was largely instrumental in securing the establishment of the Maryland colony in that country. He is also known through the invention of the famous "Baltimore heater," which came into general use in the United States. His publications include *The Capitol and Washington at the Beginning of the Present Century* (an address); *Scott's Infantry and Rifle Tactics; Picture of Baltimore; History of Mason and Dixon's Line; History of Maryland in Liberia; Reminiscences of West Point in 1818 to 1822*, etc. He died in Baltimore, Md., Sept. 11, 1891.

Latter-Day Saints. See MORMONS.

Laudonnière, RENÉ GOULAINE DE, colonist; born in France; first came to America in 1562 with the Huguenot colony under Ribault. In the spring of 1564 he was sent by Coligni with three ships to assist the first colony, but finding the Ribault settlement abandoned, went to Florida and built Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River. In the onslaught made upon the French colony by the Spaniards, Sept. 21, 1565, Laudonnière escaped. He wrote a history of the Florida enterprise, and died in France after 1586.

Laughlin, JAMES LAURENCE, political economist; born in Deerfield, O., April 2, 1850; graduated at Harvard University in 1873; was an instructor in Hopkinson's Classical School, Boston, in 1873–78; instructor of political economy in Harvard in 1878–83; then assistant professor of that study there; professor of the same in Cornell University in 1890–92; in the latter year became head Professor of Political Economy in the University of Chicago. In 1894–95 he prepared a scheme of monetary reform for the government of San Domingo, which later adopted it. He was a member of the monetary commission appointed in 1897 by the Indianapolis Monetary Conference. He is the author of *Mill's Political Economy Abridged and Added To; Study of Political Economy; History of Bimetallism in the United States; Facts About Money;* and *Elements of Political Economy.* He is the editor of the *Journal of Political Economy.*

Laurance, JOHN, jurist; born in Cornwall, England, in 1750; came to New York in 1767, where he was admitted to the bar in 1772, and married the daughter of General McDougall, on whose staff he served. He was also in Washington's military family. He was judge-advocate at the court of inquiry in Major André's case; was a member of Congress in 1785–86; State Senator in 1789; and member of the Congress from 1789 to 1793. He was also judge of the United States district court of New York from 1794 to 1796, and of the United States Supreme Court from 1796 to 1800. He died in New York in November, 1810.

Laurens, HENRY, statesman; born in Charleston, S. C., in 1724; was of Huguenot descent, and was educated in London for mercantile business, in which he acquired a large fortune. He opposed British aggressions with speech and in writing, and pamphlets which he published displayed remarkable legal ability. He

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was engaged in a military campaign against the Cherokees. In 1770 he retired from business, and went to Europe the next year to superintend the education of his sons; and in England he did what he could to persuade the government to be just towards the Americans. On his arrival at Charleston, late in 1774, he was chosen president of the Provincial Congress and of the council of safety. In 1776 he was sent as a delegate to Congress, and was president of that body for a little more than a year from Nov. 1,

1777. Receiving the appointment of minister to Holland in 1779, he sailed in the Congress packet *Mercury*, and on Sept. 3, 1780, she was captured by the frigate *Vesta* off the banks of Newfoundland. Laurens cast his papers overboard, but they were recovered by a sailor, and the minister was taken to London. After an examination before the privy council Laurens was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, where he was kept in close confinement more than a year. He was cruelly deprived of pen, ink, and paper, and the converse of friends. Twice he was approached with offers of pardon and liberty if he would serve the ministry, and each time the offer was indignantly rejected by him. He was finally released, and at the request of Lord Shelburne he went to France, to assist in negotiations then making for peace. Among his papers recovered from the sea was a plan for a treaty with Holland; also several letters which disclosed the existing friendship of the States-General for the Americans. The British ministry were irritated by these documents and the subsequent refusal of Holland to disclaim the act of Van Berkel, and Great Britain declared war against that republic. In December, 1781, Laurens was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate for peace with Great Britain. In November, 1782, he signed a preliminary treaty at Paris, with Franklin and Jay, when he returned home, and passed the remainder of his life in agricultural pursuits. He died in Charleston, Dec. 8, 1792, and, in accordance with an injunction in his will, his body was wrapped in cloths and burned—the first act of cremation in the United States.

Laurens, JOHN, military officer; born in Charleston, S. C., in 1753; son of the preceding. Liberally educated in England, he returned to his native State just as the Revolutionary War was kindling (1775), when he entered the army as an aide to Washington, and frequently acted as secretary. Expert in the French and German languages, he was Washington's chief medium of communication with the foreign officers in the service. He was a patriotic and brave soldier under all circumstances, and was devoted to the commander-in-chief. On one occasion he challenged Gen. Charles Lee for speaking disparagingly of the chief. They fought, and he severely wounded Lee. In the battles at the Brandywine and Germantown Laurens was particularly distinguished; and afterwards, at Savannah and at Charleston and Yorktown, he performed prodigies of valor. At the latter place he was conspicuous at the storming of a battery, and was the first to enter it and receive the sword of the commander. For months his indefatigable activity caused the confinement of the British in Charleston; and finally, at the very close of the struggle, he too carelessly exposed himself in a trifling skirmish near the Combahee, S. C., and was slain, Aug. 27, 1782. In the autumn of 1780, when the finances of the United States were exhausted, he was sent to France to solicit a loan. While earnestly pressing his suit with Vergennes, the French minister, one day, that gentleman said that the King had every disposition to favor the United States. This patronizing expression kindled the indignation of the young diplomatist, and he replied, with emphasis, "Favor, sir! The respect which I owe to my country will not admit the term. Say that the obligation is mutual, and I will acknowledge it. But, as the last argument I shall offer to your excellency, the sword which I now wear in defence of France as well as my own country, unless the succor I solicit is immediately accorded, I may be compelled, within a short time, to draw against France as a British subject." This had the desired effect, for France dreaded the subjugation of the colonies, or a reconciliation with the mother-country. Presently a subsidy of $1,200,000, and a further sum as a loan, were granted. The French minister also gave a guarantee for a Dutch loan of about $2,000,000.

Lauzun, ARMAND LOUIS DE GOUTANT, DUC DE, military officer; born in Paris, April 15, 1747; had led an expedition successfully against Senegal and Gambia in 1779, and came to America with Rochambeau in 1780, in command of a force known as "Lauzun's Legion," with which he took part in the siege of Yorktown. Returning to France, he became a deputy of the nobles in the States-General, and in 1792 was general-in-chief of the Army of the

Rhine. In 1793 he commanded the Army of the Coasts of Rochelle. He did good service for his employers in the French

ARMAND LOUIS DE GOUTANT LAUZUN.

Revolution; but when he persistently requested leave to resign his commission the irritated leaders sent him to the scaffold, where he was beheaded, Dec. 31, 1793.

Law, JAMES, veterinary surgeon; born in Edinburgh, Scotland, Feb. 13, 1838; was educated at the veterinary schools of Edinburgh, Paris, Lyons, and London; was Professor of Anatomy and Materia Medica in the Edinburgh New Veterinary College in 1860–65; Professor of Veterinary Science in Cornell University in 1868–96; and, later, became Director of the New York State Veterinary College and Professor of the Principles and Practice of Veterinary Medicine, Veterinary Sanitary Science, and Veterinary Therapeutics at Cornell. His publications include *General and Descriptive Anatomy of Domestic Animals; Farmers' Veterinary Adviser; Text-Book of Veterinary Medicine,* etc.

Law, JOHN, financier; born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in April, 1671. With others, he established, in Paris, the Banque Générale, in May, 1716. Notes were accepted in payment for taxes, and they even commanded a premium over specie. About the same time he secured control of the French territory in America called Louisiana. In 1717 the Compagnie d'Occident was incorporated for the purposes of trade and colonization. This enterprise became known as "The Mississippi Scheme." For two or three years the Compagnie des Indes greatly prospered, and Law became a man of wide power. On Jan. 5, 1720, he was appointed comptroller-general of finances, and in the following month the bank and company were combined. The over-issue of paper money, however, and the hostility of the government produced a disaster, and in May, 1720, the company fell to pieces. The property of Law was confiscated, and he was forced to leave France. In December of the same year he was offered the control of Russia's finances, but he refused to accept. In 1721–25 he lived in England, and then went to Venice, where he died in poverty, May 21, 1729.

Lawrence, ABBOTT, diplomatist; born in Groton, Mass., Dec. 16, 1792; brother of Amos Lawrence; was apprenticed to his brother, a merchant and importer of Boston; associated with him in introducing cotton manufacture in New England, especially in Lowell, in 1830; member of Congress in 1834–36 and 1839–40; appointed a special commissioner to Great Britain to settle the northeastern boundary question in 1842, and negotiated with Lord Ashburton a satisfactory agreement; president of the company which built the manufacturing city of Lawrence, Mass.; minister to Great Britain in 1849–52; and founder of the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard College. He died in Boston, Mass., Aug. 18, 1855.

Lawrence, EUGENE, author; born in New York City, Oct. 10, 1823; graduated at the New York University, and became a lawyer. Subsequently he relinquished law and devoted himself to literature. He published *Lives of British Historians; Historical Studies; The Mystery of Co-*

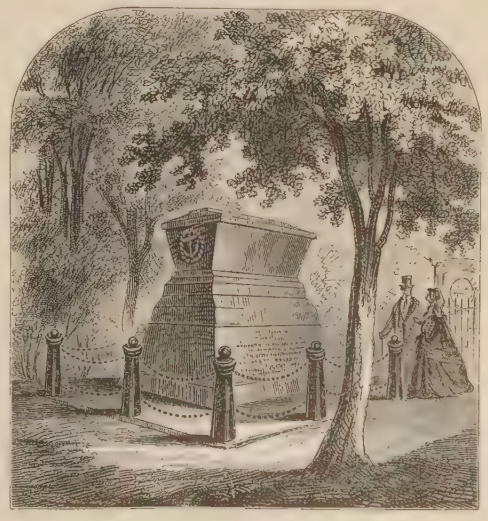
lumbus; Columbus and his Contemporaries, etc. He died in Augusta, Me., March 15, 1894.

Lawrence, JAMES, naval officer; born in Burlington, N. J., Oct. 1, 1781. His

JAMES LAWRENCE.

father was a lawyer and distinguished loyalist during the Revolutionary War. James entered the navy as a midshipman, Sept. 4, 1798, and in the spring of 1802 was promoted to lieutenant. In the schooner *Enterprise*, he took a distinguished part in the destruction of the frigate PHILADELPHIA (*q. v.*), in the harbor of Tripoli. In 1810 he was promoted to master-commander; and on Feb. 24, 1813, the *Hornet*, of which he was commander, fought and conquered the British *Peacock* (see HORNET), which sank before all her prisoners could be taken out of her. In March, 1813, he was commissioned captain, and took command of the frigate *Chesapeake* in May. On June 1 the *Chesapeake* fought the frigate *Shannon*, and was beaten. Captain Lawrence was mortally wounded, and died June 6. His remains were conveyed to New York, where a public funeral was held. The remains were then buried in Trinity Church burying-ground, and soon after the war the corporation of New York erected an elegant marble monument over the grave. It became dilapidated in time, and in 1847 the corporation of Trinity Church caused the remains to be removed to a place near the southeast corner of the church, a few feet from Broadway, and a mausoleum of brown freestone to be erected there in commemoration of both Lawrence and his lieutenant, Ludlow. The chapeau, coat, and sword of Captain Lawrence are now in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Through the influence of the peace faction in Massachusetts, the Senate of that State passed a resolution, June 15, 1813, which Mr. Grundy denounced as "moral treason." The legislature had passed resolutions of thanks to Hull, Decatur, and Bainbridge, and a proposition was submitted for a similar vote to Lawrence (then dead) for his gallantry in the capture of the *Peacock*. A committee of the Senate, of which Josiah Quincy was chairman, reported adversely to it, and a preamble and resolution was accordingly adopted. The former declared that similar attentions already given to military and naval officers engaged in a like service had "given great discontent to many of the good people of the commonwealth, it being considered by them as an encouragement and excitement of the con-



THE LAWRENCE AND LUDLOW MONUMENT.

tinuance of the present unjust, unnecessary, and iniquitous war." The resolution was as follows: "*Resolved*, as the sense of the State of Massachusetts, that, in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with a defence of our sea-coast and soil."

Lawrence, SACKING OF. See KANSAS.

Lawrence, WILLIAM, jurist; born in Mount Pleasant, O., June 26, 1819; graduated at Franklin College in 1838, and at the Cincinnati Law School in 1840, and in the latter year was admitted to the bar. In 1845–46 he was prosecuting attorney for Logan county, and in 1846–54 a member of the legislature. In 1857–64 he was judge of the court of common pleas; in 1865–77 a Representative in Congress; and in 1880–85 first comptroller of the United States Treasury. His publications include *Ohio Reports, Vol. XX.; Law of Claims Against Governments; Organization of the Treasury Department; Law of Impeachable Crimes; Causes of the Rebellion; Life and Services of John Sherman; Law of Religious Societies; Memorials to Congress for Wool Tariff*, etc.

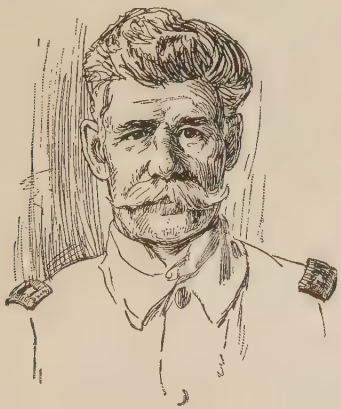
Lawrence, WILLIAM BEACH, jurist; born in New York City, Oct. 23, 1800; graduated at Columbia College in 1818, and was admitted to the bar in 1823. He greatly distinguished himself by his masterful treatment of several important points of international law in 1873, when he appeared before the American and British international tribunal in Washington in the *Circassian* case. In securing a reversal of the United States Supreme Court's decision in favor of his clients, he accomplished what no other lawyer had ever done in the history of the country. His publications include *The History of Louisiana; Bank of the United States; Institutions of the United States; Inquiry into the Causes of the Public Distress; History of the Negotiations in Reference to the Eastern and Northeastern Boundaries of the United States; Biographical Memoir of Albert Gallatin; Commentary on the Elements of International Law; Study of International Law on Marriage; The Treaty of Washington; The Indirect Claims of the United States under the Treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871, as Submitted to the Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva; Belligerent and Sovereign Rights as Regards Neutrals during the War of Secession*, etc. He died in New York City, March 26, 1881.

Lawson, JOHN, historian; born in Scotland; came to America with the appointment of surveyor-general for North Carolina. He was the author of *A New Voyage to Carolina, containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country;* and a *Journal of a Thousand Miles travelled through Several Nations of Indians*, etc. He was killed by the Indians on Neuse River, N. C., in 1712.

Lawson, THOMAS, military officer; born in Virginia in 1781; became surgeon's mate in the United States army in 1811; was made surgeon-general, with the rank of colonel, in 1836. In the War with Mexico he was chief medical officer of the United States army, and was brevetted brigadier-general in 1848 for distinguished services. He published *Report on Sickness and Mortality, United States Army, 1819–39*, etc. He died in Norfolk, Va., May 15, 1861.

Lawton, HENRY WARE, military officer; born in Manhattan, O., March 17, 1843; was brought up in Indiana; and at the beginning of the Civil War, before he was eighteen years old, he entered the army as sergeant of the 9th Indiana Infantry. In August following he was commissioned first lieutenant in the 30th Indiana Infantry; in May, 1862, was promoted to captain; in November, 1865, to lieutenant-colonel; and on March 13, 1865, was brevetted colonel for distinguished services in the field, especially before Atlanta. He was commissioned second lieutenant in the 41st United States Infantry, July 28, 1866; promoted first lieutenant, July 31, 1867; transferred to the 24th United States Infantry, Nov. 11, 1869; transferred to the 4th United States Cavalry, Jan. 1, 1871; promoted captain, March 20, 1879; major and inspector-general, Sept. 17, 1888; and lieutenant-colonel in the same department, Feb. 12, 1889. He greatly distinguished himself in several of the

severest Indian campaigns in the history of the army, crowning his many signal achievements with the capture of Geronimo and his band of hostile Apaches in 1886. After the declaration of war against Spain in 1898, he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, May 4, and major-general, July 8 following; and in the regular army was promoted colonel and inspector-general, July 7 of that year. In the early part of the campaign against Santiago he had charge of the forward movement of the American troops, and further distinguished himself by the capture of El Caney (*q. v.*) after a notable engagement with the Spaniards, for which he was given the two stars. On Jan. 19, 1899, he



HENRY WARE LAWTON.

was sent to the Philippines, and soon after his arrival at Manila he began active operations against the Filipino insurgents, and met with remarkable success by adopting the tactics he had followed in his campaigns against the Indians. On April 10 he captured Santa Cruz, a Filipino stronghold. His next engagement was at San Rafael, where a large number of the insurgents were hidden on all sides in the jungle. Had it not been for his experience in Indian warfare the Americans would have suffered great loss. On May 15 he captured San Isidro, which at that time was the insurgent capital. On June 1 he was given the command of the defences of Manila, and in October began an offensive movement, with the view of capturing Aguinaldo, marching along the road between Bacoor and Imus, and so northward. He everywhere drove the enemy before him and captured a number of towns. On Oct. 19 he reached Arayat, and shortly after made his headquarters at Cabanatuan, from which place he became active in scattering the insurgents through the surrounding country. During November his movements in the pursuit of Aguinaldo were remarkably rapid, and surprised veteran soldiers, as military operations were deemed impossible during the long rainy season. On Dec. 1 he was at Tayng, and on the 16th left Manila for San Mateo. Here, during an engagement on the 19th, he was on the firing-line. Being 6 feet 3 inches in height, and attired in full uniform, he was a conspicuous target for the insurgent sharp-shooters. Hardly had his staff officers warned him of his danger when he suddenly cried, "I am shot," and fell dead. In the early part of 1900 his remains were brought back to his native country, and buried with distinguished official honors. The sympathies of the public were so strong for his widow and children that a movement was started to raise funds to provide for their future, and within a very few weeks about $100,000 was secured.

Soon after his death an extract from a private letter was published, in which appeared the following sentence: "If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men." The peculiar phrase attracted considerable attention, especially in the early part of the Presidential campaign of 1900. The letter was written in Manila on Oct. 6, 1899, to John Barrett, ex-minister to Siam, then in New York City. The following extract from the letter gives the full setting of the mysterious sentence above quoted, and affords another evidence that the continuation of the insurrection was due to direct encouragement from the United States:

"I agree with you that mistakes have been made here, but I would to God that the whole truth of this whole Philippine situation could be known by every one in America. I wish the people could know it as I know it, and as you know it. I agree that if the real facts in connection

with this story, inspiration and conditions of this insurrection and the hostile ruptures, local and eternal, such as the Katipunan revolutionary society and juntas that now encourage the enemy, as well as the actual possibilities of these Philippine Islands and people and their relation to this great East, which you have set forth so ably, could be understood at home in America, we would hear no more political talk of unjust shooting of government into the Filipinos or of unwise threats of hauling down our flag in the Philippines.

"You are right. Some of us have modified our views since we first came, and if these so-called anti-imperialists of Boston would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground here, and not in distant America, they, whom I dislike to believe to be other than honest men misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their exaggerated statements and conclusions and of the cruel and unfortunate effect of their publications here.

"It is kind of you to caution me about exposure under fire, but if I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men. These are strong words, and yet I say them because I know from my own observation, confirmed by the stories of captured Filipino prisoners, that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America and circulated among those ignorant natives by the leaders, who know better."

Lay, BENJAMIN, philanthropist; born in Colchester, England, in 1681; came to the United States and settled in Abington, Pa. He was one of the first anti-slavery advocates. In order to express his feeling against the owners of slaves, he once filled a bladder with blood and carried it into a Quaker meeting, where in the presence of the worshippers he pierced it with a sword which he had concealed under his coat, and, sprinkling the blood on the persons nearest to him, cried, "Thus shall God shed the blood of those who enslave their fellow-creatures." He was the author of *All Slave-keepers, that Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates.* He died in Abington, Pa., in 1760.

Lay, JOHN L., inventor; born in Buffalo, N. Y., Jan. 14, 1832; joined the United States navy in July, 1862, as a second assistant engineer. He invented the torpedo with which LIEUT. WILLIAM B. CUSHING (*q. v.*) sank the Confederate ram *Albemarle.* In 1867 he designed the Lay submarine torpedo-boat, which was later purchased by the United States government. He died in New York City, April 17, 1899.

Leach, ABBY, educator; born in Brockton, Mass., May 28, 1855; was educated in Boston and at Leipsic; took private courses with different professors at Harvard University; was instrumental in the organization of Radcliffe College; and became Professor of Greek in Vassar College. She is vice-president of the American Philological Association, and a member of the Archæological Society; and of the committee of management of the American school at Athens, Greece.

Leach, FRANK WILLING, lawyer; born in Cape May, N. J., Aug. 25, 1855; was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia in 1877. He is the author of several chapters in Scharff and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia;* and *The Signers of the Declaration of Independence: their Ancestors and Descendants.*

Lead, a valuable mineral found in various parts of the world and in the United States in Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Missouri, Kansas, Wisconsin, Montana, and Illinois. In the calendar year 1899 the total production in the United States was 304,392 short tons, and the net production of refined lead was 210,500 short tons. The following is a brief history of the lead industry in the United States: It was first discovered in the Mississippi Valley by Le Sueur in 1700–1, but not mined till 1788, when Julien Dubuque staked a claim near the present site of Dubuque, Ia. The mining of lead, however, did not become general till 1826–27, and all the localities where the mineral had been discovered were not thrown open for sale till 1847.

League, UNION. See UNION LEAGUE.

Lear, TOBIAS, diplomatist; born in Portsmouth, N. H., Sept. 19, 1762; graduated at Harvard in 1783, and became private secretary to Washington in 1785. The latter remembered Mr. Lear liberally in his will. In 1801 he was

American consul-general in Santo Domingo, and from 1804 to 1812 held the same office at Algiers. Mr. Lear was an accountant in the War Department at the time of his death, in Washington, D. C., Oct. 10, 1816.

Learned, Ebenezer, military officer; born in 1721; was a captain in the French and Indian War, and hastened to Cambridge with militia on the day after the affair at Lexington. His health failed, and he wished to retire from the service in 1776, but he was retained; and in the battle of Stillwater he commanded the centre of the American army, with the rank of brigadier-general. His health still declining, he retired from the army March 24, 1778. He was then with the army at Valley Forge. In 1795 his name was placed on the pension list. He died in Oxford, Mass., April 1, 1801.

Leary, Richard Phillips, naval officer; born in Baltimore, Md.; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1860; became ensign in October, 1863; master in May, 1866; lieutenant in February, 1867; lieutenant-commander in March, 1868; commander in June, 1882; and captain in April, 1897. During 1863–65 he served on the blockading squadron off Charleston, S. C. In 1888 he was senior naval officer at Samoa during the revolution in which the Tamasese government was overthrown. In recognition of his meritorious services at that time, the Maryland legislature voted him a gold medal. In 1897–98 he was in command of the cruiser *San Francisco*, which convoyed to the United States the *New Orleans*, the American name of one of two vessels built for the Brazilian government in London and purchased by the United States immediately before the declaration of war against Spain. He was the first American governor of the island of Guam. He was relieved of this post at his own request, in April, 1900. He died in Chelsea, Mass., Dec. 27, 1901. See Agana; Guam.

Leavenworth, Fort, a military reservation and garrisoned post in the suburbs of Leavenworth, Kan.; formerly noted as one of the largest interior fortifications of the country, and latterly as the seat of an army officers' war college and of a United States penitentiary. The fort was erected prior to the Civil War, and the war college, or school of application, was established by an order issued by General Sherman in 1881. The original purpose of the school was to give a course of instruction in military matters to officers of the army not graduates of the United States Military Academy. Subsequently, the scope of the school was gradually enlarged, and its present work is based on general orders issued in 1888. The curriculum includes the following subjects: Tactics, strategy, surveying, military topography, field fortification, field engineering, constitutional law, international law, military law, photography, building superintendence, signalling, ordnance and gunnery, military hygiene, and the drill regulations of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The young officers ordered to school for instruction are selected from among the lieutenants of infantry and cavalry, and the number was originally limited to one from each regiment, but this proportion was later increased. The commandant is a colonel, and majors, captains, and lieutenants who are graduates of West Point constitute his staff of instruction. The course is of two years' duration, and, for convenience, the school is divided into six departments, comprising the foregoing branches of study. Connected with the school is an amusement hall and a post mess, or club building, where most of the students live. Prior to June 30, 1895, the United States government maintained a military prison at the fort, but in that year that feature was changed to the United States penitentiary. Fort Leavenworth has been a point both of military importance and of historical interest for many years. In the present days of peace it is most widely known for the school for officers maintained there.

Leavitt, Joshua, editor; born in Heath, Mass., Sept. 8, 1794; graduated at Yale in 1814; admitted to the bar in 1819, but shortly abandoned his profession to study theology at the Yale Divinity School. He was the editor of the *Sailor's Magazine*, New York, and was the editor and proprietor of the *Evangelist*, a religious newspaper which he established in 1831. Mr. Leavitt was an ardent abolitionist and temperance advocate. He was

one of the founders of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, and was the editor of the *Emancipator* and of the *Chronicle*, the first daily anti-slavery paper. In 1848 he became a part proprietor and editor of the *Independent*. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., Jan. 16, 1873.

Lechford, THOMAS, author; born in London, about 1590; removed to Boston in 1638; was the first lawyer to practise in New England; returned to England in 1641. He was the author of *Plaine Dealing, or News from New England,* and *New England's Advice to Old England.* He died in England, probably about 1644.

Lecompton Constitution, THE. See KANSAS; YANCEY, W. L.

Le Conte, JOSEPH, geologist; born in Liberty county, Ga., Feb. 26, 1823; graduated at the University of Georgia, in 1841, and later at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City; settled in Macon, Ga., to practise medicine; studied at the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard in 1850–51; and in the latter year went with Agassiz to Florida on an exploring expedition. He was appointed Professor of Natural Science in Oglethorpe College in 1852, and in the following year became Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of Georgia. During 1857–69 he was Professor of Chemistry and Geology in the College of South Carolina. In 1862–63 he was a chemist in the Confederate laboratory for the manufacture of medicines, and in 1864–65 held a similar post in the nitre and mining bureau. In 1869 he was called to the chair of Natural History and Geology in the University of California. Professor Le Conte is the author of *Religion and Science; Elements of Geology; Sight: an Exposition of the Principles of Monocular and Binocular Vision; Compend of Geology;* and *Evolution: its Nature, its Evidences, and its Relation.* He died in the Yosemite Valley, Cal., July 6, 1901.

Ledyard, JOHN, explorer; born in Groton, Conn., in 1751; was educated at Dartmouth College for a missionary to the Indians, and spent several months among the Six Nations. Having a resistless desire for travel, he shipped at New London as a common sailor, and from England accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage around the world as corporal of marines. He vainly tried to set on foot a trading expedition to the northwest coast of North America, and went to Europe in 1784. He started on a journey through the northern part of Europe and Asia and across Bering Strait to America in 1786–87. He walked around the whole coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, reaching St. Petersburg in the latter part of March, 1787, without money, shoes, or stockings. He had journeyed 1,400 miles on foot in less than seven weeks. Thence he went to Siberia, but was arrested at Irkutsk in February, 1788, conducted to the frontiers of Poland, and there dismissed with an intimation that if he returned into Russia he would be hanged. The cause of his arrest was the jealousy of the Russian-American Trading Company. Going back to London, Ledyard accepted an offer to engage in the exploration of the interior of Africa. He left England in June, 1788, and at Cairo, Egypt, was attacked by a disease which ended his life, Jan. 17, 1789.

Lee, ANN, founder of the American Society of Shakers; born in Manchester, England, Feb. 29, 1736; was a cook in a public institution when she married a blacksmith named Stanley. In 1758 she joined the Shakers in England. The society had just been formed by James and Jane Wardley, Quakers. About 1770 she began to "prophesy" against the wickedness of marriage as the "root of all human depravity," and resumed her maiden name of Lee. She came to America with some followers in 1774, and in 1776 they established themselves at Niskayuna, near Watervliet, where she was the recognized leader of the sect. Being opposed to war, she was suspected of being a British emissary, and, being charged with high treason, was imprisoned at Albany and Poughkeepsie until released by Governor Clinton in 1777, when she returned to Watervliet, and there her followers greatly increased. During a religious revival in New Lebanon (since in Columbia county, N. Y.) in 1780 many persons were converted to the doctrines of Ann Lee, and the now flourishing Society of Shakers of New Lebanon was founded. She and some of her followers made missionary tours into New England with considerable

success from 1781 to 1783, and so greatly were her spiritual gifts manifested that she was acknowledged a mother in Christ —the incarnation of the feminine essence of God. She was called "Mother Ann" and "Ann the Word." She died in Watervliet, N. Y., Sept. 8, 1784.

Lee, ARTHUR, diplomatist; born in Stratford, Westmoreland co., Va., Dec. 20, 1740. Educated in Europe, and taking the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1765, he began practice in Williamsburg, Va. He afterwards studied law in England, and wrote political essays that gained him the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, Burke, and other eminent men. He was admitted to the bar in 1770, and appointed the alternative of Dr. Franklin as agent of the Massachusetts Assembly, in case of the disability or absence of the latter. For his services to that State he received 4,000 acres of land in 1784. In 1775 Dr. Lee was appointed London correspondent of Congress, and in 1776 he was one of the commissioners of Congress sent to France to negotiate for supplies and a treaty; but the ambition of Lee produced discord, and his misrepresentations caused one of the commissioners—SILAS DEANE (*q. v.*) —to be recalled. Lee was subsequently a member of Congress, of the Virginia Assembly, a commissioner to treat with the Northern Indians, and a member of the treasury board from 1785 to 1789, when he retired from public life. He was patriotic, but of a jealous and melancholy temperament. He died in Urbana, Middlesex co., Va., Dec. 12, 1792.

Lee, CHARLES, military officer; born in Dernhall, Cheshire, England, in 1731; was the son of a British officer, and entered the army at a very early age, having held a commission when eleven years old. At twenty he was a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment, and accompanied the troops sent to America in 1754, where he saw considerable service during the ensuing six years. His regiment participated in the battle on the Monongahela, where Braddock was defeated. That was Lee's first practical experience of warfare. He served in the campaigns from 1756 to the conquest of Canada in 1760, when he returned to England with a captain's commission, and was promoted to major of the 103d Regiment, which was disbanded in 1763, and Lee continued a major on half-pay until 1772, when he was made lieutenant-colonel on half-pay. He had served with distinction in Portugal, but was not promoted in rank, probably be-

CHARLES LEE.

cause of the sharpness and volubility of his tongue concerning the shortcomings of his superior officers. On visiting the Continent after he was put on the half-pay list, he was made an aide-de-camp of King Stanislaus of Poland. He went to England in 1766, where he failed in his attempts to obtain promotion, and returned to Poland, where he was made a major-general, and afterwards served a short time in the Russian army. Finally, Lee made his way to America, where he claimed to be the author of the *Letters of Junius.*

He was boastful, restless, impulsive, quarrelsome, egotistical, ironical in expression, and illiberal in his judgment of others. His restlessness caused the Mohawks, who adopted him, to give him a name signifying "boiling water." He espoused the cause of the American republicans, and when the Continental army was organized he was chosen second major-general under Washington, which he accepted on condition that the Congress should advance him $30,000 as indemnity for any losses he might sustain by confiscation of his property in England.

Through his boasting he became extremely overrated by the Americans of all classes. He was simply an unprincipled and utterly selfish soldier of fortune. His censoriousness, and his jealousy of Washington, whose position he aspired to, made him very mischievous, and finally he played the part of a traitor to the cause, without actual discovery of proof (though always suspected) until many years afterwards (see page 340). Made a prisoner in New Jersey late in 1776, he was not exchanged until early in 1778. His behavior at the battle of Monmouth in June of that year caused Washington to address him sharply. Offended at the words, Lee wrote a disrespectful letter to the commander-in-chief on the day after. Dissatisfied

WASHINGTON REBUKING GENERAL LEE AT THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

with Washington's reply, he wrote a still more disrespectful one. Lee was arrested and tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders; for having made an unnecessary, shameful, and disorderly retreat; and for disrespect to the commander-in-chief in the two letters. He defended himself with much ability. The court acquitted him of a part of the charges, but found him guilty of the rest, and sentenced him to be suspended from service in the army for one year. The Congress confirmed the sentence.

He then retired to his estate in Virginia, where he wrote *Queries, Political and Military*, the design of which was to cast a slur upon the character and military conduct of Washington. In a rude cabin of one apartment and little furniture he lived "more like a hermit than a citizen of the world," surrounded by his dogs and his books. Just as his time of suspension had expired he heard that Congress was about to deprive him of his commission, when, in a fit of anger, he wrote an abusive letter to the President, and his immediate dismissal from the army was the consequence. Wearied of solitude, he visited Philadelphia in the fall of 1782, with a view to making sale of his estate. There he was attacked by fever, and died within five days (Oct. 2, 1782), exclaiming in his last moments, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!" In his will, after bequeathing his "soul to the Almighty and his body to the earth," he directed that his remains should not "be buried in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house; for," he said, "since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company when living that I do not choose to continue it when dead." He was buried in Christ Church-yard, Philadelphia, with military honors.

When, in June, 1776, the British were about to attack Fort Sullivan, in the harbor of Charleston, Lee, who had been sent south to take command of troops there, went to the fort, and, after a brief inspection, declared it not tenable for "half an hour." It was "a slaughter-pen." He proposed to Governor Rutledge to withdraw the garrison from the fort without striking a blow. Rutledge refused, and Lee contented himself with giving several orders for preparing for a retreat. A better soldier than he commanded the garrison. It was the brave and calm Colonel Moultrie, who was unmoved by the evidences of alarm in the mind of the boastful Lee. Had the will of the latter prevailed, the fort, city, and province would undoubtedly have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Lee, having received his $30,000 indemnity from Congress, was anxious for peace. At Annapolis, on his way north, he promised to use his great influence in bringing about a reconciliation, and whenever he found willing and sympathizing listeners in Pennsylvania and New Jersey he was free in his denunciation of the Americans for continuing the contest. He was decidedly opposed to independence. At Princeton, in a communication to Congress, he proposed to that body to authorize an offer to open a negotiation with Lord Howe on his own terms. Finding that he could not persuade the Americans to submit to become slaves, he performed treasonable acts with a hope of accomplishing his ends. He wrote to Congress from Perth Amboy (Oct. 12, 1776) that Howe would not attack Washington, but would infallibly proceed against Philadelphia; and he sought to weaken the Continental army by dividing it, by inducing Congress to order Washington to send a part of his army to Trenton. At that very moment Howe was moving against Washington. (See page 340.)

While the British were desolating New Jersey (November, 1776), and Washington, with his handful of troops, was powerless to prevent them, Lee, with a large reinforcement, persistently lingered on the way. He had been urged by Washington, when the retreat from Hackensack began, to join him, but he steadily refused. Now the commander-in-chief entreated him to obey. Philadelphia was in danger, and the chief wrote, "Do come on; your arrival, without delay, may be the means of saving a city." Lee continued to persistently disobey every order of the chief. His reputation was at its zenith. The Americans were infatuated—a delusion which, in the light of subsequent history, seems very strange. He was aim-

ing at the chief command, and he did all he dared, by insinuations and false reports, to disparage Washington in the estimation of the Congress and the people. With unparalleled insolence (which was not rebuked), he wrote to Dr. Rush, a member of Congress: "Your apathy amazes me; you make me mad. Let me not talk vainly: had I the power, I could do you much good, might I but dictate one week. Did none of the Congress ever read Roman history?" His letters at that juncture show his predetermination to disobey orders and act as he pleased with the troops which had been intrusted to him.

On the morning of Dec. 13, 1776, Lee was captured at an inn at Baskingridge, N. J., where he was lodging, nearly 3 miles from his army. Lee had just finished a letter to General Gates, in which he had spoken disparagingly of Washington, when Colonel Harcourt, at the head of a British scouting party, surrounded the house and made him a prisoner. He had gone out of the house, on hearing a tumult, unarmed, bareheaded, in slippers, without a coat, in a blanket-cloak, his shirt-collar open, and his linen much soiled, and gave himself up. In this plight he was hurried, on horseback, to the camp of Cornwallis, at New Brunswick, and was sent by him to New York.

The conduct of General Lee at several periods during the war was inexplicable. He was disappointed in not being made the commander-in-chief of the Continental forces, and continually showed a censorious spirit towards Washington and others which were injurious to the service. His abilities were greatly overrated, and later in the conflict there were thoughtful men who regarded his profession of devotion to the American cause with suspicion. In 1775 he corresponded with Burgoyne, his old commander in Europe, while in Boston. In the summer of 1776, when at Charleston, he tried to induce Colonel Moultrie to abandon Fort Sullivan when it was attacked by land and water. In the autumn of that year he persistently disobeyed the orders of Washington to join the army, with a large force under his command, while it was retreating before Lord Cornwallis, and he was taken prisoner at a house far away from his camp, in New Jersey, under very suspicious circumstances. A letter which he had just written to Gates contained disparaging remarks on Washington's military character. His tender treatment by Howe, who at first regarded him as a deserter from the British army, was a matter of wonder; and when, after he had been exchanged and had rejoined the army at Valley Forge (1778), he was required to take the oath of allegiance with some other officers, he at first refused. His persistence in opposing any interference with the march of Clinton across New Jersey, and his extraordinary conduct on the field at Monmouth, could not be explained by any reason excepting incapacity or treachery. Indeed, Washington was warned against Lee the night before that battle by a Virginian captain who believed him to be treacherous. Three-fourths of a century after his death a document was found among Sir William Howe's papers endorsed "Mr. Lee's Plan, 29th March, 1777," in the handwriting of Henry Strachy, Howe's secretary. The writing within was in Lee's own hand, and it embodied a plan of operations by the British fleet and army which it was thought was best calculated to insure the subjugation of the colonies. It was upon this plan that Howe acted in going to the Chesapeake in the summer of 1777, instead of up the Hudson River to assist Burgoyne, and so ruined the latter general. This document cast a flood of light upon the character and conduct of Lee during the Revolution, and proved beyond cavil that he was a traitor to the cause which he professed to serve. This document and circumstantial evidence of his treason are given in a small volume by George H. Moore, LL.D., entitled *The Treason of Charles Lee.*

Through false pretensions, as well as misrepresentations and misapprehensions, the Americans had unbounded confidence in Lee, and many were in favor of making him commander-in-chief of the Continental army at the time Washington was appointed. Indeed, he expected the honor, and was disappointed and surprised because he did not receive it. He had been in military training from his boyhood, and represented himself as well versed in the science of war. He was better understood in England. "From what I know of him,"

wrote Sir Joseph Yorke, then British minister at The Hague, "he is the worst present which could be made to any army." And so he proved to the Americans. He was selfish in the extreme. Soured against his government, he had sought employment anywhere as a mere military adventurer. He was continually seeking intimate relations with British officers—writing to Burgoyne, Sir Henry Clinton, and others—while ostensibly fighting against them in favor of the American cause. Even while disobedient, quarrelsome, and inefficient, the Americans did not lose faith in him, nor suspect that in his movements during the flight of the army under Washington from the Hudson to the Delaware (1776), and in his movements at the battle of Monmouth, he was seeking to betray them. But such was the case.

Lee, CHARLES, jurist; born in 1758; delegate to the Continental Congress; United States Attorney-General, 1795–1801; declined President Jefferson's offer of justice of the United States Supreme Court. He died in Fauquier county, Va., June 24, 1815.

Lee, FITZHUGH, military officer; born in Clermont, Va., Nov. 19, 1835; nephew of Gen. Robert E. Lee; graduated at the United States Military Academy in

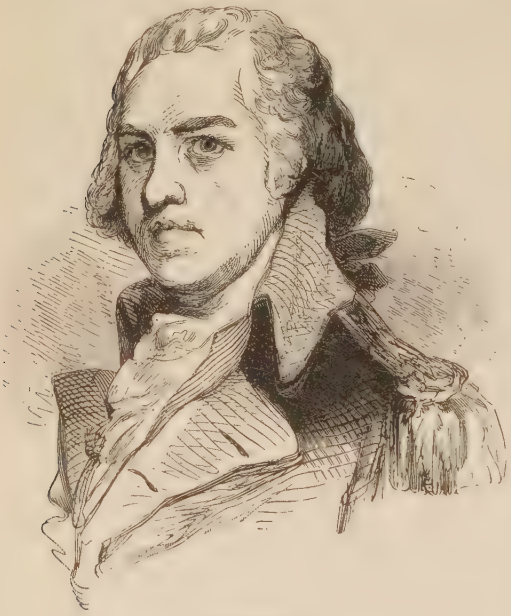
FITZHUGH LEE.

1856, and entered the army as second lieutenant of the 2d Cavalry. In 1860 he was appointed instructor of cavalry at West Point, and in 1861 he resigned his commission to become adjutant-general under Ewell, in the Confederate army. From September, 1861, to July, 1862, he was lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the 1st Virginia Cavalry, with which he took part in all the movements of the Army of Northern Virginia. He was then promoted brigadier-general, and, on Sept. 3, 1863, major-general. From March, 1865, until he surrendered to General Meade, at Farmville, he commanded the whole cavalry corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. In 1886–90 he was governor of Virginia. In 1896 President Cleveland appointed him United States consul-general at Havana, where he served till war was declared against Spain. In May, 1898, President McKinley appointed him a major-general of volunteers; in December following he became governor of the province of Havana; he was appointed brigadier-general, Feb. 11, 1901; and was retired March 2, following. He died in Washington, D. C., April 28, 1905.

Lee, FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT, signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Stratford, Westmoreland co., Va., Oct. 14, 1734; brother of Richard Henry and Arthur Lee. In 1765 he was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and held that post until 1772. He was in the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1779, and was active and efficient in framing the Articles of Confederation. He was afterwards a State Senator. He died in Richmond, Va., April 3, 1797.

Lee, HENRY, military officer; born in Leesylvania, Westmoreland co., Va., Jan. 29, 1756; graduated at Princeton in 1773. His mother was Mary Bland, the "lowland beauty," whose charms inspired Washington in his youth. He was a captain in Bland's cavalry in 1776, and joined the main army in September, 1777. "Lee's Legion" was one of the most active and efficient of the cavalry corps of the Continental army, and it was Washington's body-guard in the battle of Germantown. In 1778 he was made a major, in independent command, first of two companies of horse, and then of three, with a small body of infantry. With these he surprised the British post at Paulus's Hook, in July, 1779. With the commission of lieutenant-colonel, he joined General Greene in the South, and was active and efficient in the Southern

campaigns. Soon after the battle of Eutaw Springs, Major Lee retired from the service, married, and settled at Stratford. He was a delegate to Congress in 1786, and advocated the adoption of the national Constitution in the Virginia



HENRY LEE.

convention. Lee was in the Virginia legislature; and when militia were called out to suppress the whiskey insurrection, he was placed in command of them. He was in Congress at the time of Washington's death, and was appointed by that body to deliver the funeral oration at Philadelphia (see below). While he was in a debtor's prison he wrote his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States.* Lee was in Baltimore at the time of the newspaper riot, in 1814, and in his endeavors to suppress it received injuries from which he never recovered. He was much beloved by Washington for his many noble qualities; and Greene said, "No man, in the progress of the Southern campaign, had equal merit with Lee." He died on Cumberland Island, Ga., March 25, 1818.

George Washington.—On Dec. 26, 1799, General Lee delivered the following funeral oration on Washington before the two Houses of Congress:

In obedience to your will, I rise, your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the system of public mourning which you have been pleased to adopt, commemorative of the death of the most illustrious and most beloved personage this country has ever produced; and which, while it transmits to posterity your sense of the awful event, faintly represents your knowledge of the consummate excellence you so cordially honor.

Desperate, indeed, is any attempt on earth to meet correspondingly this dispensation of Heaven; for, while with pious resignation we submit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never cease lamenting, in our finite view of Omnipotent Wisdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world shakes to its centre; when every moment gives birth to strange and momentous changes; when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any share in the slaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to risk the doleful casualties of war; what limit is there to the extent of our loss? None within the reach of my words to express; none which your feelings will not disavow.

The founder of our federate republic—our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more! Oh, that this were but questionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us; our Washington is removed forever! Possessing the stoutest frame and purest mind, he had passed nearly to his sixty-eighth year in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himself, a slight cold, disregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppressive on Satur-

day, and, defying every medical interposition, before the morning of Sunday put an end to the best of men. An end, did I say? His fame survives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He survives in our hearts—in the growing knowledge of our children—in the affection of the good throughout the world. And when our monuments shall be done away; when nations now existing shall be no more; when even our young and far-spreading empire shall have perished; still will our Washington's glory unfaded shine, and die not, until love of virtue cease on earth, or earth itself sinks into chaos!

How, my fellow-citizens, shall I single to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth? Where shall I begin, in opening to your view a character throughout sublime? Shall I speak of his warlike achievements, all springing from obedience to his country's will, all directed to his country's good?

Will you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to see your youthful Washington supporting, in the dismal hour of Indian victory, the ill-fated Braddock, and saving, by his judgment and by his valor, the remains of a defeated army, pressed by the conquering savage foe? or when, oppressed America nobly resolving to risk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congress to the command of her armies? Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boston, where, to an undisciplined, courageous, and virtuous yeomanry, his presence gave the stability of system, and infused the invincibility of love of country? Or shall I carry you to the painful scenes of Long Island, Work Island, and New Jersey, when, combating superior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by chiefs high in the roll of fame, he stood the bulwark of our safety, undismayed by disaster, unchanged by change of fortune? Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep gloom, unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks—himself unmoved? Dreadful was the night. It was about this time of winter. The storm raged. The Delaware, rolling furiously with floating ice, forbade the approach of man. Washington, self-collected, viewed the tremendous scene. His country called. Unappalled by surrounding dangers, he passed to the hostile shore; he fought; he conquered. The morning sun cheered the American world. Our country rose on the event; and her dauntless chief, pursuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton what his vast soul had conceived on the shores of Delaware.

Thence to the strong grounds of Morristown he led his small but gallant band; and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whose matchless force was measurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hostile legions, conducted by a chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valor on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell Wolfe, Montcalm, and since, our much lamented Montgomery; all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his masterly conduct, our fathers, ourselves, animated by his resistless example, rallied around our country's standard, and continued to follow her beloved chief through the various and trying scenes to which the destinies of our Union led.

Who is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine, the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth? Everywhere present, wants of every kind obstructing, numerous and valiant armies encountering, himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering republic. Shall I display to you the spread of the fire of his soul, by rehearsing the praises of the hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas? No; our Washington wears not borrowed glory. To Gates, to Greene, he gave without reserve the applause due to their eminent merit; and long may the chiefs of Saratoga and of Eutaws receive the grateful respect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his most distant satellites; and combining the physical and moral force of all within his sphere, with irresistible weight he took his course, commiserating folly, disdaining vice, dismaying treason, and invigorating despondency; until the auspicious hour arrived,

when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to submission the since conqueror of India; thus finishing his long career of military glory with a lustre corresponding to his great name, and, in this his last act of war, affixing the seal of fate to our nation's birth.

To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded; and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandizement, hushed the discontents of growing sedition, and, surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare; teaching an admiring world that to be truly great you must be truly good.

Were I to stop here, the picture would be incomplete, and the task imposed unfinished. Great as was our Washington in war, and as much as did that greatness contribute to produce the American republic, it is not in war alone his pre-eminence stands conspicuous. His various talents, combining all the capacities of a statesman with those of a soldier, fitted him alike to guide the councils and the armies of our nation. Scarcely had he rested from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was still sounding in our ears, when he, who had been our shield and our sword, was called forth to act a less splendid, but more important part.

Possessing a clear and penetrating mind, a strong and sound judgment, calmness and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmness and perseverance in resolutions maturely formed; drawing information from all; acting from himself, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotism; his own superiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man designed by Heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have distinguished the era of his life.

The finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at Washington, was neither mistaken or unobserved, when, to realize the vast hopes to which our revolution had given birth, a change of political system became indispensable.

How novel, how grand the spectacle! Independent States stretched over an immense territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their union as the rock of their safety; deciding, by frank comparison of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reason, a common government, through whose commanding protection, liberty and order, with their long train of blessings, should be safe to themselves, and the sure inheritance of their posterity.

This arduous task devolved on citizens selected by the people, from knowledge of their wisdom and confidence in their virtue. In this august assembly of sages and of patriots, Washington of course was found; and, as if acknowledged to be most wise where all were wise, with one voice he was declared their chief. How well he merited this rare distinction, how faithful were the labors of himself and his compatriots, the work of their hands, and our union, strength, and prosperity, the fruits of that work, best attest.

But to have essentially aided in presenting to his country this consummation of our hopes, neither satisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor those duties which the possession of those talents imposed. Heaven had not infused into his mind such an uncommon share of its ethereal spirit to remain unemployed, nor bestowed on him his genius unaccompanied with the corresponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a Constitution was showing only, without realizing, the general happiness. This great work remained to be done; and America, steadfast in her preference, with one voice summoned her beloved Washington, unpractised as he was in the duties of civil administration, to execute this last act in the completion of the national felicity. Obedient to her call, he assumed the high office with that self-distrust peculiar to his innate modesty, the constant attendant of pre-eminent virtue. What was the burst of joy through our anxious land on this exhilarating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonstrations of their gratitude; and this high-wrought, delightful scene was heightened in its effect by the singular contest between the zeal of the

bestowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors bestowed.

Commencing his administration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wise principles announced by himself, as the basis of his political life? He best understood the indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and individual felicity. Watching with an equal and comprehensive eye over this great assemblage of communities and interests, he laid the foundations of our national policy in the unerring, immutable principles of morality, based on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of a free government by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the respect of the world.

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint!"

Leading through the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting interests, seconded by succeeding Houses of Congress, enlightened and patriotic, he surmounted all original obstruction, and brightened the path of our national felicity.

The Presidential term expiring, his solicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned with a force increased with increase of age; and he had prepared his Farewell Address to his countrymen, proclaiming his intention, when the united interposition of all around him, enforced by the eventful prospects of the epoch, produced a further sacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of President followed; and Washington, by the unanimous vote of the nation, was called to resume the chief magistracy. What a wonderful fixture of confidence! Which attracts most our admiration, a people so correct, or a citizen combining an assemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and stifling even envy itself? Such a nation ought to be happy; such a chief must be forever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict, deluging Europe with blood, began to shed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the first, outstretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American eagle soared triumphant through distant forests. Peace followed victory; and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue! which uplifts even the subdued savage.

To the second he opposed himself. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the stake. Soon did his penetrating mind discern and seize the only course, continuing to us all the felicity enjoyed. He issued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole subsequent conduct was sanctioned by the approbation of both Houses of Congress, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this sublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intrusion, unshaken by domestic turbulence.

"Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida."

Maintaining his pacific system at the expense of no duty, America, faithful to herself, and unstained in her honor, continued to enjoy the delights of peace while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miseries of an unexampled war; miseries in which our happy country must have shared, had not our pre-eminent Washington been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

Pursuing steadfastly his course, he held safe the public happiness, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal discord, till the revolving period of a third election approached, when he executed his interrupted, but inextinguishable desire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

The promulgation of his fixed resolution stopped the anxious wishes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous testimonial of their unabated confidence in the man so long enthroned in their hearts. When before was affection like this exhibited on earth? Turn over the records of ancient Greece; review the annals of mighty Rome; examine the volumes of modern Europe—you search in vain. America and her Washington only afford the dignified exemplification.

The illustrious personage called by the

national voice in succession to the arduous office of guiding a free people had new difficulties to encounter. The amicable effort of settling our difficulties with France, begun by Washington, and pursued by his successor in virtue as in station, proving abortive, America took measures of self-defence. No sooner was the public mind roused by a prospect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though secluded from public view, and gray in public service. The virtuous veteran, following his plough, received the unexpected summons with mingled emotions of indignation at the unmerited ill treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to risk his all in her defence.

The annunciation of these feelings in his affecting letter to the President, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life. Pious, just, humane, temperate, and sincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him as were the effects of that example lasting.

To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections exemplarily tender. Correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand. The purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

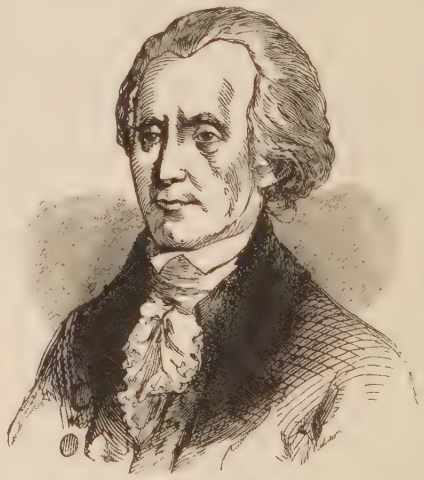
His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life. Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well-spent life. Such was the man America has lost! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns.

Methinks I see his august image, and hear, falling from his venerable lips, these deep sinking words:

"Cease, Sons of America, lamenting our separation. Go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers. Reverence religion; diffuse knowledge throughout your land; patronize the arts and sciences; let liberty and order be inseparable companions; control party spirit, the bane of free government; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations; shut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connection; rely on yourselves only: be American in thought and deed. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labors; thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity the felicity of a people to me most dear; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high Heaven bestows."

Lee, HENRY, banker; born in Boston, Mass., Sept. 2, 1817; graduated at Harvard College in 1836; served during the Civil War on the staff of Gov. John A. Andrew; subsequently became a member of the banking-house of Lee, Higginson & Co. He was the author of *The Militia of the United States.* He died in 1898.

Lee, RICHARD HENRY, statesman; born in Stratford, Westmoreland co., Va., Jan. 20, 1732; was educated in England, and returned to America at the age of nineteen. In 1756 he was appointed justice of the peace, and entered the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1757, where he was



RICHARD HENRY LEE.

distinguished as a debater and a clear political writer. Mr. Lee supported Patrick Henry's resolutions, and was among the foremost men in Virginia in forming and

putting in motion the machinery against royal oppression and parliamentary rule. He was a delegate to the first Congress (1774), was a member of all the leading committees, and wrote the memorial of Congress to the people of British America. In 1775 he wrote the second address of Congress to the people of Great Britain; and from his seat in that body, in June, 1776, he offered the famous resolution which declared the English-American colonies to be "free and independent States." It is said that his speech on that occasion was a brilliant display of eloquence. Leaving Congress in June, 1777, he was again in that body in 1778–80, 1784–85, and 1786–87. In 1784 he was chosen president of Congress, but retired at the end of the year. Mr. Lee was opposed to the national Constitution, because it superseded State supremacy, but he was a supporter of Washington's administration, and was United States Senator from Virginia from 1789 to 1792. He died in Chantilly, Va., June 19, 1794.

LEE, ROBERT EDWARD

Lee, Robert Edward, military officer; born in Stratford, Westmoreland co., Va., Jan. 19, 1807; son of Gen. Henry Lee; graduated at the United States Military Academy, second in his class, in 1829. Entering the engineer corps, he became captain in July, 1838, and was chief engineer of General Wool's brigade in the war with Mexico. At the close of that war he had earned three brevets—major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel; and he was a great favorite with General Scott. From Sept. 3, 1852, to March 3, 1855, he was superintendent of the Military Academy. In the latter year he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, and in March, 1861, to colonel. Accepting the doctrine of State supremacy when Virginia passed an ordinance of secession, in April, 1861, Lee went to Richmond, accepted (April 22, 1861) the command of the forces in that commonwealth, and resigned his commission in the National army. In accepting the office of commander of the Virginia forces, he said: "Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I devote myself to the aid of my native State, in whose behalf alone will I ever draw my sword." Lee's services had always been very acceptable to his government. He was an officer of fine culture, a soldier brave and discreet, and an engineer of great skill. He had superintended the construction and repairs of the forts at the entrance to the harbor of New York after 1841, and was a member of the board of engineers of the Atlantic coast defence. He had married, in 1832, Mary, daughter of G. W. P. Custis, the adopted son of Washington, and by her, in 1857, he became possessor of the estate of Arlington, opposite Georgetown, on the Potomac, and the "White House" estate, on the Pamunkey. He was in command of a regiment of cavalry in Texas in 1860, and towards the close of that year he obtained leave of absence and returned home, where he was when appointed to the command of the Virginia forces.

For a while he did not have a separate command in the field, and for more than a year did not fill any important place in the Confederate army. He was nominally superintendent of fortifications at Richmond and elsewhere, and was the military adviser of President Jefferson Davis and of the Confederate Secretary of War. When Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was wounded (May 31, 1862), in the battle of Seven Pines, near Richmond, the command of the Confederate army of Northern Virginia was given to Lee, June 3, and on the 26th of that month he began the series of conflicts before Richmond known as the Seven Days' Battles. He was finally compelled to surrender his army to General Grant at Appomattox Court-house, April 9, 1865, on most generous terms for himself and his followers. He had been appointed general-in-chief of the Confederate armies in February preceding. After the war he retired to private life, refusing even to attend public gatherings of any kind. In October, 1865, he accepted the presidency of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), at Lexington, Va., which he held

until his death, Oct. 12, 1870. Lee's sons —G. W. Custis, W. H. F., and Robert E. —all served as officers in the Confederate army. His eldest son, G. W. C. Lee, was chosen president of the college on the death of his father.

In the summer of 1861 General Reynolds had been left by Rosecrans to confront General Lee in the Cheat Mountain region. Lee was then in chief command in western Virginia. He had sent General Floyd to drive the Nationals out of the Kanawha Valley, but the latter was defeated (Sept. 11) at Carnifex Ferry, and fled to Big Sewell Mountain. Reynolds's command consisted of Indiana and Ohio troops. With them he held the roads and passes of the mountains of the more westerly ranges of the Alleghany chain. His headquarters were at Cheat Mountain pass, and Lee's were at Huntersville, in Pocahontas county. It was evident early in September, by the activity of Lee's scouts, that he was preparing to strike a blow somewhere. It was finally made clear that he was about to strike the Nationals at Elk Water, at the western foot of Cheat Mountain. His object evidently was to secure the great Cheat Mountain pass, and have free communication with the Shenandoah Valley. For this purpose he marched from Huntersville, in the night of Sept. 11, to make a simultaneous attack on Elk Water, the pass, and a station of Indiana troops on the summit, under Colonel Kimball. About 5,000 Confederates, under General Anderson, of Tennessee, attempted to take the summit and the pass, but were repulsed. On the 12th Lee advanced in heavy force upon Elk Water, but was driven back. He was satisfied that his plan for seizing and destroying Reynolds's army and opening a way to the Ohio had failed, and he hastened to join Floyd on Big Sewell Mountain, between the forks of the Kanawha. In the encounters during two or three days, Reynolds lost ten men killed, fourteen wounded, and sixty-four made prisoners. The Confederates lost about 100 killed and wounded, and ninety prisoners. The joint forces of Lee and Floyd, on Big Sewell Mountain, numbered about 20,000 men, and there they were confronted by 10,000 Nationals, under Rosecrans, assisted by Generals Cox, Schenck, and Benham. The belligerents remained in sight of each other for about three weeks. Wise, then under Lee's command, was recalled to Richmond. Lee's campaign in western Virginia was regarded by the Confederate government as a failure, and he, too, was soon afterwards recalled and sent to South Carolina, where he planned and partially constructed the coast defensive works. See CHARLESTON.

After his disastrous experience at Gettysburg (July 1, 2, and 3, 1863), General Lee began a retreat for Virginia on the night of the 5th, having previously sent forward his enormous wagon-trains and sick and wounded men. Sedgwick's corps and Kilpatrick's cavalry were sent in pursuit. Sedgwick overtook the Confederate rear-guard at a pass in the South Mountain range, but was recalled, and the whole army, having rested, were put in motion for a flank movement through the lower passes of South Mountain. But the movement was so tardy that when Meade overtook Lee (July 12) he was strongly intrenched on the banks of the Potomac, near Williamsport, waiting for a flood in the river, caused by recent rains, to subside. While Meade was preparing to attack Lee, the latter escaped over the river. General Hill's rear-guard had been struck by Kilpatrick, and lost 125 men killed and 1,500 made prisoners. Kilpatrick's loss was 105 men. Thus ended, in utter discomfiture and repulse, Lee's second formidable invasion of Maryland.

Lee's Final Struggle.—While the Confederates were leaving Richmond, Lee's army was withdrawing from Petersburg. He hoped to conduct his army to Danville, on the southern borders of Virginia, whither his government had fled. He appointed Amelia Court-house as the point for the concentration of his army. There his forces would reach the Danville Railway, and thereafter use it in their flight into North Carolina. At the time when he sent his despatch for the evacuation of Richmond he ordered commissary and quartermaster's stores to be sent from Danville to Amelia Court-house for the use of his army. They were promptly forwarded; but when the officer in charge reached Amelia Court-house he received

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

orders from Richmond to hasten thither with his train. The stupid fellow obeyed, but took with him the supplies. The government, in its flight, occupied the whole train. The stores were left at Richmond and destroyed in the conflagrations. Lee was almost hopeless when he discovered this calamity, for it threatened his army with starvation. He knew that Grant, for the sake of celerity in pursuit, would break up his army into detachments; and Lee hoped, by a bountifully supplied army well in hand, to fall upon these fragments and cut up the National army in detail. Now he was compelled to detach nearly one-half of his army to forage for supplies to keep his forces from starving.

Grant, meanwhile, had taken possession of Petersburg, and his army moved in vigorous pursuit. Sheridan's cavalry and Warren's corps struck the Danville Railway (April 4, 1865) at Jetersville, 7 miles southwest of Amelia Court-house. Some of his cavalry then pushed on to Burkesville Station, at the junction of that road with the Southside Railway. Sheridan now stood squarely across Lee's pathway of retreat, and held possession of his chief channel of supplies from Lynchburg and Danville. Lee attempted to escape by way of Farmville. Sheridan sent General Davies on a reconnoissance, who found part of Lee's army moving westward (April 5), his cavalry escorting a train of 180 wagons. Davies fell upon the escort, captured many men and five guns, and destroyed the wagons. Lee's accompanying infantry had pressed Davies for a while, but, reinforced by Generals Gregg and Smith, he extricated himself. On the morning of the 6th nearly the whole of the Army of the Potomac were at Jetersville, and moved upon Amelia Court-house. Sheridan discovered Lee's army moving rapidly westward, and made a rapid pursuit, in three columns. Great efforts were made to check Lee's retreat. He was smitten severely at Sailor's Creek, a small tributary of the Appomattox, where another train of 400 wagons, sixteen guns, and many men were captured. By this blow Ewell's corps, following the train, was cut off from Lee's main army. Very soon afterwards that corps was captured, Ewell and four other generals and 6,000 veterans becoming prisoners. With his dreadfully shattered army, Lee crossed the Appomattox that night (April 6 and 7) at Farmville, setting fire to bridges behind him. They were not all consumed. The Nationals crossed and captured eighteen guns abandoned by a rear-guard. Lee's troops and animals were perishing for want of food. Thousands let their muskets fall because they were too weak to carry them and walk. Lee would not listen to a proposition of his officers to give up the contest, and resolved to make further efforts to escape. Nearly the whole of Grant's army joined in vigorous pursuit of the Confederates, and Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court-house, April 9, 1865.

Terms of the Surrender.—The following is the correspondence that passed between Generals Grant and Lee, which resulted in the surrender of the army of the latter:

I.

"*April 7.*

"*Gen. R. E. Lee, Commander, C. S. A.:*

"SIR,—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT,

"Lieutenant-General, Commanding Armies of the United States."

II.

"*April 7.*

"GENERAL,—I have received your note of this date. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and, therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"*To Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States.*"

III.

"*April 8.*

"*To Gen. R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army:*

"GENERAL,—Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received.

"In reply, I would say that, peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon—*viz.:*

"That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged.

"I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT,

"Lieutenant-General, Commanding Armies of the United States."

IV.

"*April 8.*

"GENERAL,—I received, at a late hour, your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday.

"I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender. But, as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would tend to that end.

"I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and lead to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 A.M. to-morrow on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket-lines of the two armies.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. E. LEE,

"General, Confederate States Armies.

"*To Lieutenant-General Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States.*"

V.

"*April 9.*

"*General R. E. Lee, Commanding C. S. A.:*

"GENERAL,—Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for 10 A.M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, general, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

"Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT,

"Lieutenant-General, U. S. A."

VI.

"*April 9, 1865.*

"GENERAL,—I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

"I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. E. LEE, General.

"*To Lieutenant-General Grant, Commanding United States Armies.*"

VII.

"*April 9.*

"*General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Armies:*

"Your note of this date is but this moment (11.50 A.M.) received.

"In consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing about 4 miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

"Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

VIII.

"APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE,
"*April 9, 1865.*

"*Gen. R. E. Lee, Commanding C. S. A.:*

"In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit:

CHAIR IN WHICH GENERAL LEE SAT WHEN SIGNING THE SURRENDER.

"Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

"The officers to give their individual parole not to take arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander to sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

"The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them.

"This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

"This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

"Very respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

IX.

"HEADQUARTERS
"ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"*April 9, 1865.*

"*Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant, Commanding U. S. A.:*

"GENERAL,—I have received your letter of this date, containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th inst., they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant, R. E. LEE, General."

On the day of the surrender General Lee addressed the following farewell to the Army of Northern Virginia:

"HEADQUARTERS
"ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"*April 10, 1865.*

"After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

"I need not tell the survivors of so

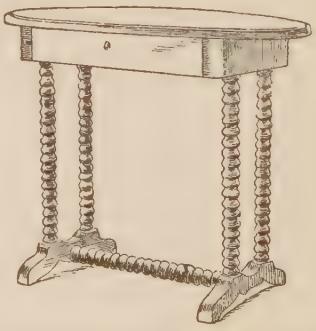
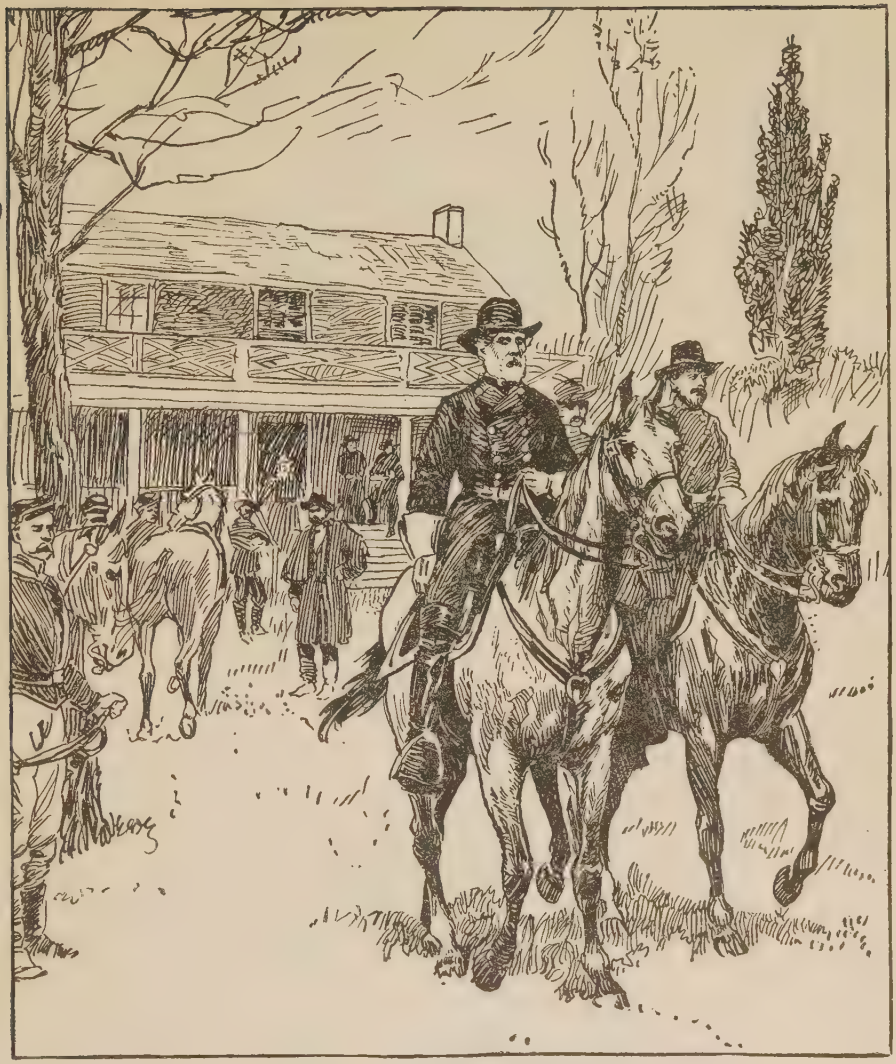


TABLE ON WHICH THE SURRENDER WAS SIGNED.



GENERAL LEE LEAVING AFTER THE SURRENDER.

many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

"By the terms of agreement, officers and men can return to their homes, and remain there until exchanged.

"You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will

extend to you His blessing and protection.

"With an unceasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

"R. E. LEE, General."

At the final act of surrender, General Lee was not present. It was executed by commissioners designated for the purpose, who acceded to the following agreement:

"APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VA.,
"*April 10, 1865.*

"Agreement entered into this day, in regard to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia to the United States authorities.

"First. The troops shall march by brigades and detachments to a designated point; stack their arms; deposit their flags, sabres, pistols, etc.; and from thence march to their homes, under charge of their officers, superintended by their respective division and corps commanders, officers retaining their side-arms and the authorized number of private horses.

"Second. All public horses, and public property of all kinds, to be turned over to staff-officers to be designated by the United States authorities.

"Third. Such transportation as may be agreed upon as necessary for the transportation of the private baggage of officers will be allowed to accompany the officers, to be turned over, at the end of the trip, to the nearest United States quartermaster, receipts being taken for the same.

"Fourth. Couriers and mounted men of the artillery and cavalry, whose horses are their own private property, will be allowed to retain them.

"Fifth. The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia shall be construed to include all the forces operating with that army on the 8th instant, the date of the commencement of the negotiations for surrender, except such bodies of cavalry as actually made their escape previous to the surrender; and except, also, such pieces of artillery as were more than 20 miles from Appomattox Court-house at the time of surrender on the 9th instant.

"(Signed)
"JOHN GIBBON, Major-General Volunteers.
"CHARLES GRIFFIN, Brevet Major-General U. S. V.
"M. MERRITT, Brevet Major-General.
"J. LONGSTREET, Lieutenant-General.
"J. B. GORDON, Major-General.
"W. N. PENDLETON, Brigadier-General and Chief of Artillery."

The following is a copy of the parole signed by General Lee and his staff-officers:

"We, the undersigned, prisoners of war belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia, having been this day surrendered by Gen. R. E. Lee, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the armies of the United States, do hereby give our solemn parole of honor that we will not hereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States, or in any military capacity whatsoever against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the relative authorities.
"R. E. LEE, General.
"W. H. TAYLOR, Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General.
"CHAS. S. VENEABLE, Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General.
"CHAS. MARSHALL, Lieutenant-Colonel and Assistant Adjutant-General.
"H. E. PRATON, Lieutenant-Colonel and Inspector-General.
"GILES BROOKE, Major and Acting Assistant Surgeon-General.
"H. S. YOUNG, Assistant Adjutant-General.
"Done at Appomattox Court-house, Va., this ninth (9) day of April, 1865."

The parole was countersigned as follows:

"The above-named officers will not be disturbed by United States authorities as long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

"GEO. H. SHARPE,
"General, and Assistant Provost-Marshal."

Lee, STEPHEN DILL, educator; born in Charleston, S. C., Sept. 22, 1833; grad-

uated at the United States Military Academy in 1854, and was first lieutenant of the 4th Artillery till 1861, serving also as quartermaster for three years. He afterwards entered the Confederate army as captain and was promoted to lieutenant-general. He commanded the Confederates at Chickasaw Bayou, Miss., where Sherman was defeated, and in the battles of Tupelo, Miss.; Jonesboro, Ga.; Atlanta, Ga.; Nashville, Franklin, etc., and took part in the operations around Richmond. After the war he became a planter in Mississippi. In 1870 he was a member of the Mississippi State Senate; in 1890 was a delegate to the constitutional convention of Mississippi; and since 1880 has been president of the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Lee, THOMAS LUDWELL, statesman, born in Stratford, Westmoreland co., Va., in 1730; a brother of Richard Henry Lee. During the preliminary movements of the Revolutionary War he was conspicuous as a lawyer and patriot. He was a member of the committee of safety, and in the Virginia convention, in May, 1776, was on the committee to draft a declaration of rights and a plan of a State government. On the organization of that government, he was appointed one of the five revisers, and was also elected one of the five judges of the General Court. He died in 1777.

Lee, WILLIAM, diplomatist; born in Stratford, Va., in 1737; brother of Richard Henry and Arthur; was agent for Virginia in London, and became a merchant there. The city of London being overwhelmingly Whig in politics, William Lee was elected sheriff of that city and Middlesex county in 1773. In 1775 he was chosen alderman, but on the breaking out of the war in America retired to France. Congress appointed him commercial agent at Nantes at the beginning of 1777, and he was afterwards American minister at The Hague. Mr. Lee was also agent in Berlin and Vienna, but was recalled in 1779. In 1778 Jan de Neufville, an Amsterdam merchant, procured a loan to the Americans from Holland, through his house, and, to negotiate for it, gained permission of the burgomasters of Amsterdam to meet Lee at Aix-la-Chapelle. There they arranged terms for a commercial convention proper to be entered into between the two republics. When Lee communicated this project to the American commissioners at Paris, they (having been much annoyed by the intermeddling of his brother Arthur) reminded him that the authority for treating with the States-General belonged exclusively to them. Congress took no notice of his negotiations with De Neufville, and soon afterwards dismissed him from their service. Lee died in Green Spring, Va., June 27, 1795.

Lee, FORT, a Revolutionary War defensive post on the west bank of the Hudson River, opposite New York City. Early on the morning of Nov. 20, 1776, Cornwallis crossed the Hudson from Dobb's Ferry to Closter's Landing, 5 miles above Fort Lee, and with a force about 6,000 strong, including artillery, climbed a steep, rocky pathway up a gorge in the Palisades, unobserved by Greene. A farmer awoke that officer from slumber in the morning twilight, in time for him to escape from imminent peril. He fled in haste from Fort Lee, with the garrison of 2,000 men, leaving cannon, tents, stores, and camp equipage behind. He barely escaped capture. Washington, apprised of the danger, so well covered his retreat that less than 100 stragglers were made prisoners.

Lee, THE. Early in 1775, Washington conceived that the readiest way to obtain supplies for the army was the fitting-out of armed vessels for intercepting those sent from England to Boston. He caused six armed schooners to be prepared for this purpose, which cruised off the New England coasts. One of these, the *Lee*, Captain Manley, captured, Nov. 29, 1775, the brig *Nancy*, an ordnance vessel from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of small-arms and ammunition, and an abundance of things for the use of camps and artillery. Within ten days afterwards the *Lee* captured three British store-ships and a brig from Antigua laden with rum. In less than five days after the last-mentioned capture several other store-ships fell into the hands of Manley, and so the Continental army was supplied with materials intended for the British army in Boston.

Leesburg, BATTLE OF. See BALL'S BLUFF.

Legal Holidays. See HOLIDAYS, LEGAL.

Legal Tender. See CURRENCY; FINANCES; GREENBACKS.

Legare, HUGH SWINTON; born in Charleston, S. C., Jan. 2, 1789; graduated at the College of South Carolina in 1814; elected to the State legislature in 1820, and in 1830 elected attorney-general of the State. Mr. Legare was one of the editors of the *Southern Review*. In 1837 he was elected a Representative in Congress, and in 1841 was appointed Attorney-General of the United States, and in 1843 Secretary of State. He died in Boston, Mass., June 2, 1843.

Leisler, JACOB, military officer; born in Frankfort, Germany; was of Huguenot descent, and came to America in 1660. Settling first in Albany, he soon became a trader in New York City. While on a voyage to Europe in 1678, he, with seven others, was captured by Turkish corsairs, and they were ransomed at a high price. In 1683 he was appointed a commissioner of the court of admiralty in New York City. Democracy had then taken firm root among the people in New York, and when news of the accession of William and Mary reached the city the people were much excited by it. The military force of the city consisted of five military companies, of which Nicholas Bayard, a member of the governor's council, was colonel, and Leisler was senior captain. The people were zealous Protestants. A Roman Catholic collector appointed by King James had been retained in place, and a rumor spread of a horrible plot and intended massacre by the opponents of the deposed monarch. A crowd of citizens, followed by the five militia companies, surrounded the house of Leisler and induced him to lead a movement for the seizure of the fort. Bayard attempted to disperse them, but was compelled to fly for his life. A distinct line was soon drawn between the *aristocrats*, headed by Bayard, Livingston, and others, and the *democrats*, led by Leisler. The fort was seized, with the public money in it. Nicholson, Andros's lieutenant, demanded the money and was treated with disdain.

A committee of safety of ten members —Dutch, Huguenots, and English—constituted Leisler "captain of the fort," and invested him with the power of commander-in-chief until orders should arrive from the new monarchs. He was, indeed, the popular governor of the province. The New Englanders applauded the movement. Leisler proclaimed William and Mary at the sound of the trumpet, and sent a letter to the King giving an account of his doings. Nicholson, perceiving the support which the people of New York and New England gave to Leisler, departed for England; and the members of his council withdrew to Albany, where, acknowledging allegiance to William and Mary, they claimed to be the true governors of the colony, and denounced Leisler as an "arch-rebel." Leisler's son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, had just returned from Holland, and was sent to Albany with some soldiers to defend the place against an expected attack from Canada; but the old council there refused to give up the fort to Milborne. The people of Albany obtained aid from Connecticut, Milborne having withdrawn to avoid bloodshed. Soon after this a letter, addressed to "such as for the time being administer affairs," was received at New York, enclosing a commission as governor for Nicholson. As the latter was on the ocean, Leisler assumed the title of lieutenant-governor, construing the King's letter as a confirmation of his authority. He called an assembly to provide means for carrying on war with Canada.

Leaving Leisler's letter unanswered, King William commissioned Col. Henry Sloughter governor of New York, and sent an independent company of regular soldiers, under Captain Ingoldsby (January, 1691), for the defence of the province. Influenced by the enemies of Leisler, Ingoldsby claimed the temporary administration of affairs, and the possession of the fort, by virtue of his commission from the King. Leisler refused compliance with the demand, but proclaimed Sloughter's appointment, and ordered Ingoldsby's troops to be quartered in the city. There was great excitement in the city between the aristocracy and democracy. Bayard and others of the old council were in prison. Leisler was, for a time, besieged

in the fort, and some lives were lost; and because he refused to give up the fort at the first summons of Ingoldsby, Sloughter, on his arrival, instigated by the friends of Bayard and others, caused the democratic governor and his council to be arrested.

Bayard and others of the old council, having been released, were sworn members of Sloughter's council, and a special court was organized to try the prisoners. Leisler and Milborne, denying the jurisdiction of the court, refused to plead. They were tried, nevertheless, and found guilty; but Sloughter hesitated to order their execution, preferring to await the King's decision in the matter. Leisler's enemies burned with a desire for revenge. The Assembly, also composed of his enemies, refused to recommend a temporary reprieve. At a dinner-party given for the purpose, Sloughter, made drunk with liquor, was persuaded to sign the death-warrant. The revel was continued until morning for fear Sloughter, sober, might recall the warrant; and before he had recovered his senses Leisler and Milborne were taken from their weeping wives and children (May 16, 1691) and hurried to the scaffold, erected near the lower end of the present City Hall Park. A drizzly rain was falling. A sullen crowd of citizens were spectators of the sad scene. Among them were Robert Livingston and others of Leisler's bitter enemies. The prisoners protested their loyalty and innocence of the charge to the last. Milborne said on the scaffold, "Robert Livingston, for this I will implead thee at the bar of God!" It was nothing less than a judicial murder. Some years afterwards the attainder which the crime with which they were charged had placed upon the victims was reversed by act of Parliament, and their estates were restored to their families.

Leland, Charles Godfrey, author; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 15, 1824; graduated at Princeton in 1845; took advanced courses at the universities of Heidelberg, Munich, and Paris; and, returning to the United States, was admitted to the bar, and practised in Philadelphia till 1853. He then entered journalism, and was at different times an editor on the New York *Times;* Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin; Vanity Fair;* Philadelphia *Press; Knickerbocker Magazine;* and *Continental Magazine.* During 1869–80 he lived in London. Returning to the United States, he was the first to establish industrial education, based on the minor arts, as a branch of public school teaching. Later his system spread to England, Austria-Hungary, and other countries. He discovered the "Shelta" language, which was spoken by the Celtic tinkers, and was the famous lost language of the Irish bards, and his discovery was verified by Kuno Meyer, from manuscripts 1,000 years old. His publications include *Hans Breitmann's Ballads; France, Alsace, and Lorraine; Life of Abraham Lincoln; Industrial Work in Schools* (United States Bureau of Education); *One Hundred Profitable Arts; Etruscan-Roman Remains; Algonquian Legends;* and many other works.

Leland Stanford, Junior, University, the most generously endowed educational institution in the world, was opened for the reception of students in 1891. It is situated at Palo Alto, a short distance south of San Francisco, and was founded by Senator Leland Stanford as a memorial to his son, Leland Stanford, Jr. The property which Senator Stanford set apart for its maintenance was valued at $20,000,000. His widow has since increased the amount of endowment, and in 1899 it represented a total of $45,000,000. The buildings were constructed without regard to their cost, and are nowhere surpassed in beauty and fitness. Many of them are of yellow sandstone, and the Moorish style of architecture has been followed in their construction. The courses of instruction embrace almost every department of study imaginable, and provide a complete system of education from the kindergarten to the post-graduate course. There are not only schools of agriculture, machine-shops, and laboratories for the study of the applied sciences, but there are colleges of art, of law, of medicine, and of music. The first president of the institution was Dr. David S. Jordan, formerly president of the State University of Indiana. At the close of the school year 1903 the university had 130 professors and instructors; 1,400 students in all departments; 80,000

volumes in its library; and 1,200 graduates.

Le Mercier, Francis Joseph. See Jesuit Missions.

Lemmon, John Gill, botanist; born in Lima, Mich., Jan. 2, 1832; received a normal school education; engaged in teaching; entered the University of Michigan, but left it to join the 4th Michigan Cavalry, June 8, 1862; was captured in August, 1864; and became an Andersonville prisoner. In 1866 he went to California, where he engaged in botanical exploration. In 1880 he married Sara Allen Plummer, herself a botanist, and together they explored the Pacific coast from Mexico to British Columbia, in search of specimens. He became a specialist in forestry, and for four years was botanist of the California State board of forestry. He has added several kinds of trees and numerous species of plants to accepted classifications. His publications include *Recollections of Rebel Prisons; Ferns of the Pacific; Discovery of the Potato; Handbook of West American Cone-Bearers*, etc. His wife is author of *Marine Algæ of the West*, and *Western Ferns.*

Le Moine, Sauvolle, royal governor; born in Montreal in 1671; accompanied the brothers Iberville and Bienville in their expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi River, and was appointed the first governor of Louisiana in 1699. He was of feeble constitution; possessed brilliant talents, a remarkably fine personal appearance, and a large fortune. Racine pronounced him a poet; Bossuet predicted that he would become a great orator; and Villars called him a "marshal in embryo." These promises were unfulfilled. He died in Biloxi, Miss., July 22, 1701.

Le Moyne, Francis Julius, physician; born in Washington, Pa., Sept. 4, 1798; received a collegiate education, and studied medicine in Philadelphia, and began practice in his native town in 1822. He became a strong abolitionist in 1835; was the first nominee for Vice-President of the Liberty party, but declined to serve. Later he was several times the candidate of that party for governor of Pennsylvania. He is best known, however, through his advocacy of cremation. In 1876 he built the first crematory in the United States, near Washington, Pa. He died in Washington, Pa., Oct. 14, 1879.

Le Moyne, Samuel. See Jesuit Missions.

Le Moyne, the name of a distinguished Canadian family, members of which bore conspicuous parts in early American history. They were descended from Charles of Normandy, who died in Montreal, Canada, in 1683. He went to Canada in 1641, where he became a famous Indian fighter. In 1668 Louis XIV. made him seigneur of Longueil, and subsequently of Chateaugay. He had eleven sons, of whom Bienville and Iberville (*qq. v.*) were the most eminent.

Charles, first Sieur de Longueil, was born in Montreal, Dec. 10, 1656; died there, June 8, 1729. He was made a lieutenant-general of regulars in the royal army of France, and, returning to Canada, built churches and a fort at Longueil. He fought the English assailants of Quebec under Phipps in 1690, and was made baron and governor of Montreal in 1700. Becoming commandant-general of Canada, he prepared to meet the expedition against Quebec under Walker in 1711. In 1720 he was governor of Three Rivers, and again of Montreal in 1724. His influence over the Indians was very great, and in 1726 the Senecas allowed him to rebuild Fort Niagara.

Paul, Sieur de Maricourt, who was born in Montreal, Dec. 15, 1663, and died there March 21, 1704, distinguished himself under his brother Iberville in Hudson Bay. He commanded an expedition against the Iroquois, made peace with them in 1701, and acquired great influence over them.

Joseph, Sieur de Sérigny, was born in Montreal in July, 1668; died in Rochefort, France, in 1734. In 1694 and 1697 he commanded squadrons to assist his brother Iberville in Hudson Bay, and brought over emigrants to Louisiana in a squadron to found a colony there. In 1718–19 he surveyed the coasts there, and took part in expeditions against the Spaniards at Pensacola and in Mobile Bay. In 1720 he commanded a ship-of-the-line, and died a rear-admiral of the royal navy. He was also governor of Rochefort at the time of his death, having been appointed in 1723.

ANTOINE, Sieur de Chateaugay, was born in Montreal, July 7, 1683; died in Rochefort, France, March 21, 1747. He belonged to the royal army, and came with colonists to Louisiana in 1704, serving under Iberville there against the English. He was made chief commandant of Louisiana in 1717, and King's lieutenant in the colony and knight of St. Louis in 1718. He was in command of Pensacola in 1719; a prisoner of war for a while afterwards to the Spaniards; governor of Martinique; and, returning to France in 1744, became governor of Île Royale, or Cape Breton, in 1745.

Lend-a-Hand Clubs, organizations that originated in 1871 from Edward Everett Hale's famous book, *Ten Times One is Ten,* published during the previous year. Any club or society of people of whatever name may become a lend-a-hand club if it accepts the Wadsworth mottoes from the story, *Ten Times One is Ten.* These mottoes are:

> "Look up and not down,
> Look forward and not back,
> Look out and not in,
> Lend a hand."

Each lend-a-hand club makes its own constitution and chooses its own line of work without interference from the central office.

L'Enfant, PETER CHARLES, engineer; born in France in 1755; came to America with Lafayette and entered the Continental army as an engineer in 1777. He was made a captain in February, 1778; was severely wounded at the siege of Savannah in 1779; served under the immediate command of Washington afterwards; and was made a major in May, 1783. The "order," or jewel, of the Society of the Cincinnati was designed by Major L'Enfant. He was also author of the plan of the city of Washington. In 1812 he was appointed Professor of Engineering at West Point, but declined. He died in Prince George's county, Md., June 14, 1825.

Lenox, JAMES, philanthropist; born in New York City, Aug. 19, 1800; fell heir to a fortune of several millions of dollars in 1839. He was deeply interested in collecting rare books, including many on American history. After adding to these books many rare manuscripts, mosaics, statues, etc., he founded Lenox Library, which, with its endowment, represented a value of $2,000,000. This institution is now a part of the NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY (*q. v.*). He died in New York City, Feb. 17, 1890.

Lescarbot, MARC, author; born in Vervins, France, in 1590. When, in 1606, Poutrincourt, who founded Port Royal, in Acadia, returned from France with a company of artisans and laborers, he was accompanied by Lescarbot, who had then become known as a lawyer, poet, and writer of a *History of New France,* published in 1609. He came to assist Poutrincourt in establishing his colony on a firm basis. While Champlain and De Monts were looking for a milder climate farther south, Lescarbot took charge of the fort. With great energy he planted, builded, and wrote rhymes, and infused into his subordinates some of his own energy. When Champlain returned, he was greeted by a theatrical masque, composed by the poet, in which Neptune and his Tritons welcomed the mariner. The dreary winter that followed was enlivened by the establishment of an "Order of Good Times" by Lescarbot, the duties of the members consisting in the preparation of good cheer daily for the table. In the spring the colonists were summoned to France by a revocation of their charter. Lescarbot died about 1630.

Leslie, ALEXANDER, military officer; born in England about 1740; came to Boston with General Howe in 1775; was made a major in June, 1759; a lieutenant-colonel in 1762; and was a brigadier-general when he came to America. In the battle of Long Island, in 1776, he commanded the light infantry, and was in the battle of Harlem Plains in September, and of White Plains in October following. General Leslie accompanied Sir Henry Clinton against Charleston in April and May, 1780. In October he took possession of Portsmouth, Va., with 3,000 troops, but soon hastened to join Cornwallis in the Carolinas, which he did in December. In the battle of Guilford, he commanded the right wing. General Leslie was in command at Charleston at the close of hostilities. He died in England, Dec. 27, 1794.

Lesseps, Ferdinand Marie, Viscount de. See Panama Canal.

Lester, Charles Edwards, author; born in Griswold, Conn., July 15, 1815. His publications include *Life and Voyages of Americus Vespucius; Life of Charles Sumner; Our First Hundred Years; America's Advancement; History of the United States, in Five Great Periods;* etc. He died in Detroit, Mich., in 1890.

Letcher, John, lawyer; born in Lexington, Va., March 29, 1813; was graduated at Randolph-Macon College in 1833; admitted to the bar in 1839, and practised in his native town; was a member of Congress in 1852–59; and governor of Virginia in 1860–64. While he was governor the State legislature passed its secession ordinance, and, without waiting for it to be voted on by the people, he turned over the entire forces of the State to the Confederacy. He died in Lexington, Va., Jan. 26, 1884.

Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer. See Dickinson, John.

Letters of Marque. See Marque and Reprisal, Letters of.

Leutze, Emanuel, artist; born in Gmünd, Würtemburg, May 24, 1816; was brought to the United States during infancy. His paintings include *Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca; Columbus in Chains; Columbus Before the Queen; Landing of the Norsemen in America; Washington Crossing the Delaware; Washington at Monmouth; Washington at the Battle of Monongahela; News from Lexington; Sergeant Jasper; Washington at Princeton; Lafayette in Prison at Olmutz Visited by His Relatives;* etc. In 1860 he was chosen by the United States government to make a large mural painting on one of the staircases in the Capitol, entitled *Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way.* He died in Washington, D. C., July 18, 1868.

Levees. See Mississippi River (*Modern Improvements*).

Levering, Joshua, prohibitionist; born in Baltimore, Md., Sept. 12, 1845; was first a Democrat, and then a Prohibitionist. In 1896 he was the candidate of the National Prohibition party for President of the United States, with Hale Johnson for Vice-President. The ticket received 132,007 popular but no electoral votes. He is vice-president of the American Baptist Publication Society; president of the board of trustees of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; and has been at the head of other charitable and religious organizations.

Levermore, Charles Herbert, educator; born in Mansfield, Conn., Oct. 15, 1856; graduated at Yale College in 1879; became Professor of History in the University of California in 1886, and held the same chair in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1888–93. He was made president of Adelphi College, Brooklyn, in 1896. His publications include *The Republic of New Haven; Syllabus of Lectures upon Political History since 1815,* etc.

Levy, Uriah Phillips, naval officer; born in Pennsylvania about 1795; joined the navy in 1812, and was assigned to duty on the *Argus.* When that vessel was captured he was held a prisoner for two years; was promoted captain in March, 1844. He wrote a *Manual of Internal Rules and Regulations for Men-of-War.* He died in New York City, March 22, 1862.

Lewis, Andrew, military officer; born in Donegal, Ireland, in 1730, of a Huguenot family which came to Virginia in 1732. Andrew was a volunteer to take possession of the Ohio region in 1754; was with Washington; and was major of a Virginian regiment at Braddock's defeat. In the expedition under Major Grant, in 1758, he was made prisoner and taken to Montreal. In 1768 he was a commissioner to treat with the Indians at Fort Stanwix; was appointed a brigadier-general in 1774, and on Oct. 10, that year, he fought a severe battle with a formidable Indian force at Point Pleasant, and gained a victory. In the Virginia House of Burgesses, and in the field, he was a bold patriot. A colonel in the army, he commanded the Virginia troops that drove Lord Dunmore from Virginian waters. In that expedition he caught a cold, from the effects of which he died, in Bedford county, Sept. 26, 1781. His four brothers —Samuel, Thomas, Charles, and William —were all distinguished in military annals. His statue occupies one of the pedestals around Crawford's Washington monument at Richmond.

Lewis, CHARLES B., humorist; born in Ohio in 1842; graduated at Michigan Agricultural College. In 1869 he began writing for the Detroit *Free Press*. He soon became widely known as a humorist and as a descriptive writer. His contributions to the *Free Press* soon ran its circulation from 5,000 to 250,000 copies. Most of his newspaper work was published under the pen-name of "M. Quad." His other publications include *Field, Fort, and Fleet; A Sketch Book of the Civil War; The Lime-Kiln Club; Sawed-Off Sketches; Mr. and Mrs. Bowser; Quad's Odds;* and a number of plays.

Lewis, FRANCIS, signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Llandaff, Wales, in March, 1713; educated at Westminster School, he became a merchant, and emigrated to America in 1734. He was aide to Colonel Mercer after the capture of Oswego by the French in 1757, and was, with other prisoners, taken to Canada and thence to France. For his services the British government gave him 5,000 acres of land. Patriotic and active, he was a member of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765. He was a delegate from New York in the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1779. Settled on Long Island, which abounded with Tories, he suffered much from the destruction of his property by this class of citizens. They caused the death of his wife by brutally confining her in a prison for several months. To his patriotism he sacrificed most of his property, and died poor, in New York City, Dec. 30, 1802.

Lewis, LAWRENCE, lawyer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., June 20, 1857; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1876, and was admitted to the bar in 1879. His publications include *Courts of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century; History of the Bank of North America; Memoir of Edward Shippen, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania.*

LEWIS, MERIWETHER

Lewis, MERIWETHER. On Aug. 18, 1813, Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Paul Allen, of Philadelphia, gave the following review of the life and work of this distinguished explorer:

Sir,—In compliance with the request conveyed in your letter of May 25, I have endeavored to obtain, from the relations and friends of the late Governor Lewis, information of such incidents of his life as might be not unacceptable to those who may read the narrative of his Western discoveries. The ordinary occurrences of a private life, and those, also, while acting in a subordinate sphere in the army in a time of peace, are not deemed sufficiently interesting to occupy the public attention; but a general account of his parentage, with such smaller incidents as marked his early character, are briefly noted, and to these are added, as being peculiarly within my own knowledge, whatever related to the public mission, of which an account is now to be published. The result of my inquiries and recollections shall now be offered, to be enlarged or abridged as you may think best, or otherwise to be used with the materials you may have collected from other sources.

Meriwether Lewis, late governor of Louisiana, was born on Aug. 18, 1774, near the town of Charlottesville, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia, of one of the distinguished families of that State. John Lewis, one of his father's uncles, was a member of the King's council before the Revolution. Another of them, Fielding Lewis, married a sister of General Washington. His father, William Lewis, was the youngest of five sons of Col. Robert Lewis, of Albemarle, the fourth of whom, Charles, was one of the early patriots who stepped forward in the commencement of the Revolution, and commanded one of the regiments first raised in Virginia, and placed on Continental establishment. Happily situated at home, with a wife and young family, and a fortune placing him at ease, he left all to aid in the liberation of his country from foreign usurpations, then first unmasking their ultimate end and aim. His good sense, integrity, bravery, enterprise, and remarkable bodily powers marked him as an officer of great prom-

ise; but he unfortunately died early in the Revolution. Nicholas Lewis, the second of his father's brothers, commanded a regiment of militia in the successful expedition of 1776 against the Cherokee Indians, who, seduced by the agents of the

British government to take up the hatchet against us, had committed great havoc on our Southern frontier by murdering and scalping helpless women and children, according to their cruel and cowardly principles of warfare. The chastisement they then received closed the history of their wars, and prepared them for receiving the elements of civilization, which, zealously inculcated by the present government of the United States, have rendered them an industrious, peaceable, and happy people. This member of the family of Lewises, whose bravery was so usefully proved on this occasion, was endeared to all who knew him by his inflexible probity, courteous disposition, benevolent heart, and engaging modesty and manners. He was the umpire of all the private differences of his county—selected always by both parties. He was also the guardian of Meriwether Lewis, of whom we are now to speak, and who had lost his father at an early age. He continued some years under the fostering care of a tender mother of the respectable family of Meriwethers, of the same county, and was remarkable even in infancy for enterprise, boldness, and discretion. When only eight years of age he habitually went out, in the dead of night, alone with his dogs, into the forest, to hunt the raccoon and opossum, which, seeking their food in the night, can then only be taken. In this exercise, no season or circumstance could obstruct his purpose—plunging through the winter's snows and frozen streams in pursuit of his object.

At thirteen he was put to the Latin school, and continued at that until eighteen, when he returned to his mother, and entered on the cares of his farm, having, as well as a younger brother, been left by his father with a competency for all the correct and comfortable purposes of temperate life. His talent for observation, which had led him to an accurate knowledge of the plants and animals of his own country, would have distinguished him as a farmer; but, at the age of twenty, yielding to the ardor of youth and a passion for more dazzling pursuits, he engaged as a volunteer in the body of militia which were called out by General Washington on occasion of the discontents produced by the excise taxes in the western parts of the United States, and from that situation he was removed to the regular service as a lieutenant in the line. At twenty-three he was promoted to a captaincy; and, always attracting the first attention where punctuality and fidelity were requisite, he was appointed paymaster to his regiment. About this time a circumstance occurred which, leading to the transaction which is the subject of this book, will justify a recurrence to its original idea. While I resided in Paris, John Ledyard, of Connecticut, arrived there, well known in the United States for energy of body and mind. He had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and distinguished himself on that voyage by his intrepidity. Being of a roaming disposition, he was now panting for some new enterprise. His immediate object at Paris was to engage a mercantile company in the fur-trade of the western coast of America, in which, however, he failed. I then proposed to him to go by land to Kamchatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall

down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate to, and through, that to the United States. He eagerly seized the idea, and only asked to be assured of the permission of the Russian government. I interested in obtaining that M. de Simoulin, minister plenipotentiary of the Empress at Paris, but more especially the Baron de Grimm, minister plenipotentiary of Saxe-Gotha, her more special agent and correspondent there in matters not immediately diplomatic. Her permission was obtained, and an assurance of protection while the course of the voyage should be through her territories. Ledyard set out from Paris, and arrived at St. Petersburg after the Empress had left that place to pass the winter, I think, at Moscow.

His finances not permitting him to make unnecessary stay at St. Petersburg, he left it with a passport from one of the ministers, and at 200 miles from Kamchatka was obliged to take up his winter-quarters. He was preparing, in the spring, to resume his journey, when he was arrested by an officer of the Empress, who by this time had changed her mind, and forbidden his proceeding. He was put into a close carriage, and conveyed day and night, without ever stopping, till they reached Poland, where he was set down and left to himself. The fatigue of this journey broke down his constitution; and when he returned to Paris his bodily strength was much impaired. His mind, however, remained firm; and he after this undertook the journey to Egypt. I received a letter from him, full of sanguine hopes, dated at Cairo, Nov. 15, 1788, the day before he was to set out for the head of the Nile, on which day, however, he ended his career and life; and thus failed the first attempt to explore the western part of our northern continent.

In 1792 I proposed to the American Philosophical Society that we should set on foot a subscription to engage some competent person to explore that region in the opposite direction; that is, by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Stony Mountains, and descending the nearest river to the Pacific. Captain Lewis, being then stationed at Charlottesville, on the recruiting service, warmly solicited me to obtain for him the execution of that object. I told him it was proposed that the person engaged should be attended by a single companion only, to avoid exciting alarm among the Indians. This did not deter him; but Mr. André Michaux, a professed botanist, author of the *Flora Boreali-Americana*, and of the *Histoire des Chesnes d'Amérique*, offering his services, they were accepted. He received his instructions; and, when he had reached Kentucky in the prosecution of his journey, he was overtaken by an order from the minister of France, then at Philadelphia, to relinquish the expedition, and to pursue elsewhere the botanical inquiries on which he was employed by that government; and thus failed the second attempt for exploring that region.

In 1803 the act for establishing trading-houses with the Indian tribes being about to expire, some modifications of it were recommended to Congress by a confidential message of Jan. 18, and an extension of its views to the Indians on the Missouri. In order to prepare the way, the message proposed the sending an exploring party to trace the Missouri to its source; to cross the highlands, and follow the best water communication which offered itself from thence to the Pacific Ocean. Congress approved the proposition, and voted a sum of money for carrying it into execution. Captain Lewis, who had then been nearly two years with me as private secretary, immediately renewed his solicitations to have the direction of the party. I had now had opportunities of knowing him intimately. Of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded, by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if

seen by ourselves—with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him. To fill up the measure desired, he wanted nothing but a greater familiarity with the technical language of the natural sciences and readiness in the astronomical observations necessary for the geography of his route. To acquire these he repaired immediately to Philadelphia, and placed himself under the tutorage of the distinguished professors of that place, who, with a zeal and emulation enkindled by an ardent devotion to science, communicated to him freely the information requisite for the purposes of the journey. While attending, too, at Lancaster, the fabrication of the arms with which he chose that his men should be provided, he had the benefit of daily communication with Mr. Andrew Ellicot, whose experience in astronomical observation, and practice of it in the woods, enabled him to apprise Captain Lewis of the wants and difficulties he would encounter, and of the substitutes and resources offered by a woodland and uninhabited country.

Deeming it necessary he should have some person with him of known competence to the direction of the enterprise, in the event of accident to himself, he proposed William Clarke, brother of Gen. George Rogers Clarke, who was approved, and, with that view, received a commission of captain.

In April, 1803, a draft of his instructions were sent to Captain Lewis, and on June 20 they were signed in the following form:

"To Meriwether Lewis, Esq., captain of the 1st Regiment of Infantry of the United States of America:

"Your situation as secretary of the President of the United States has made you acquainted with the objects of my confidential message of Jan. 18, 1803, to the legislature; you have seen the act they passed, which, though expressed in general terms, was meant to sanction those objects, and you are appointed to carry them into execution.

"Instruments for ascertaining, by celestial observations, the geography of the country, through which you will pass have been already provided. Light articles for barter and presents among the Indians, arms for your attendants, say for from ten to twelve men, boats, tents, and other travelling apparatus, with ammunition, medicine, surgical instruments, and provisions, you will have prepared, with such aids as the Secretary at War can yield in his department; and from him also you will receive authority to engage among our troops, by voluntary agreement, the number of attendants above mentioned, over whom you, as their commanding officer, are invested with all the powers the laws give in such a case.

"As your movements while within the limits of the United States will be better directed by occasional communications, adapted to circumstances as they rise, they will not be noticed here. What follows will respect your proceedings after your departure from the United States.

"Your mission has been communicated to the ministers here from France, Spain, and Great Britain, and through them to their governments, and such assurances given them as to its objects as we trust will satisfy them. The country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all its subjects; and that from the minister of England will entitle you to the friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you happen to meet.

"The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River, and such principal streams of it as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce.

"Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take observations of latitude and longitude at all remarkable points on the river, and especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands, and other places and objects distinguished by such natural marks and characters, of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognized hereafter. The courses of the river between these points

of observation may be supplied by the compass, the log-line, and by time, corrected by the observations themselves. The variations of the needle, too, in different places should be noticed.

"The interesting points of the portage between the heads of the Missouri and of the water offering the best communication with the Pacific Ocean, should also be fixed by observation, and the course of that water to the ocean in the same manner as that of the Missouri.

"Your observations are to be taken with great pains and accuracy; to be entered distinctly and intelligibly for others as well as yourself; to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tables, to fix the latitude and longitude of the places at which they were taken; and are to be rendered to the War Office, for the purpose of having the calculations made concurrently by proper persons within the United States. Several copies of these, as well as of your other notes, should be made at leisure times, and put into the care of the most trustworthy of your attendants to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed. A further guard would be that one of these copies be on the cuticular membranes of the paper-birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper.

"The commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue renders a knowledge of those people important. You will therefore endeavor to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit, with the names of the nations and their numbers;

"The extent and limits of their possessions;

"Their relations with other tribes or nations;

"Their language, traditions, monuments;

"Their ordinary occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for these;

"Their food, clothing, and domestic accommodations;

"The diseases prevalent among them, and the remedies they use;

"Moral and physical circumstances which distinguish them from the tribes we know;

"Peculiarities in their laws, customs, and dispositions;

"And articles of commerce they may need or furnish, and to what extent.

"And, considering the interest which every nation has in extending and strengthening the authority of reason and justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion, and information among them, as it may better enable those who may endeavor to civilize and instruct them to adapt their measures to the existing notions and practices of those on whom they are to operate.

"Other objects worthy of notice will be—

"The soil and face of the country, its growth and vegetable productions, especially those not of the United States;

"The animals of the country generally, and especially those not known in the United States;

"The remains and accounts of any which may be deemed rare or extinct;

"The mineral productions of every kind, but more particularly metals, limestone, pit-coal, and saltpetre, salines and mineral waters, noting the temperature of the last, and such circumstances as may indicate their character;

"Volcanic appearances;

"Climate as characterized by the thermometer, by the proportion of rainy, cloudy, and clear days; by lightning, hail, snow, ice; by the access and recess of frost; by the winds prevailing at different seasons; the dates at which particular plants put forth or lose their flower or leaf; times of appearance of particular birds, reptiles, or insects.

"Although your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavor to inform yourself, by inquiry, of the character and extent of the country watered by its branches, and especially on its southern side. The North River, or Rio Bravo, which runs into the Gulf of Mexico, and the North River, or Rio Colorado, which runs into the Gulf of California, are understood to be the principal streams heading opposite to the waters of the Missouri, and running southwardly.

Whether the dividing-grounds between the Missouri and them are mountains or flat lands, what are their distance from the Missouri, the character of the intermediate country, and the people inhabiting it, are worthy of particular inquiry. The northern waters of the Missouri are less to be inquired after, because they have been ascertained to a considerable degree, and are still in a course of ascertainment by English traders and travellers; but, if you can learn anything certain of the most northern source of the Mississippi, and of its position relatively to the Lake of the Woods, it will be interesting to us. Some account, too, of the path of the Canadian traders from the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Ouisconsing to where it strikes the Missouri, and of the soil and rivers in its course, is desirable.

"In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey; satisfy them of its innocence; make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States, of our wish to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them, and of our disposition to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums and the articles of most desirable interchange for them and us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers on their entering the United States, to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, and taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct, and take care of them. Such a mission, whether of influential chiefs or of young people, would give some security to your own party. Carry with you some matter of the kine-pox, inform those of them with whom you may be of its efficacy as a preservative from the small-pox, and instruct and encourage them in the use of it. This may be especially done wherever you winter.

"As it is impossible for us to foresee in what manner you will be received by those people, whether with hospitality or hostility, so is it impossible to prescribe the exact degree of perseverance with which you are to pursue your journey. We value too much the lives of citizens to offer them to probable destruction. Your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorized opposition of individuals or of small parties; but, if a superior force, authorized or not authorized by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, and inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline its further pursuit and return. In the loss of yourselves we should lose also the information you will have acquired. By returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better-calculated means. To your own discretion, therefore, must be left the degree of danger you may risk and the point at which you should decline, only saying, we wish you to err on the side of your safety, and to bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information.

"As far up the Missouri as the white settlements extend, an intercourse will probably be found to exist between them and the Spanish posts of St. Louis opposite Cahokia, or St. Genevieve opposite Kaskaskia. From still farther up the river the traders may furnish a conveyance for letters. Beyond that you may perhaps be able to engage Indians to bring letters for the government to Cahokia or Kaskaskia, on promising that they shall there receive such special compensation as you shall have stipulated with them. Avail yourself of these means to communicate to us, at seasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes, and observations of every kind, putting into cipher whatever might do injury if betrayed.

"Should you reach the Pacific Ocean, inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado and Oregon or Columbia) as at Nootka Sound, or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised.

"On your arrival on that coast, endeavor to learn if there be any port within your reach frequented by the sea vessels of any nation, and to send two of your trusty people back by sea, in such way as shall appear practicable, with a copy of your notes; and should you be of opinion that the return of your party by the way they went will be imminently dangerous, then ship the whole, and return by sea, by the way either of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, as you shall be able. As you will be without money, clothes, or provisions, you must endeavor to use the credit of the United States to obtain them, for which purpose open letters of credit shall be furnished you, authorizing you to draw on the executive of the United States, or any of its officers, in any part of the world, on which drafts can be disposed of, and to apply with our recommendations to the consuls, agents, merchants, or citizens of any nation with which we have intercourse, assuring them, in our name, that any aids they may furnish you shall be honorably repaid, and on demand. Our consuls, Thomas Hewes, at Batavia, in Java, William Buchanan, in the Isles of France and Bourbon, and John Elmslie, at the Cape of Good Hope, will be able to supply your necessities by drafts on us.

"Should you find it safe to return by the way you go, after sending two of your party round by sea, or with your whole party, if no conveyance by sea can be found, do so, making such observations on your return as may serve to supply, correct, or confirm those made on your outward journey.

"On re-entering the United States and reaching a place of safety, discharge any of your attendants who may desire and deserve it, procuring for them immediate payment of all arrears of pay and clothing which may have incurred since their departure, and assure them that they shall be recommended to the liberality of the legislature for the grant of a soldier's portion of land each, as proposed in my message to Congress, and repair yourself, with your papers, to the seat of government.

"To provide, on the accident of your death, against anarchy, dispersion, and the consequent danger to your party, and total failure of the enterprise, you are hereby authorized, by any instrument signed and written in your own hand, to name the person among them who shall succeed to the command on your decease, and by like instruments to change the nomination, from time to time, as further experience of the characters accompanying you shall point out superior fitness; and all the powers and authorities given to yourself are, in the event of your death, transferred to, and vested in, the successor so named, and further power to him and his successors, in like manner to name each his successor, who, on the death of his predecessor, shall be invested with all the powers and authorities given to yourself. Given under my hand at the city of Washington, this twentieth day of June, 1803. THOMAS JEFFERSON,
"President of the United States of America."

While these things were going on here, the country of Louisiana, lately ceded by Spain to France, had been the subject of negotiation at Paris between us and this last power, and had actually been transferred to us by treaties executed at Paris on April 30. This information, received about the first day of July, increased infinitely the interest we felt in the expedition, and lessened the apprehensions of interruption from other powers. Everything in this quarter being now prepared, Captain Lewis left Washington on July 5, 1803, and proceeded to Pittsburg, where other articles had been ordered to be provided for him. The men, too, were to be selected from the military stations on the Ohio. Delays of preparation, difficulties of navigation down the Ohio, and other untoward obstructions, retarded his arrival at Cahokia until the season was so far advanced as to render it prudent to suspend his entering the Missouri before the ice should break up in the succeeding spring.

From this time his journal, now published, will give the history of his journey to and from the Pacific Ocean, until his return to St. Louis on Sept. 23, 1806. Never did a similar event excite more joy through the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey, and looked forward with impatience for

the information it would furnish. Their anxieties, too, for the safety of the corps had been kept in a state of excitement by lugubrious rumors, circulated from time to time on uncertain authorities, and uncontradicted by letters or other direct information, from the time they had left the Mandan towns, on their ascent up the river in April of the preceding year, 1805, until their actual return to St. Louis.

It was in the middle of February, 1807, before Captain Lewis, with his companion, Captain Clarke, reached the city of Washington, where Congress was then in session. That body granted the two chiefs and their followers the donation of lands which they had been encouraged to expect in reward of their toil and dangers. Captain Lewis was soon afterwards appointed governor of Louisiana, and Captain Clarke a general of its militia, and agent of the United States for Indian affairs in that department.

A considerable time intervened before the governor's arrival at St. Louis. He found the territory distracted by feuds and contentions among the officers of the government, and the people themselves divided by these into factions and parties. He determined at once to take no side with either, but to use every endeavor to conciliate and harmonize them. The even-handed justice he administered to all soon established a respect for his person and authority; and perseverance and time wore down animosities, and reunited the citizens again into one family.

Governor Lewis had, from early life, been subject to hypochondriac affections. It was a constitutional disposition in all the nearer branches of the family of his name, and was more immediately inherited by him from his father. They had not, however, been so strong as to give uneasiness to his family. While he lived with me in Washington, I observed at times sensible depressions of mind; but, knowing their constitutional source, I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family. During his Western expedition the constant exertion which that required of all the faculties of body and mind suspended these distressing affections; but, after his establishment at St. Louis in sedentary occupations, they returned upon him with redoubled vigor, and began seriously to alarm his friends. He was in a paroxysm of one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for him to go to Washington. He proceeded to the Chickasaw Bluffs, where he arrived on Sept. 16, 1809, with a view of continuing his journey thence by water. Mr. Neely, agent of the United States with the Chickasaw Indians, arriving there two days after, found him extremely indisposed, and betraying at times some symptoms of a derangement of mind. The rumors of a war with England, and apprehensions that he might lose the papers he was bringing on, among which were the vouchers of his public accounts and the journals and papers of his Western expedition, induced him here to change his mind, and to take his course by land through the Chickasaw country. Although he appeared somewhat relieved, Mr. Neely kindly determined to accompany and watch over him. Unfortunately, at their encampment, after having passed the Tennessee one day's journey, they lost two horses, which obliging Mr. Neely to halt for their recovery, the governor proceeded, under a promise to wait for him at the house of the first white inhabitant on his road. He stopped at the house of a Mr. Grinder, who not being at home, his wife, alarmed at the symptoms of derangement she discovered, gave him up the house, and retired to rest herself in an out-house, the governor's and Neely's servants lodging in another. About three o'clock in the night he did the deed which plunged his friends into affliction and deprived his country of one of her most valued citizens, whose valor and intelligence would have been now employed in avenging the wrongs of his country, and in emulating by land the splendid deeds which have honored her arms on the ocean. It lost, too, to the nation the benefit of receiving from his own hand the narrative now offered them of his sufferings and successes, in endeavoring to extend for them the boundaries of science, and to present to their knowledge that vast and fertile country which their sons are destined to fill with arts, with science, with freedom and happiness.

To this melancholy close of the life of one whom posterity will declare not to have lived in vain I have only to add that all the facts I have stated are either known to myself or communicated by his family or others, for whose truth I have no hesitation to make myself responsible; and I conclude with tendering you the assurances of my respect and consideration.

Lewis, MORGAN, jurist; born in New York City, Oct. 16, 1754; son of Francis Lewis; graduated at Princeton in 1773. He studied law with John Jay, and joined the army at Cambridge in June, 1775. He was on the staff of General Gates with the rank of colonel in January, 1776, and soon afterwards became quartermaster-general of the Northern army. He was active during the war, and at its close was admitted to the bar, and practised in Dutchess county, N. Y. He was a judge of the court of common pleas and of the superior court of the State in 1792, being, the year before, attorney-general. He was chief-justice in 1801, and governor from 1804 to 1807. In 1812 he was appointed quartermaster-general with the rank of brigadier-general, and was promoted to major-general in 1813. He was active on the Niagara frontier in 1814, and was placed in command of the defences of the city of New York. After the war he devoted himself to literature and agriculture. In 1832 he delivered the address on the centennial of Washington's birth before the city authorities, and in 1835 became president of the New York Historical Society. He died in New York City, April 7, 1844.

Lewis, THEODORE HAYES, archæologist; born in Richmond, Va., Dec. 15, 1854; received a common school education, and engaged in explorations and archæological surveys in the Mississippi basin in 1880. The results of his investigations are published in the *American Journal of Archæology;* the *American Antiquarian;* the *American Naturalist; The Archæologist; Magazine of American History; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia,* etc. He is also the author of *Tracts for Archæologists.*

Lewis, WILLIAM DRAPER, lawyer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., April 27, 1867; graduated at Haverford College in 1888. He became instructor of legal history in the University of Pennsylvania in 1891; was lecturer on economics in Haverford College in 1890–96, and then became dean of the law department of the University of Pennsylvania. He has edited new editions of Wharton's *Criminal Law;* Greenleaf's *Evidence,* and Blackstone's *Commentaries,* and also the *American Law Register,* and a *Digest of Decisions of the United States Supreme Court and Circuit Court of Appeals.* He was the co-editor of the *Digest of Decisions and Encyclopædia of Pennsylvania Law,* and of Pepper & Lewis's *Digest of Statutes of Pennsylvania.* He is author of *Federal Power Over Commerce and Its Effect on State Action; Our Sheep and the Tariff,* etc.

Lexington and Concord. In the early spring of 1775, General Gage had between 3,000 and 4,000 troops in Boston, and felt strong in the presence of rebellious utterances that filled the air. He observed with concern the gathering of munitions of war by the colonists. Informed that a considerable quantity had been deposited at Concord, a village about 16 miles from Boston, he planned a secret expedition to seize or destroy them. Towards midnight, on April 18, he sent 800 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to execute his designs. The vigilant patriots had discovered the secret, and were on the alert, and when the expedition moved to cross the Charles River, Paul Revere, one of the most active of the Sons of Liberty in Boston, had preceded them, and was on his way towards Concord to arouse the inhabitants and the minute-men. Soon afterwards church bells, musketry, and cannon spread the alarm over the country; and when, at dawn, April 19, Pitcairn, with the advanced guard, reached Lexington, a little village 6 miles from Concord, he found seventy determined men, under Capt. Jonas Parker, drawn up on the green to oppose him. Pitcairn rode forward and shouted, "Disperse! disperse, you rebels! Down with your arms, and disperse!" They refused obedience, and he ordered his men to fire. The order was obeyed, and the Revolutionary War was thus begun. Eight minute-men—good citizens of Mas-

BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

sachusetts — were killed, several others were wounded, and the remainder were dispersed. It was now sunrise. On that occasion Jonathan Harrington, a youth of seventeen years, played the fife.

The British then pressed forward towards Concord. The citizens there had been aroused by a horseman from Lexington, and the militia were flocking towards the town from every direction. The stores were hastily removed to a place of concealment, in carts and other vehicles, by men, women, and children. The Middlesex farmers, armed with every conceivable kind of fire-arms, were drawn up in battle array in defence of their homes and their

chartered rights. Major Buttrick and Adj. Joseph Hosmer took the chief command. The British had reached the North Bridge. Colonel Barrett, then in command of the whole, gave the word to march, and a determined force, under Major Buttrick, pressed forward to oppose the invaders, who were beginning to destroy the bridge. The minute-men were fired upon by the British, when a full volley was returned by the patriots. Some of the invaders fell; the others retreated. They had destroyed only a few stores in the village. The invaders were terribly smitten by the gathering minute-men on their retreat towards Lexington. Shots came, with deadly aim, from behind fences, stone-walls, and trees. The gathering yeomanry swarmed from the woods and fields, from farm-houses and hamlets. They attacked from ambush and in the open highway. It was evident to the Britons that the whole country was aroused. The heat was intense; the dust intolerable. The 800 men must have perished or been captured had not a reinforcement, under Lord Percy, met and relieved them near Lexington. After a brief rest, the whole body, 1,800 strong, retreated, and were terribly assailed along the whole 10 miles to their shelter at Charlestown, narrowly escaping 700 Essex militia, under Colonel Pickering, marching to strike their flank. Under the guns of British war vessels, the remnant of the detachment rested that night, and passed over to Boston the next morning. During the expedition the British lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, 273 men; the Americans lost 103.

John Hancock

When news of the affair at Lexington and Concord went over the land, the people were everywhere aroused to action, and never before nor afterwards was there so unanimous a determination to resist British oppression. In wavering New York there was unity at once, and the custom-house was immediately closed, and all vessels preparing to sail for Quebec, Newfoundland, Boston, or Georgia were detained—the latter colony not having yet sent delegates to the Continental Congress. The New-Yorkers addressed a letter to the mayor and aldermen of London—from whom Boston, in its distress, had received sympathy and aid—declaring that all the horrors of civil war could not compel the colonists to submit to taxation by the British Parliament. The inhabitants of Philadelphia followed those of the city of New York. Those of New Jersey took possession of the provincial treasury, containing about $50,000, to use for their own defence. The news reached Baltimore in six days, when the people seized the provincial magazine, containing about 1,500 stand of arms, and stopped all exports to the fishing-islands, to such of the islands as had not joined the confederacy, and to the British army and navy at Boston. In Virginia a provincial

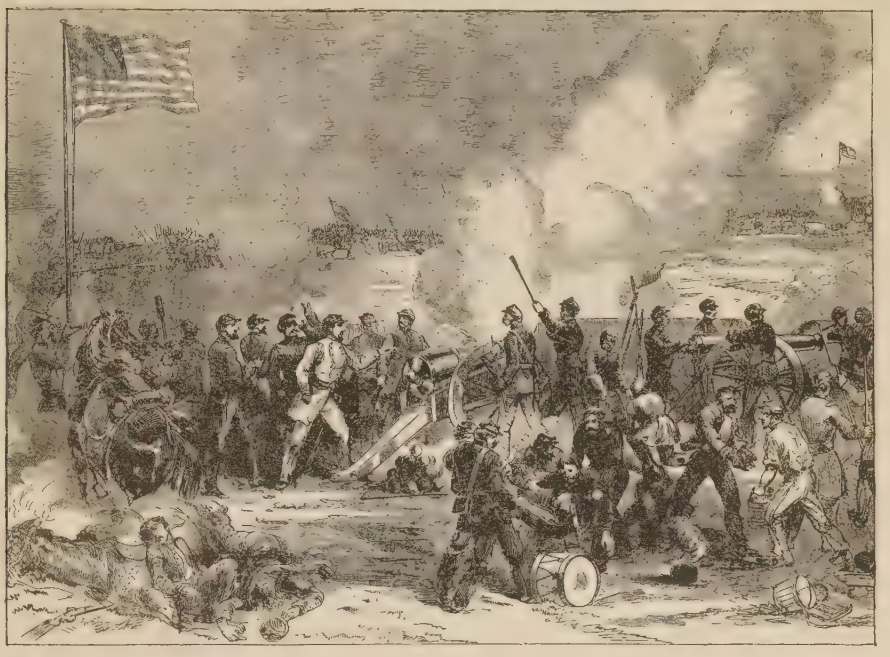
BATTLE GROUND AT CONCORD.

convention was held, which took measures for the defence of the colony.

Lexington (Mo.), Siege of. After the drawn battle at Wilson's Creek, in 1861, General McCulloch found his assumption of authority so offensive to the Missourians that he left the State. General Price called upon the Confederates to fill up his shattered ranks. They responded with alacrity, and at the middle of August he moved northward, in the direction of Lexington. It occupied an important position, and was garrisoned with less than 3,000 troops, under Col. James A. Mulligan. His troops had only forty rounds of cartridges each, six small brass cannon, and two howitzers. The latter were useless, because there were no shells. On the morning of Sept. 11 Price appeared at a point 3 miles from Lexington. Hourly expecting reinforcements, Mulligan resolved to defy the overwhelming force of the enemy with the means at his command. Price moved forward, drove in the National pickets, and opened a cannonade on Mulligan's hastily constructed works. Very soon some outworks were captured, after fierce struggles, but the defence was bravely maintained throughout the day.

Price was anxious, for he knew that there was a large Union force near under Col. J. C. Davis, and Gen. John Pope was coming down from the country northward of the Missouri River. Mulligan was hopeful, for he expected some of these troops every moment. Day after day and night after night his men worked to strengthen the position, and Price's 20,000 men were kept at bay. Finally, on the 17th, the Confederates were reinforced, and their number was swelled to 25,000. Then Price cut off the communication of the garrison with the town, their chief source of water supply. The next day he took possession of the town, closed up the garrison, and began a vigorous siege. For seventy-two hours Mulligan and his little band sustained it, amid burning sun-heat by day and suffocating smoke at all times, until ammunition and provisions were exhausted, and on the morning of the 20th he was compelled to surrender. The loss of this post was severely felt, and Frémont, resolving to retrieve it, at once put in motion 20,000 men to drive Price and his followers out of Missouri. The National loss in men was forty killed and 120 wounded; the Confederates lost twenty-five killed and seventy-five wounded. Mulligan and his officers were held prisoners of war; the men were paroled. The spoils were six cannon, two mortars, 3,000 muskets, 750 horses, wagons, teams,

etc., and $100,000 worth of commissary stores. A week before the arrival of Mulligan at Lexington, Governor Jackson and his legislature had held a session there, and had deposited $800,000 in gold coin in the bank. They quitted it so precipitately that they left this money and the seal behind, which fell into Mulligan's hands. These treasures Price recovered.



BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, MO.

L'Hommedieu, EZRA, lawyer; born in Southold, L. I., Aug. 30, 1734; graduated at Yale College in 1754. He was of Huguenot descent; a delegate to the New York Provincial Congress from 1775 to 1778; assisted in the formation of the first constitution of the State of New York; was a member of the Continental Congress at different times from 1779 to 1788; a State Senator and regent of the University of the State of New York from 1787 till his death, Sept. 28, 1811.

Libby Prison. See CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

Liberal Republican Party, a short-lived political organization that sprang from the regular Republican party, and was composed of men who had gone from the Democratic to the Republican party when the former assumed an aggressive pro-slavery attitude, and also the Republicans who had become dissatisfied with the reconstruction policy of their party. The movement began to assume considerable strength in 1867, when coercive measures were deemed necessary by the Republican party to maintain the new political rights of the negroes in the South. The passage and enforcement of the so-called "Force bill" (see KU-KLUX KLAN), on April 20, 1871, increased the movement to such an extent that organization only seemed necessary to make it a telling power. A union of "Liberal Republicans" and Democrats was effected in Missouri in 1870–71. Its leading principles were a reform of the tariff and the civil service, universal suffrage, universal amnesty, and the cessation of "unconstitutional laws to cure Ku-klux disorders, irreligion, or intemperance." On May 1, 1872, this fusion

held a national convention in Cincinnati, which nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President. On July 9 the Democratic National Convention adopted the platform and candidates of the Cincinnati convention, and in the ensuing election the ticket of Greeley and Brown was overwhelmingly defeated. The party really became disintegrated before the election, but after that event its dissolution was rapid, and by 1876 there were only a few men in Congress who cared to acknowledge that they were Liberal Republicans. See GREELEY, HORACE.

Liberia, a republic on the west coast of Africa; a product of the American Colonization Society. The republic has an area of about 14,300 square miles, and a population estimated at 1,068,000, all of the African race. Of these, 18,000 are natives of America, and the remainder aboriginal inhabitants. The land along the coast is sterile, but in the interior is well wooded and fertile. As in all equatorial regions, there are two seasons in the year, the wet and the dry. The wet season begins with June and ends with October, during which time the rain falls almost daily. During the seven months of the dry season rain is rare. The average temperature of the rainy season is 76°, and of the dry season 84°. Throughout the year the mercury never falls below 60°, and seldom rises above 90° in the shade; but during the hottest months, from January to March, the heat is somewhat mitigated by the constant breezes. The climate, both on account of the heat and miasma in the air, is deadly to the white man, and very trying to the black man who has been born and reared in temperate regions, but the native African has but few diseases, and often lives to a great age. It must be noted, however, that during recent years the climate has been greatly improved by drainage, and the fatal "African fever" is now less frequent in Liberia than anywhere on the adjoining coasts. All tropical fruits and vegetables grow luxuriantly, and the principal exports are coffee, palm-oil, caoutchouc, dye-woods, arrow-root, sugar, cocoa, ginger, rice, hides, and ivory. Some deposits of minerals exist, but they are not worked to any extent. On the hills of the interior cattle are raised profitably, and the native wild animals have been nearly all killed or driven into the wild surrounding country. The government of Liberia is modelled on that of the United States, and consists of a president, elected for two years; a congress, composed of a senate of eight members, elected for four years; and a house of representatives of thirteen members, elected for two years; also a supreme court. The president has a cabinet of six members, appointed as in the United States. Slavery is forbidden in the republic, military service is obligatory on all citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and the right of suffrage can only be exercised by those owning real estate. None but citizens can hold real estate, and only negroes can be citizens. The state of Liberia is divided into four counties, and these again into townships. There are a number of small towns, but the only large place is Monrovia, the capital, a city of about 13,000 inhabitants. The republic of Liberia owes its origin to the American Colonization Society, which was organized about 1811, and in 1817 sent a committee to the coast of Africa to select a site for a colony of freed negroes. The Sherbro Islands were first chosen, but the first colony sent out, in 1820, not being satisfied there, was removed to Cape Mesurado in 1822. Here a limited territory was purchased from the natives, which was subsequently enlarged by further purchases. At first the government was carried on by the officers of the Colonization Society, but gradually the share of the people in their own rule was made greater. A declaration of independence was made by the colonists in 1847, and a constitution adopted. The first president was Joseph Jenkins Roberts, who served for four terms. The republic was immediately recognized as a sovereign state by Great Britain, and later by various Continental powers, but the United States did not grant it this honor until 1861. In August, 1871, the republic laid the foundation of a public debt by contracting a loan of $500,000 at 7 per cent. interest, to be redeemed in fifteen years. This money was borrowed in England by the president of the republic, and the charge that he had appropriated a large part of it to his

own use caused a popular revolt on his return, which removed him from office and caused his imprisonment. No interest has been paid on the public debt since 1874. It cannot be said that Liberia has been a success, socially or politically. The negroes in the United States do not seem to take much interest in it, and immigration to its shores is but slight. The government is but feebly administered, and there is much internal disorder. For all this, it is only fair to add that the state shows an appreciation of education and religion, and a desire to stand well in the opinion of civilized nations. A number of missions have been carried on among the aboriginal inhabitants of Liberia for many years. The American Methodist Episcopal mission dates from 1833, the American Episcopal mission from 1834, and the American Baptists from 1835. Others have been later established.

In August, 1898, an arrangement for the settlement of the foreign debt was undertaken, but at the time of writing nothing practical had been accomplished. The ordinary revenue of the republic has been for years insufficient to meet the cost of administration, and the republic has an internal debt, the interest on which largely exceeds the principal. In 1898 the Liberians sought closer relations with the United States government, with the ultimate view of being better able to resist an alleged threatened movement on the part of Germany and Great Britain to secure possession of their territory for their own trade aggrandizement.

Liberty, Song of, the title of a song that was sung throughout the colonies for several years before the Revolutionary War broke out. It was very popular, for it touched the hearts of the people at that time. It was published in Bickerstaff's *Boston Almanac* for 1770, with the music as given below. The *Almanac* for that year contained on its title-page a rude type-metal engraving of a likeness of James Otis. The portrait of the patriot is supported by Liberty on one side and Hercules on the other.

"Come swallow your bumpers, ye *Tories,* and roar,
That the Sons of fair Freedom are hamper'd once more;
But know that no *Cutthroats* our spirits can tame,
Nor a host of *Oppressors* shall smother the flame.

"In Freedom we're born, and, like Sons of the brave,
Will never surrender,
But swear to defend her,
And scorn to survive if unable to save.

"Our grandsires, bless'd heroes, we'll give them a tear,
Nor sully their honors by stooping to fear;
Through deaths and through dangers their *Trophies* they won,
We dare be their *Rivals,* nor will be outdone.

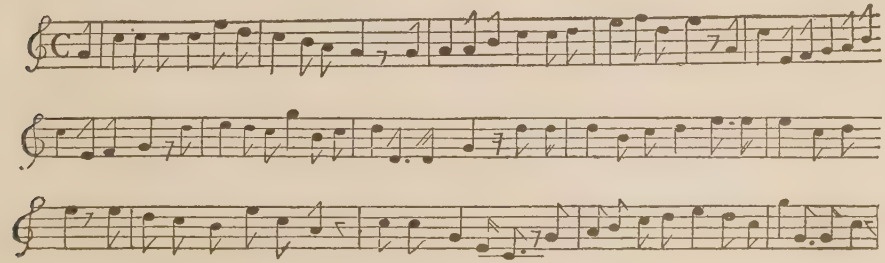
"In Freedom we're born, etc.

"Let tyrants and minions presume to despise,
Encroach on our Rights, and make Freedom their prize;
The fruits of their rapine they never shall keep,
Though vengeance may nod, yet how short is her sleep.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.

"The tree which proud *Haman* for *Mordecai* rear'd
Stands recorded, that virtue endanger'd is spared;
The *rogues,* whom no bounds and no laws can restrain,
Must be stripp'd of their honors and humbled again.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.



FAC-SIMILE OF THE MUSIC OF THE "SONG OF LIBERTY."

"Our wives and our babes, still protected, shall know
Those who dare to be free shall forever be so;
On these arms and these hearts they may safely rely,
For in freedom we'll live, or like *Heroes* we'll die.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.

"Ye insolent *Tyrants!* who wish to enthrall;
Ye *Minions,* ye *Placemen, Pimps, Pensioners,* all;
How short is your triumph, how feeble your trust,
Your honor must wither and nod to the dust.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.

"When oppress'd and approach'd, our KING we implore,
Still firmly persuaded our RIGHTS he'll restore;
When our hearts beat to arms to defend a just right,
Our monarch rules there, and forbids us to fight.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.

"Not the glitter of arms nor the dread of a fray
Could make us submit to their chains for a day;
Withheld by affection, on *Britons* we call,
Prevent the fierce conflict which threatens your fall.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.

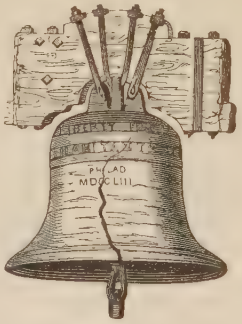
"All ages shall speak with amaze and applause
Of the prudence we show in support of our cause;
Assured of our safety, a BRUNSWICK still reigns,
Whose free, loyal subjects are strangers to chains.

"In Freedom we're born, etc.

"Then join hand in hand, brave AMERICANS all,
To be free is to live, to be slaves is to fall;
Has the land such a dastard as scorns not a LORD,
Who dreads not a fetter much more than a sword?

"In Freedom we're born," etc.

Liberty Bell. In the old State-house in Philadelphia is the famous bell that rang out, in conjunction with human voices, the joyful tidings of the Declaration of Independence, in July, 1776. It was cast by Pass & Stow, Philadelphia, and was hung in the belfry of the State-house early in June, 1753. It weighed 2,080 pounds, and around it, near its top, were cast the words, prophetic of its destiny, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Lev. xxv. 10." When the British forces approached Philadelphia, in 1777, the bell was taken down and carried to Allentown, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. In 1781 it was placed in the brick tower of the State-house, below the original belfry, which, being of wood, had become decayed. For more than fifty years the bell participated in the celebrations of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when it was cracked while ringing. An effort was made to restore its tone by sawing the crack wider, but it was unsuccessful. The bell was removed from its place in the tower to a lower story, and only used on occasions of extraordinary public sorrow. Subsequently it was placed on the original timbers in the vestibule of the State-house, and in 1873 it was suspended where all visitors might see it, immediately beneath where a larger bell proclaims the passing hours. In 1893 it was taken to Chicago and exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, and on its journey to and from that city it was greeted at the railroad stations with patriotic demonstrations.



LIBERTY BELL.

Liberty Boys. See SONS OF LIBERTY.

Liberty Cap. The liberty cap is of Phrygian origin. The Phrygians were a people from the shores of the Euxine Sea, and they conquered and took possession of the entire eastern part of Asia Minor. To distinguish themselves from the natives, the conquerors wore a close-fitting cap and had it stamped on their coins. The Romans took the fashion of wearing caps from the Phrygians, but they were only worn by freedmen. When a slave was set free, a red cap called the *pileus* was put on his head, and this was a token of his manumission. When Saturnius took the capitol in 263, he had a cap set up on the top of a spear as a promise of liberty to all

slaves who would join him. Marius used the same expedient to incite the slaves to take arms with him against Sylla. When Cæsar was murdered, the conspirators carried a cap on a spear, as a token of the liberty of Rome, and a medal was struck with the same device on this occasion, which is still extant. The statue of the Goddess of Liberty on the Aventine Hill carried in her hand a cap as an emblem of freedom. In England the same symbol was adopted, and Britannia was pictured carrying the cap on a spear. It was first used in the United States as one of the devices on the flag of the Philadelphia Light-horse Guards, a company of militia organized some time prior to the Revolution. On Aug. 31, 1775, the committee of safety, at Philadelphia, passed a resolution providing a seal for the use of the board, "to be engraved with a cap of liberty and the motto, 'This is my right, and I will defend it.'" During the French Revolution the Jacobins made much use of this emblem, and it is sometimes supposed that this country took it from France, but this idea is an erroneous one. The symbol was not used in France until 1790, whereas in this country it was not only used much earlier in the instances mentioned, but was also put on American coins in 1783. The Jacobin cap of France was red. The British liberty cap was blue with a white border. The American is blue with a border of gilt stars on white.

Liberty-cap Cent. It was about three years after a mint for the coinage of money for the United States was author-

LIBERTY-CAP CENT.

ized that the act went into operation, and in the interval several of the coins called "specimens," now so scarce, were struck. Among the most rare is the "liberty-cap cent," having a profile and the name of Washington on one side, and on the other a liberty-cap in the centre, with rays of light emanating from it, and the words around them "Success to the United States."

Liberty Enlightening the World. See Bartholdi, Frédéric Auguste.

Liberty Hall. See Liberty Tree.

Liberty Party, a political organization that grew out of the influence of societies formed for effecting the abolition of slavery throughout the republic. It originated about 1844. The prime article of its political creed was opposition to African slavery. The party cared not whether a man was called Whig or Democrat; if he would declare his unalterable opposition to slavery, slave-holders, and the friends of slave-holders, it gave him the cordial right hand of fellowship. A man less true to the faith was not admitted within the pale of the party. It contained, in proportion to its numbers, more men of wealth, talent, and personal worth than any other party. It was opposed to the annexation of Texas, for it regarded that as a scheme of the slave-holders to extend their domain and political power. The party could not vote for Mr. Polk, for he was favorable to that annexation; it could not vote for Mr. Clay, for he was a slave-holder; so it nominated James G. Birney (who had formerly been a slave-holder in Kentucky, but, from conscientious motives, had emancipated his slaves and migrated to Michigan) for President of the United States. It polled quite a large number of votes. In 1848 the Liberty party was merged into the Free-soil party, and supported Mr. Van Buren for the Presidency.

Liberty Poles. The Sons of Liberty (*q. v.*) erected tall flag-staffs, with the Phrygian "cap of Liberty" on the top, as rallying-places in the open air. They were first erected in cities; afterwards they were set up in the rural districts wherein republicanism prevailed. On the King's birthday, in New York (June 4, 1766), there were great rejoicings on account of the repeal of the Stamp Act (*q. v.*). Governor Sir Henry Moore presided at a public dinner at the "King's Arms" (near the foot of Broadway). On the same day the Sons of Liberty feasted at their headquarters at Montagne's (on Broadway, near Murray Street), and, by permission of the governor, erected a mast (which afterwards

they called a liberty pole) between the site of the City Hall and Broadway, in front of Warren Street, on which were inscribed the words, "To his most gracious Majesty George III., Mr. Pitt, and Liberty." British soldiers were then in the city. The doings of the Sons of Liberty so annoyed the officers of the crown that thirty-six days after the liberty pole was erected with so much harmony, it was cut down by the insolent troops (Aug. 16, 1766). The people re-erected it the next evening in the face of the armed mercenaries. A little more than a month afterwards the soldiers again prostrated it, and again the people upraised it, and from its top they flung the British banner to the breeze. The next spring the people met at the "mast" to celebrate the anniversary of the repeal (March 18), and inaugurated it by erecting a "liberty pole," which the soldiery cut down that night. The people again erected it, bound with hoops of iron, and placed a guard there, when soldiers came with loaded muskets, fired two random shots into the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty (Montagne's), and attempted to drive the people away. Fearful retaliation would have followed but for the repression of aggressive acts by the soldiers, by order of the governor. On the King's birthday, 1767, the soldiers made an unsuccessful attempt to prostrate the liberty pole; but at midnight, June 16, 1770, armed men came from the barracks, hewed it down, sawed it to pieces, and piled it in front of Montagne's. The perpetrators were discovered, the bells of St. George's Chapel, in Beekman Street, were rung, and early the next morning 3,000 people stood around the stump of the pole. There they passed strong resolutions of a determination to maintain their liberties at all hazards. For three days intense excitement continued, and in frequent affrays with the citizens the soldiers were worsted. A severe conflict occurred on Golden Hill (Cliff Street, between Fulton Street and Maiden Lane), when several of the soldiers were disarmed. Quiet was soon restored. The people erected another pole upon ground purchased on Broadway, near Warren Street, and this fifth liberty pole remained untouched as a rallying-place for the Whigs until the British took possession of the city in 1776, when the notorious Provost-Marshal Cunningham (who, it is said, had been whipped at its foot) had it hewn down.

Liberty Tree. The original Liberty Tree, in Boston, was not on Boston Common. It was the largest one of a grove of beautiful elms which stood in Hanover Square, at the corner of Orange (now Washington) and Essex streets, opposite the present Boyleston Market. Its exact site is marked by a building, on the front of which is a relief figure of the tree in granite and the inscription "Sons of Liberty—1766. Independence of Our Country—1776." This elm was called "Liberty Tree" because the Sons of Liberty held their meetings under it, and the ground below was called "Liberty Hall." The first meeting of this society was held there some time in 1765. A pole fastened to the trunk of the tree rose far above the topmost branch, and a red flag floating from it was an understood signal to call together the fearless Sons of Liberty. This society held many meetings here during the next ten years, and placards addressed to the people were nailed to the tree, and inscribed banners were suspended from its limbs. They had a board fastened to the tree with the inscription, "This tree was planted in 1614, and pruned by order of the Sons of Liberty, Feb. 14, 1776." On Nov. 20, 1767, a seditious handbill was fixed to the tree, exhorting the Sons of Liberty to rise and fight against the country's oppressors; it declared that they would be joined by legions of their countrymen, that the tyrant would be driven from the land, and generations to come would bless them, while if they neglected this opportunity to free their country they would be cursed to all eternity. In June, 1768, a red flag was raised over the tree, and a second appeal to the Sons of Liberty to rise against the British was affixed in the form of a handbill to its trunk. The anniversary of the rising against the Stamp Act was observed Aug. 14, 1773, by a meeting under this tree. On Nov. 3 following there was an immense gathering under this tree again, at which a resolution was passed concerning the teaships which were known to be on their way to Boston, ordering the consignees

of the cargoes not to sell them on American soil, but to return them promptly to London in the same vessels in which they had been shipped. The ultimate result of this meeting was the "Boston Tea-party" of Dec. 6, 1773, when 340 chests of tea were poured into the waters of the bay. In May, 1774, British troops under Gage were quartered in Boston, the port was closed, and all public meetings were forbidden. The gatherings of the Sons of Liberty were, therefore, made in secret during the next two years, but the Liberty Tree retained its name, and probably witnessed more than one midnight meeting. In the winter of 1775–76 the British soldiery, to whom the popular name of this tree rendered it an object of hatred, cut down this magnificent elm and converted it into fourteen cords of fire-wood. This act of destruction was greatly resented by the people.

LIBRARIES, FREE PUBLIC

Libraries, Free Public. Free libraries have existed for less than half a century. Their establishment assumed that books are beneficial: but it involved also the assertion that it is the proper function of government to supply books to such of its citizens as may require them at the expense of the community as a whole.

Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress, writes as follows: _____

Libraries of this special type do not yet form the major portion of the institutions supplying books on a large scale to groups of persons. Under the head of "Public, Society, and School Libraries," these institutions in the United States aggregate 8,000 in number, with 35,000,000 volumes, with $34,000,000 invested in buildings, with $17,000,000 of endowments, and with over $6,000,000 of annual income. Of these the free public libraries supported by general taxation number less than 2,000, with 10,000,000 volumes, and with less than $3,500,000 of annual income. They are, however, increasing with disproportionate and amazing rapidity. In Massachusetts, but ten of the 353 cities and towns, but three-fourths of one per cent. of the inhabitants, now lack them. One hundred and ten library buildings there have been the gift of individuals. No form of private memorial is now more popular; no form of municipal expenditure meets with readier assent. Nor are the initiative and the expenditure left wholly to local enterprises. The Commonwealth itself takes part: extending, through a State Commission, State aid in the form of books and continuing counsel. And Massachusetts is but one of eight States maintaining such commissions. New York State, in its system of travelling libraries, has gone further still in supplementing initial aid with a continuing supply of books, and even photographs and lantern slides, purchased by the State, and distributed through the Regents of the State University from Albany to the remotest hamlet.

The first stage of all such legislation is an enabling act—authorizing the establishment of a library by the local authorities; the next is an act encouraging such establishment by bounties; and New Hampshire has reached a third by a law actually mandatory, requiring the local authorities to establish free libraries in proportion to their means and the population to be served. This seems to mark the high-water mark of confidence in the utility of these institutions. It indicates that free public libraries are to be ranked with the common schools, as institutions indispensable to good citizenship, whose establishment the State must for its own protection require.

So the movement has progressed, until now these 2,000 public libraries combined are sending out each year over 30,000,000 books, to do their work for good or ill in the homes of the United States. The entire 2,000 result from one conviction and a uniform purpose. Yet among them there is every variety in scope and in organization. There is the hamlet library of a hundred volumes, open for a couple of hours each week in some farm-house, under a volunteer custodian, maintained by the town, but enlisting private contribution through bazaars and sociables, sending out its books by the local pro-

READING-ROOM IN THE LENOX LIBRARY, NEW YORK CITY.

vision dealer to its remote and scattered constituents. There is the library of the great city, with elaborate equipment and complex organization to meet a vast and complex need. Such a library as you may find at Chicago; a city which, though it has two great endowed reference libraries, still considers its 1,500,000 people entitled to a municipal library, with a $2,000,000 building, studded with costly mosaics, and aided by forty branches and stations in bringing the book nearer each home. Or such a library as exists at Boston; organized as a city department, under trustees appointed by the mayor, maintained, like the schools, or the police, or the fire department, by general taxation, with a central building which has cost the city $2,500,000, with ten branch libraries and seventeen delivery stations scattered through the city and reached daily by its delivery wagons; with 700,000 books; and accommodations for over 2,000 readers at one time; including in its equipment such special departments as a bindery and a printing-office; requiring for its administration over 250 employés, and for its maintenance each year $250,000, in addition to the proceeds of endowments; and representing in its buildings, books, and equipment an investment of over $5,000,000, the interest on which, at 4 per cent., added to the expenditure for maintenance, is equivalent to an annual burden of $450,000 for its creation and support.

When this function was first proposed for a municipality, the argument used was that in this country books had come to be the principal instruments of education; that the community was already support-

ing a public school system; that this system brought a youth to the threshold of education and there left him; that it qualified him to use books, but did nothing to put books within his reach; and finally that it was "of paramount importance that the means of general information should be so diffused that the largest possible number of persons should be induced to read and understand questions going down to the very foundations of social order, which are constantly presenting themselves, and which we, as a people, are constantly required to decide, and do decide, either ignorantly or wisely."

A glance at the libraries now in operation in the United States shows that the ends proposed for them fall far short of the service which they actually perform. They begin with the child before he leaves the school; while he is still in his elementary studies they furnish him with books which stir his imagination, and bring the teaching of the text-books into relation with art and with life. They thus help to render more vivid the formal studies pursued; but they also prepare the child to become an intelligent constituent hereafter. This work cannot begin too early, for four-fifths of the children pass out into active life without reaching the high schools. It need not be deferred, for now the number is almost countless of books that touch with imagination and charm of style even the most elementary subjects; and the library can add illustrations which through the eye convey an impression of the largest subjects in the most elemental way.

If the library begins with the citizen earlier than was foreseen, it is prepared to accompany him further than was thought necessary. It responds not only to the needs of the general reader, but also to those of the student and even, to the extent of its means, to those of the scholars engaged in special research. The maintenance of universities at the common expense is familiar in the West; it is less so in the East. And there is still contention that institutions for highly specialized instruction should not be charged upon the community as a whole. But no one has questioned the propriety of charging upon the community the support of a library whose leading purpose may be the encouragement of the higher scholarship.

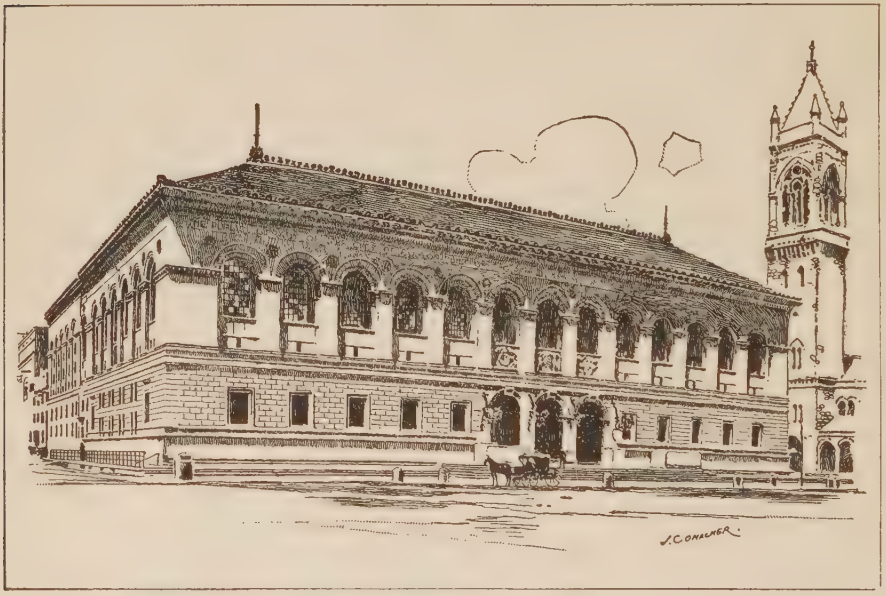
Finally, to the services just described the public library has added another: the supply of books for purposes purely recreative. This service, if anticipated, was certainly not explicitly argued for; nor was it implied in Edward Everett's prediction that the public library would prove the "intellectual common" of the community. The common that Mr. Everett had in mind was a pasturage, not a base-ball ground, or lovers' walk, or a loafing-place for tramps.

But as regards certain of the books customarily supplied, the ordinary public library of to-day is furnishing recreation rather than instruction. In fact, if we look at the history of free public libraries in this country, we find that the one point of practice on which they have been criticised is the supply of merely recreative literature. The protest has come from thoughtful persons, and it means something, lightly as it has been waved aside.

The excuse that used to be given for the supply of inferior books was that they would entice to the use of the better books. There was to be reached a mass of persons of inferior taste and imperfect education. These persons must be introduced gradually to an acquaintance with the better class of reading through the medium of the familiar. And, at all events, it was better that they should read something than not read at all.

I am not quite so confident of the regenerating virtue of mere printed matter, as such; and I am confident that the reading of a book inferior in style and taste debases the taste, and that the book which sets forth, even with power, a false view of society does harm to the reader, and is so far an injury to the community of which he is part. But even granting the premises, the conclusion is doubtful. We do not deliberately furnish poor art at public expense because there is a portion of the public which cannot appreciate the better. Nor when the best is offered, without apology, does the uncultured public in fact complain that it is too "advanced." Thousands of "ordinary" people come to see and enjoy the Abbey and Chavannes and Sargent decorations in the

Boston Public Library. No one has yet complained that the paintings are too advanced for him. The best of art is not too good for the least of men, provided he can be influenced at all. Nor are the best of books too good for him, provided he can be influenced at all, and provided they are permitted, as are the pictures, to make their appeal directly. They must not be secluded behind catalogues and formal paraphernalia. The practice which admitted the scholar to the shelves, and limited the general reader to the catalogues, gave the best opportunity to him who least



THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

needed it. The modern practice sets before the reader least familiar with good *titles* a selection of good *books*. It places them on open shelves, where he may handle them without formality. The result is, almost invariably, that he is attracted to a book in advance of his previous tastes. Perhaps a chance paragraph appeals to some experience or ambition, or an illustration stirs his imagination. The books themselves draw him outside of his previous limitations.

In the place, therefore, of books inferior in quality, the more modern public library seeks to attract by the freest possible access to books of the best quality. Not that this practice is universal. But the opinion and tendency are in this safe direction.

However, quality assumed, the general question as to the reading of recreative literature remains. What shall we say of the fact that 60 per cent. of the circulation of the free public libraries still consists of fiction?

In the first place, that this percentage takes no account of reference use, which is almost wholly of serious literature; second, that as to home use the ratio in circulation of fiction to serious literature does not represent a similar ratio of trivial to serious service. Fiction is the small coin of literature. It must circulate more rapidly to represent the same volume of real business done. A volume of fiction may be issued, returned, and reissued three times, while a biography or history or work of science is issued once. It will then count 75 per cent. in the circulation. But the serious book has dur-

ing the entire period been out in the hands of the reader; and the service which it has performed—the period of attention which it has occupied—equals that of the novel in its three issues. And, finally, there is to be considered the influence of the best fiction towards general culture (if the library is not merely to inform, but also to cultivate) in broadening the sympathies, giving a larger tolerance, a kindlier humanity, a more intelligent helpfulness, in affording the rest that is in itself an equipment for work, and the distraction that may save from impulse to evil.

However, the amount of fiction circulated in proportion to the total work of the library is on the average steadily decreasing. At the same time the quality is improving; in part through critical selection, in part as a happy result of the fact that the inferior novels are also, as a rule, inferior books, so poorly manufactured that libraries cannot afford to buy them.

But there is standard fiction and current fiction, and it is the current fiction that constitutes by itself a special problem still perplexing. It is a problem that concerns not the uneducated child, nor the illiterate adult; it is caused by the people of intelligent education who are eager to read the latest novel by Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. while it is still the latest novel by Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. It is being talked about at dinner and afternoon tea. Well-informed people are reading it; to read it is a social necessity.

The reason that presses the public library to supply promptly every most recent book in the domain of scientific literature is apparent enough. Such literature contributes facts which are the data for action. But novels in general belong to the literature of power. Their purpose is not to furnish information, but to give pleasure. Literature of this sort adds no new fact, nor is it superseded, nor does it lose any of its value by lapse of time. To assume that it does would be to assume that beauty of form could become obsolete. This is not so in painting, in sculpture, in architecture. Why should it be so in prose fiction, in poetry, in the drama? Was there, in fact, an æsthetic value in the *Canterbury Tales* in 1380, in *Hamlet* in 1602, in *Ivanhoe* in 1819, that is not to be found in them now?

But a large portion of latter-day fiction is fiction with a purpose; another way of saying that it is a work of art composed for the dissemination of doctrine. This element promotes it at once to the dignity of a treatise, a new view of politics, a new criticism of social conditions, a new creed. Here is something that concerns the student of sociology. And surely his needs are worthy of prompt response.

In fact, his needs and the general curiosity do get prompt response, and the new novels are freely bought. How freely I have recently sought to ascertain. I asked of some seventy libraries their yearly expenditure for current fiction in proportion to their total expenditure for books. The returns show an average of from 10 to 15 per cent. In one case the amount reached 50 per cent., in others it fell as low as 2 per cent. The ratio for fiction in general is much higher on the average; but fiction in general includes Scott and Thackeray and other standards, an ample supply of which would not usually be questioned. At Providence and at Worcester, two of the most active and popular of public libraries, the purchases of fiction, current and standard, formed in a single year but 7 and 11 per cent., respectively, of the entire expenditure for books.

At Boston there were selected but 178 titles of current fiction (out of nearly 600 read and considered). But some dozen copies were bought of each title, so that the entire purchase reached 2,300 volumes, and cost about $2,300. This was about 6½ per cent. on a total expenditure for books of $34,000. At St. Louis the practice is to buy but two copies out of the general funds to be circulated free. Nearly 100 more are added which are rented out, and thus pay for themselves.

The statistics do not seem to show that the initial expenditure for current fiction is very alarming. But the purchase price of these books is but a fraction of the expense of handling them. They cannot be supplied in adequate quantities; for while the frenzy of curiosity persists, an adequate supply is beyond the resources of any library. But

since the attempt to supply is futile, the pretence is injurious. The presence of the titles in the catalogues misleads the reader into a multitude of applications which are a heavy expense to the library, without benefit to him. And the acquisition of the single book means to the library the expense of handling 100 applications for it which are futile to one that can be honored. In this sense a current novel involves perhaps 100 times the expense of any other book in being supplied to but the same number of readers.

The British Museum acquires the new novels as published; but it withholds them from readers until five years after their date of publication. It is my personal belief that a one-year limitation of this sort adopted by our free libraries generally would relieve them of anxiety and expense, and their readers of inconvenience and delusion.

But as regards current light literature in general, it is worth while to consider whether the responsibility of public libraries has not been modified by the growth and diffusion of the newspaper and periodical press. In 1850, when the free public library was started, the number of newspapers and periodicals published in the United States was about 2,500; now it is nearly 20,000. The total annual issues have increased from 400,000,000 to over 4,500,000,000 copies.

The ordinary daily of 1850 contained perhaps a single column of literary matter. To-day it contains, for the same price, seven columns. In 1850 it gave no space to fiction; now it offers Kipling, Howells, Stockton, Bret Harte, Anthony Hope, Crockett, Bourget, and many others of the best of the contemporary writers of fiction.

Then there are the cheap magazines, which tender a half-dozen stories for the price of a cigar or a bodkin. There are, also, the cheap "libraries," which have flooded the United States with engaging literature available to almost any purse.

In short, conditions have altered. A vast mass of light literature is now cheaply accessible to the individual which formerly could be acquired only painfully, or at great expense. Why, then, should the public libraries struggle longer to supply it in book form at the public expense?

But as to a certain percentage of current light literature, there is an embarrassment that I have not touched. It is the embarrassment of making selection without giving offence. All cannot be bought. A choice must be made. With reference to standard literature, authoritative judgment is not difficult to obtain. But here there has been no lapse of time to balance opinion. An anticipatory estimate must be attempted, and attempted by the library itself.

Now, if the library decide against the book it is very likely held to blame for "dictating" to its readers. "It is one thing," says a journal, commenting on a certain adverse decision—"it is one thing to consider this novel pernicious, but it is another and more serious thing for the foremost library in the country, maintained at public expense, to deny to a large and respectable portion of the public an opportunity to judge for itself whether the work of a man of (this author's) calibre is pernicious or not."

The author in this case was, of course, not Mr. X., but rather Mr. A., an already known quantity.

So a library is not to be permitted to apply a judgment of its own! It is not protected by the fact that this judgment coincides with the judgment of professional critics—so far, at least, as these may be ascertained. The author may have turned perverse and written a book distinctly bad. Yet this book is to be bought and supplied to enable each member of the public to form a judgment of his own upon it. And it is to be so bought out of public funds intrusted to the library for educational purposes. Censorship has to us an ugly sound; but does the library act as censor when it declares a book beyond its province? Does it dictate what the people shall read when it says, "We decline to buy this book for you with public funds?"

This is a question which is far larger than the selection or rejection of a novel or two. It involves the whole question of authority, and it concerns not merely the extremes, but the varying degrees of worth in literature. Most departments of educational work are founded upon princi-

ples, cautiously ascertained, and systematically adhered to. Their consistent maintenance upon principle is the easier because each other such department deals with a special constituency, limited either in age or perhaps in sex, or at least in purpose, and one which accepts as authoritative the system provided for it. The free public library, however, has to satisfy a constituency practically unlimited, including every age and both sexes, whose intellectual need ranges from that of the most illiterate to that of the most highly accomplished, whose education in books ranges from that of the person who has never entered a library to that of the scholar whose life has been a perpetual training in the use of a library; the assertive classes, the bashful classes. And if towards this vast and heterogeneous constituency it seeks to assume the position of an educator, it finds that its authority is not one which the constituents themselves are unanimously willing to concede. Each constituent deems himself not a beneficiary accepting some service, but a proprietor demanding it. Now, within each community there are persons who would have every kind of printed matter published. If, therefore, a public library is simply to respond to the demands of its readers, we must have, instead of an educational system devised by experts and administered with reference to general principles, a system fluctuating with each eccentric requirement of individuals, indefinite in number, various in taste and culture, inexpert, except as each may be competent to judge his own need, incapable of expression in the aggregate, and as individuals without responsibility for the general results.

If, on the other hand, an authority is to be vested in the library, what limits shall it set upon itself, upon what principles of discrimination shall it proceed, in what directions may it expediently control? I but state the problem. I shall not endeavor to answer it. But it is one of the most important involved in the relation of the public library to the community.

From such questions an ordinary educational institution stands aloof. It is content to represent the judgment of the majority in matter of morality and to inculcate the lesson of tried truths as against untried fancies in matter of opinion affecting the social order. It thus throws its influence in favor of the established order of things. But its right, nay, its duty, to do this is unquestioned. Nor is it regarded as disparaging the opinion which it does not teach.

But a public library is not so exempt. In addition to the doctrine which is accepted, it is held to have a duty to the opinion which is struggling for recognition. As to minority opinion, it is not so much a university as a forum. Nay, it is to give every advantage to minority opinion, for —in our resentment of intolerance—minority opinion is not merely tolerated, it is pampered.

Now, it is not for libraries or librarians to act as censors and denounce this or that publication. Yet it is to be remembered that a library which circulates a book helps to promulgate the doctrine which the book contains. And if public libraries circulate books which teach restless, irreverent, or revolutionary doctrines, they offer us the incongruity of a municipality aiding in the propagation of ideas which are subversive of social order.

On the other hand, if there is to be exclusion on such grounds, where is the line of exclusion to be drawn? Shall we say at doctrines which, if carried into action, would be criminal under the law? Would the public rest content with this?

Moreover, the principle of exclusion accepted, who is to apply it? Whose judgment shall determine whether the particular book does or does not offend? Shall the library determine? But will it not then be "dictating" to its readers? Will it not be unduly discriminating against a certain class of opinion when it has undertaken to represent impartially all shades of opinion? Will it not offend the remonstrant against the existing order of things who has a grievance, and, therefore, a right to be heard; and the defender of the existing order of things who must know the new opinion in order to combat it; and the student of sociology whose curiosity reaches all extremes and regards them simply as phenomena upon which he is entitled to be informed?

I believe that it will. And yet I do not see how the library can escape exercising

judgment. For there is no other responsible authority which can be brought to exercise it. We must then expect numerous decisions which will offend a portion of the community. They will usually be on the conservative side—of exclusion. And it is for those who believe that a public library should be a conservative influence in the community to see that it has the authority and is protected in its exercise.

Not that in respect of the violent books there is great injury in present conditions. In the public libraries of to-day there exists, no doubt, material sufficiently anarchic to upset society, if it could have its will upon society. The fact is, that though there is plenty in literature that is incendiary, there is little in our community that is inflammable.

The good that the libraries do is obvious and acknowledged. They represent the accumulated experience of mankind brought to our service. They are the custodians of whatever is most worthy of preservation in our own life and literature. They are the natural depositories of what we have of memorial and of records; the original entries of legislation and of achievement. They must render history available; they must adequately exhibit science; they may help to refine by the best examples in each art, and in this they may also contribute to the industrial life of the community by educating the artisan into an artist, his craft into an art. And through record and description of processes and inventions they may contribute to the foundations of great industries. They touch the community as a whole as perhaps does no other single organized agency for good. They offer to the shyest ignorance equality with the most confident scholarship, and demand no formal preliminary which might abash ignorance.

They have a profound duty—not generally appreciated—to help render homogeneous the very heterogeneous elements of our population. Thirty per cent. of it has come to us from an alien life and alien institutions. One - third of the people in our six leading cities are of foreign birth; 71 per cent. were either born abroad or born of foreign parentage. In the assimilation of this foreign element no single agency is perhaps so potent as our public libraries.

The public libraries deem themselves the allies of formal educational processes; but also the direct educators of that part of the community not subject to the formal processes. It is this latter responsibility which has led them to attempt a broader service than the mere supply of books. A book is not the only nor necessarily the most effective vehicle for conveying knowledge. There are illustrations which more directly convey an impression, and often as fully state a fact. And photographs and process reproductions are now part of the equipment of a public library almost as conventional as books. Within the past year 10,000 such have been added to the collection of the Boston Public Library; not as works of art (they are for the most part cheap silver prints and the Art Museum is but 100 feet distant); nor merely as aids to the study of the fine arts and the useful arts, but also as convenient auxiliaries to the study of history, of literature, and of institutions. And they are used by individuals and by classes not as a substitute for the text, but as helping to render vivid the lesson of the text.

With these go lectures in exposition. Every building of importance recently designed for the uses of a public library includes an art-gallery and a lecture-hall. What an immense augmentation of function this implies! It implies that the library is no longer merely an aggregate of books, each passive within rigid limits; but that it is an active agent having under its control material which is kept plastic and which it moulds into incredibly varied shapes to suit incredibly varied needs.

The experience of the Boston Public Library shows that in the case of books each increase of facilities creates an increased demand. The trustees of 1852 boasted that they were providing for as many as fifty readers at a time; the trustees of 1887 thought themselves venturesome in providing for 500 readers at a time; and within a month after the new building was opened it was forced to accommodate over 700 at a time. Every week over 30,000 persons enter the Central Library building, and every year

1,200,000 volumes are drawn for home use by the 65,000 card-holders. Yet these figures represent still but a portion of the persons to be reached and the work to be done. Nor can facilities for distribution keep pace with the need. For a city of a half-million people spread over an area of 40 square miles adequate library facilities cannot ever be provided. A municipality which even approximates the adequate in providing buildings, equipment, administration, and general literature at the public expense must still look to private gift for the specialized material necessary to a great reference collection. That the Boston Public Library is next to the British Museum in Shakespeariana is, to be sure, the result of a special expenditure by the city. But the larger part of its special collections which have given it distinction as a great scholar's library has come from private gift; the Ticknor collection of Spanish literature, the Bowditch collection of mathematics, the Chamberlain collection of autographs, the Brown collection of music, and many others. And a city which erects for its public library a building which is monumental is puttting forward the most attractive invitation to private gift. The gifts which have come to Boston as the direct result of the new building have already reached a twelfth of its cost.

With proper organization and a liberal co-operation between municipal and private effort the opportunities for service are almost limitless. The risk is the greater of attempts at service either legally inappropriate or practically inexpedient, and the risk is not lessened by a popular appreciation which is more enthusiastic than it is apt to be discriminating. There is, therefore, the greater need of discrimination on the part of the library itself and of an authority which will protect its exercise. This authority can be conferred only by intelligent public opinion on the part of those who are capable of appreciating constitutional limitations.

Library of Congress. The Library of Congress was establshed in 1800; destroyed in 1814 by the burning of the Capitol; afterwards replenished by the purchase by Congress of the library of ex-President Jefferson, 6,760 volumes (cost, $23,950); in 1851, 35,000 volumes destroyed by fire; in 1852, partially replenished by an appropriation of $75,000; increased (1) by regular appropriations by Congress; (2) by deposits under the copyright law; (3) by gifts and exchanges; (4) by the exchanges of the Smithsonian Institution, the library of which (40,000 volumes) was, in 1866, deposited in the Library of Congress, with the stipulation that future accessions should follow it. Fifty sets of government publications are placed at the service of the Library of Congress for international exchanges through the Smithsonian. Other special accessions have been: The Peter Force collection (22,529 volumes, 37,000 pamphlets) purchased, 1867, cost $100,000; the (Count) Rochambeau collection (manuscript) purchased, 1883, cost $20,000; the Toner collection (24,484 volumes, numerous pamphlets) gift in 1882 of Dr. Joseph M. Toner; the Hubbard collection (engravings), gift in 1898 of Mrs. Gardiner G. Hubbard.

The collection in the main library is the largest single collection on the Western Hemisphere. It comprises about 1,000,000 printed books and pamphlets, 27,300 manuscripts, 55,700 maps and charts, 294,000 pieces of music, and upward of 84,800 photographs, prints, engravings, and lithographs. Of the printed books, probably one-third are duplicates. The law library, of 103,200 volumes (which remains at the Capitol), is not included in the above.

The main collection is rich in federal documents, history, political science, jurisprudence, and Americana in general, including important files of American newspapers and original manuscripts (colonial, revolutionary, and formative periods). The exhibition cases on the second floor contain many rare books, including the *Records of the Virginia Company.*

The Smithsonian deposit is strong in scientific works, and includes the largest assemblage of the transactions of learned societies which exists in this country.

In 1897 the main collection was removed from the Capitol to the building erected for it under the acts of Congress, approved April 15, 1886; Oct. 2, 1888, and March 2, 1899, at a cost of $6,347,000 (limit by law, $6,500,000), exclusive of the land, which cost $585,000. The architects who furnished the original designs were John

THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY.

L. Smithmeyer and Paul J. Pelz. By the act of Oct. 2, 1888, before the foundations were laid, Thomas L. Casey, chief of engineers of the army, was placed in charge of the construction of the building, and the architectural details were worked out by Paul J. Pelz and Edward P. Casey. Upon the death of General Casey, in March, 1896, the entire charge of the construction devolved upon Bernard R. Green, General Casey's assistant, and under his superintendence the building was completed in February, 1897; and opened to the public in November of the same year. The building occupies 3¾ acres upon a site of 10 acres, at a distance of 1,270 feet east of the Capitol, and is the largest and most magnificent library building in the world. In the decorations some forty painters and sculptors are represented—all American citizens. The floor space is 326,195 square feet, or nearly 8 acres. The book stacks contain about 45 miles of shelving, affording space for 2,200,000 volumes. Were the long corridors, now used in part for exhibition purposes, completely shelved, the building would accommodate over 4,000,000 volumes. The library contains a reading-room for the blind, open daily.

Lick, JAMES, philanthropist; born in Fredericksburg, Pa., Aug. 25, 1796. In 1847 he settled in San Francisco and made investments in real estate, by which he became very wealthy. In 1874 he placed his property in the hands of trustees, to be devoted to public purposes. He died in San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 1, 1876. His bequests amounted to more than $1,500,000, and included $700,000 for an observatory to be connected with the University of California. This was erected on Mount Hamilton.

Lieber, FRANCIS, publicist; born in Berlin, Germany, March 18, 1800; joined the Prussian army in 1815 as a volunteer; fought in the battles of Ligny and Waterloo, and was severely wounded in the assault on Namur. He studied at the University of Jena, was persecuted for his republicanism, and in 1821 went to Greece

to take part in the struggle of its people for independence. He suffered much there. Retiring to Italy, he passed nearly two years in the family of Niebuhr, then Prussian ambassador at Rome. Returning to Germany in 1824, he was imprisoned, and while confined he wrote a collection of poems, which, on his release, were published at Berlin under the name of Franz Arnold. After spending about two years in England, he came to the United States in 1827, settling in Boston. He edited the *Encyclopædia Americana*, in 13 volumes, published in Philadelphia between 1829 and 1833. He lectured on history and politics in the larger cities of the Union. In New York his facile pen was busy translating from the French and German. In 1832 he translated De Beaumont and De Tocqueville on the penitentiary system in the United States, and soon afterwards, on invitation of the trustees of Girard College, furnished a plan of instruction for that institution, which was published at Philadelphia in 1834. In 1835 he published *Recollections of Niebuhr* and *Letters to a Gentleman in Germany*, and the same year was appointed Professor of History and Political

Francis Lieber

Economy in the South Carolina College at Columbia, S. C., where he remained until 1856. He was appointed to the same professorship in Columbia College, New York City, in 1857, and afterwards accepted the chair of Political Science in the law school of that institution, which he filled till his death, Oct. 2, 1872.

Dr. Lieber had a very versatile mind, and whatever subject he grasped he handled it skilfully as a trained philosopher. In 1838 he published *A Manual of Political Ethics*, which was adopted as a textbook in the higher institutions of learning; and he wrote several essays on legal subjects. Special branches of civil polity and civil administration engaged his attention, and on these subjects he wrote earnestly and wisely, especially on penal legislation. He wrote some valuable papers in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, and his addresses (published) on anniversary and other special occasions were numerous. While in the South he had warmly combated the doctrine of State supremacy, and when the Civil War broke out he was one of the most earnest and persistent supporters of the government. In 1863 he was one of the founders of the "Loyal Publication Society." More than 100 pamphlets were published under his supervision, of which ten were written by himself. He wrote, at the request of the general-in-chief (Halleck), *Guerilla Parties, considered with Reference to the Law and Usages of War*, which was often quoted in Europe during the Franco-German War, and his *Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field* was directed by the President to be promulgated in a general order (No. 100) of the War Department. Numerous essays on public subjects followed. He was an advocate for free-trade, and wrote vigorously on the subject. In 1865 he was appointed superintendent of a bureau at Washington for the preservation of the records of the Confederate government, and in 1870 was chosen by the governments of the United States and Mexico as arbitrator in important cases pending between the two countries. This work was unfinished at his death.

Lieber, Guido Norman, military officer; born in Columbia, S. C., May 21, 1837; graduated at the South Carolina College in 1856, and at the Harvard Law School in 1859; entered the National army in 1861; promoted major and judge-

advocate in 1862; and later was appointed Professor of Law at the United States Military Academy. In 1895 he became judge-advocate-general of the United States army. His publications include *Remarks on the Army Regulations; The Use of the Army in Aid of the Civil Power*, etc.

Lieber, OSCAR MONTGOMERY, geologist; born in Boston, Mass., Sept. 8, 1830; son of Francis Lieber. Educated at the best German universities, he reached a high place as a writer on geology, chemistry, and kindred subjects, and at the age of twenty was State Geologist of Mississippi. In 1854–55 he was engaged in a geological survey of Alabama, and from 1856 to 1860 held the post of mineralogical, geological, and agricultural surveyor of South Carolina. Serving in the Confederate army, he died of wounds received in the battle of Williamsburg, in Richmond, Va., June 27, 1862.

LIFE-SAVING MEDAL.

Life-guard, WASHINGTON'S. A corps, varying at different times from sixty to 250 men, was formed in the spring of 1776. The men, not less than 5 feet 9 inches nor more than 5 feet 10 inches in height, were selected from the Continental army for moral and personal perfections, to protect the person, baggage, and papers of the commander-in-chief. The last survivor, Uzal Knapp, of Orange county, N. Y., died in January, 1856, and was buried at the foot of the flag-staff in front of Washington's headquarters at Newburg, on the Hudson. See fac-simile signatures on pages 392 and 393.

Life-saving Service, UNITED STATES, a branch of the Treasury Department, established for the salvage of life and property in disasters to shipping. Its establishment was the outcome of the sentiment aroused by the fearful disasters on the Atlantic coast, and particularly those along the shores of Long Island and New Jersey during the period of 1800–50. In 1848, after some especially distressing wrecks had occurred, an appropriation of $10,000 was made to provide means for lessening losses, and eight buildings were erected and equipped along the dangerous part of the New Jersey coast. For a time these and other stations shortly after established were without regular crews, but so apparent did this need become that a trained crew was provided for each station. Since 1871 the service has been rapidly extended under liberal appropriations by Congress. In 1900 the life-saving districts extended over 10,000 miles of ocean, gulf, and lake coasts. The service has a general superintendent and an assistant superintendent stationed at Washington, and a local superintendent for each district. The following is a summary of the operations of the service in the year 1902–03:

Number of disasters	697
Value of property involved	$9,051,150
Value of property saved	$7,882,045
Value of property lost	$1,169,105
Number of persons involved	4,337
Number of persons lost	24
Number of shipwrecked persons succored at stations	1,086
Number of days' succor afforded	
Number of vessels totally lost	57

The total appropriation for the fiscal year was $1,783,830; and the total expenditure, $1,593,619, leaving a balance of $190,211.

Light-house, a structure built on the coast or shore of navigable waters, and furnished for the purpose of indicating a

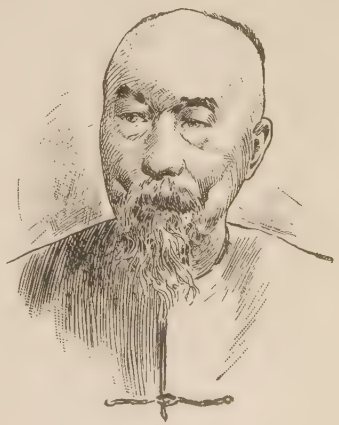
point of danger or to serve as a guide. The following is a brief summary of light-houses in the United States:

First coast light erected in	1673
First light-house built on Little Brewster Island, Boston Harbor	1715-16
The United States government accepted cession of all light-houses	Aug. 7, 1789
Control vested in commissioner of the revenue	May, 1792
Restored to Secretary of Treasury	April 6, 1802
Vested again in the commissioner	July 24, 1813
Vested in the fifth auditor of the treasury	July 1, 1820
Naval commission on light-house appointed in	1837
Congressional investigation of light-house management, resulting in improvements	1838-43
Navy commission sent to inspect European systems in	1845
Fresnel system authorized	March 3, 1851
First light-house board appointed	May 21, 1851
Fresnel system generally introduced in	1852
Permanent light-house board authorized	Aug. 31, 1852
Board organized	Oct. 8, 1852

At the close of the fiscal year 1900 there were under the control of the light-house establishment: Light-houses and lighted beacons, 1,243; light-vessels in position, 44; light-vessels for relief, 8; electric and gas buoys in position, 82; fog-signals operated by steam or hot air, 172; fog-signals operated by clock-work, 221; post-lights on Western rivers, 1,396; day or unlighted beacons, 475; whistling-buoys in position, 73; bell-buoys in position, 120.

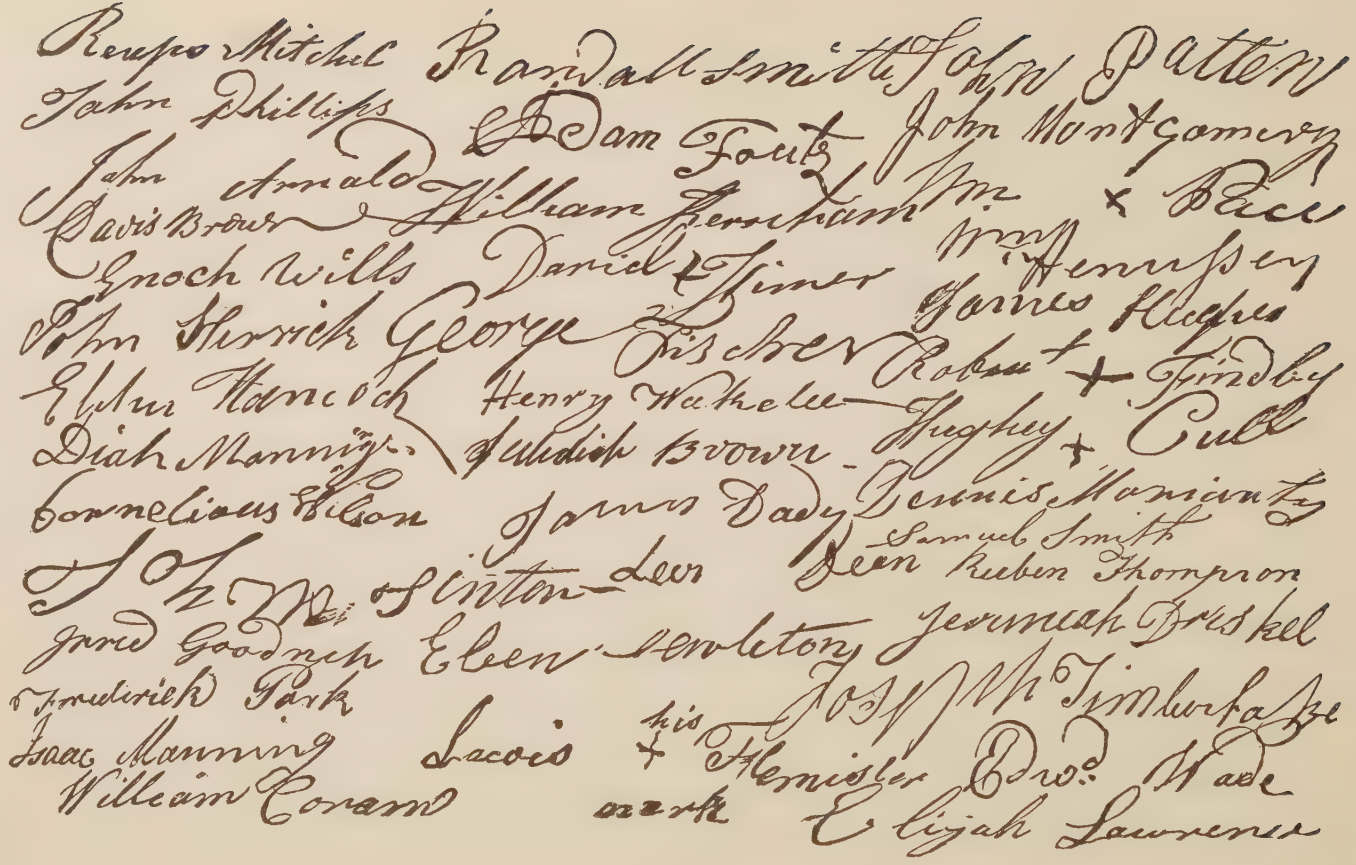
Ligonia, Province of. At about the time of the beginning of the civil war in England, in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges took sides with the King, Alexander Rigby, a republican member of Parliament, purchased the old patent of Ligonia (Maine), and sent out George Cleves to take possession. Cleves had been an agent in that region for Gorges and Sir William Alexander. This claim was resisted by Gorges's agents, and Cleves attempted to gain the assistance of the New England Confederacy by proposing to make Ligonia a member of that alliance. The dispute went on some time, until finally the parliamentary commissioners for plantations confirmed Rigby's title, and the coast of Maine, from the Kennebec to the Saco, was erected into the province of Ligonia, Maine being then restricted to the tract from the Saco to the Piscataqua. See Maine.

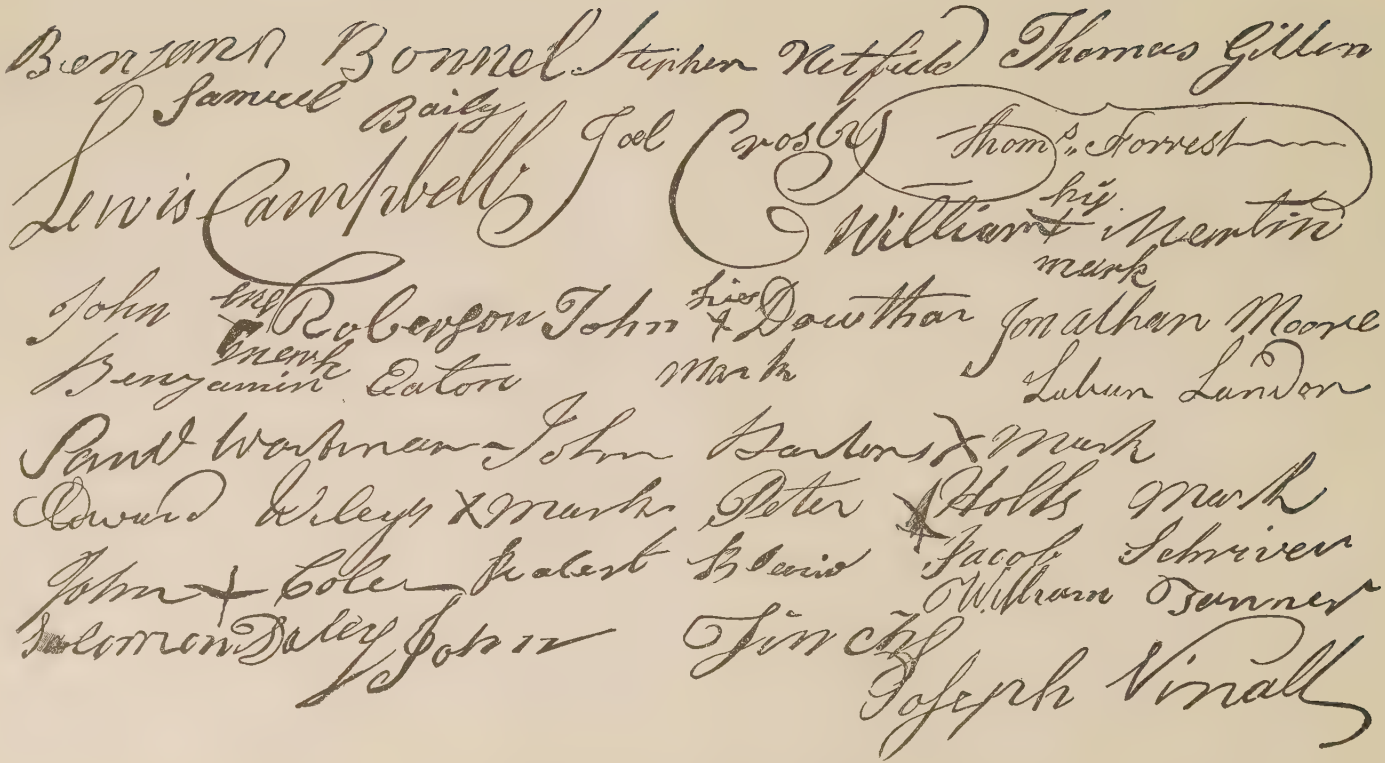
Li Hung Chang, statesman; born in the province of Ngan-hwuy, China, Feb. 16, 1823; attained the highest percentage among 40,000 students in the imperial examinations when twenty years old; and was appointed a compiler in the Hanlin College and in the imperial printing-office. He served with much distinction in the Taiping rebellion of 1860, having charge of the final campaign which crushed the revolt; was created viceroy of the United Countries in 1865; and conquered the Nienfei rebellion in 1868. In 1870 he was appointed viceroy of Chih-li and Senior Grand Secretary of State, and the same year was divested of his various titles for not having assisted the general in command at the time of the Tientsin massacre. Soon afterwards, however, he was relieved of his punishment and was appointed Grand Chancellor. Subsequently he was appointed viceroy of the metropolitan provinces of Pechili, and so became virtually the chief administrator of the Chinese Empire. After the war between China and Japan he was a commissioner to negotiate peace, and after the allied army had rescued the foreign



LI HUNG CHANG.

representatives in Peking, in 1900, he was the chief plenipotentiary to arrange with the interested powers the details of peace





FAC-SIMILE SIGNATURES OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE-GUARD.

and indemnity. For two or three years prior to the Boxer outbreak (see CHINA), and while Great Britain and Russia were striving for supremacy in their relations with China, he was accused of being strongly pro-Russian. In 1896 he visited the United States, bearing a special message to the President. Earl Li, with Prince Ching, are the representatives of China in the negotiations following the occupation of Peking by the European powers, Japan, and the United States.

Liliuokalani, LYDIA KAMEKEHA, ex-Queen of the Hawaiian Islands; born in Honolulu, Dec. 2, 1838; married John O. Dominis, a native of the United States (died Aug. 26, 1891); became vice-regent when King Kalakaua left Hawaii on his trip to the United States; and after his death in San Francisco she was proclaimed Queen, Jan. 29, 1891. On Jan. 30, 1892, she was dethroned because of her efforts to restore absolute monarchy and abolish the constitution of 1887. Although President Cleveland favored her restoration to the throne, all her endeavors in that direction were futile, and a provisional government was set up. A little later she came to the United States, and remained here till August, 1898, when she returned to Hawaii. The islands had then been annexed to the United States. In March, 1900, an attempt was made in the United States Senate to grant her a lump sum of $20,000 and an annual pension

LYDIA KAMEKEHA LILIUOKALANI.

of $10,000 for the rest of her life as a compensation for the loss of her royal allowances, but the effort failed, and in March, 1901, a bill to give her a yearly pension of $12,000 passed its first reading in the Hawaiian legislature, all political parties being pledged to give the pension. See HAWAII.

Limitations, STATUTES OF. See INTEREST LAWS.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM

Lincoln, ABRAHAM, sixteenth President of the United States, was born in Hardin county, Ky., Feb. 12, 1809. His ancestors were Quakers in Berks county, Pa. His parents, born in Virginia, emigrated to Kentucky, and in 1816 went to Indiana. Having had about one year's schooling in the aggregate, he went as a hired hand on a flat-boat to New Orleans when he was nineteen years of age. He made himself so useful to his employer that he gave him charge as clerk of a store and mill at New Salem, Ill. He commanded a company in the Black Hawk War. Appointed postmaster at Salem, he began to study law, was admitted to practice in 1836, and began his career as a lawyer at Springfield. He rose rapidly in his profession, became a leader of the Whig party in Illinois, and was a popular though homely speaker at political meetings. He was elected to Congress in 1847, and was there distinguished for his outspoken anti-slavery views. In 1858 he was a candidate for United States Senator. His opponent, Judge Douglas, won the prize from the legislature, though Mr. Lincoln received 4,000 more votes of the people than his opponent. In 1860 and 1864 he was elected President of the United States. Ordinances of secession and the beginning of civil war followed his first election. He conducted the affairs of the nation with great wisdom through the four years of the Civil War, and just as it closed was assassinated at the national capital, dying April 15, 1865.

His Journey to the Capital.—The President-elect left his home in Springfield, Ill., Feb. 11, 1861, for Washington, D. C., accompanied by a few personal and political friends. To the crowd at the railway

station, evidently impressed with the solemn responsibility laid on him, he said: "A duty devolves on me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any man since the days of Washington. He never could have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain." The journey then undertaken was performed at about the same time that Jefferson Davis, the elected President of the Southern Confederacy, was on his way from his home to the capital of the Confederacy. Lincoln made a long journey of hundreds of miles through Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, everywhere greeted with demonstrations of profound respect, and speaking to the crowds who came out to see him words full of cheerfulness, kindness, forbearance, and tenderness. Common prudence counselled him to say little or nothing on the grave affairs of state, but occasionally words would drop from his lips that clearly indicated his views and intentions. He often alluded to the condition of the country. "It is my intention," he said at Pittsburg, "to give this subject all the consideration I possibly can before specially deciding in regard to it, so that when I do speak I may be as nearly right as possible. I hope I may say nothing in opposition to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to the integrity of the Union, or which will prove inimical to the liberties of the people or the peace of the whole country." At the Astor House, in New York, he said to a multitude who greeted him: "When the time does come for me to speak, I shall then take the ground that I think is right—right for the North, for the South, for the East, for the West, and for the whole country." Mr. Lincoln was received by the municipal authorities of New York City at the City Hall, where Mayor Wood, who had recently set forth the advantages that the commercial mart would derive from its secession from all government, admonished the President-elect that it was his duty "to so conduct public affairs as to preserve the Union." Mr. Lincoln arrived in Philadelphia Feb. 21, where he was informed of a plan in Baltimore to assassinate him, on his way through that city to Washington. On the following morning (Washington's birthday) he hoisted the national flag, with his own hands, over the old State-house, in the presence of a vast multitude of citizens. In his speech on that occasion he referred to the Declaration of Independence, adopted and signed in that building, and said that it was the sentiment of perfect freedom to all contained in that document which had kept the Union together so long, and promised the same blessing, in due time, to all men. "If this country," he said, "cannot be saved by this principle, I was about to say I would rather be assas-

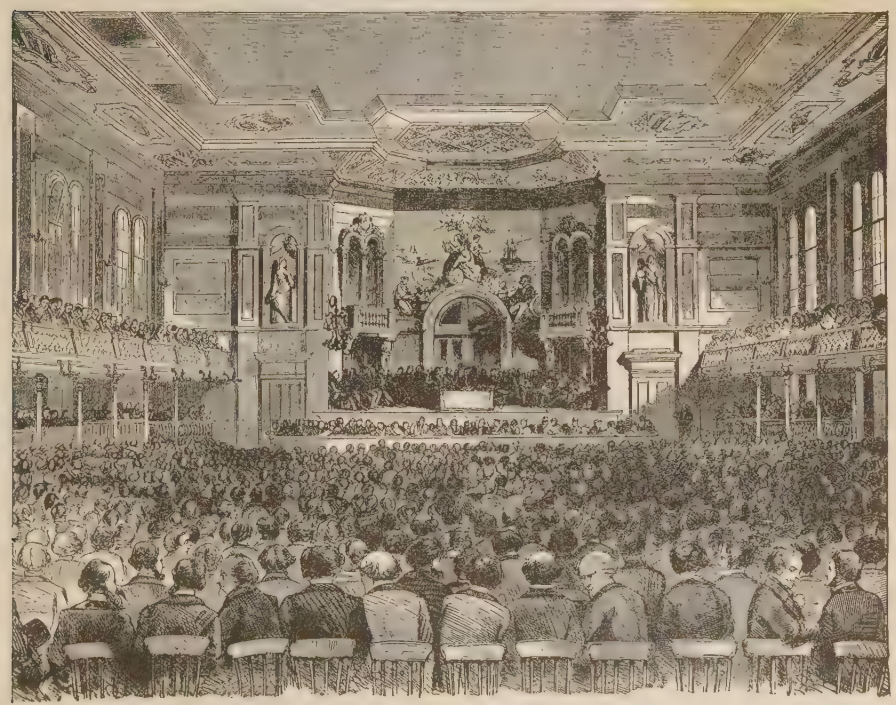
SPOT WHERE THE CABIN STOOD IN WHICH LINCOLN WAS BORN.

THE LINCOLN HOME, FARMINGTON, ILL.

sinated on this spot than surrender it. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by." His friends believed his life would be in danger if he carried out the prescribed plan of his journey to visit Harrisburg, and thence direct through Baltimore to Washington. But he persisted in keeping his engagement, and went on to Harrisburg. Meanwhile revelations had been made that convinced his friends that he would be assassinated if the whole plan should be carried out, and he was persuaded to go back to Philadelphia that night, and so on to Washington, instead of waiting until the next day. He passed through Baltimore unobserved, and arrived in Washington early on the morning of Feb. 26.

The Passage through Baltimore.—His movements at that time gave currency to many absurd and untruthful stories. Mr. Lincoln gave, orally, to the late Benson J. Lossing, early in December, substantially the following narrative of the affair: "I arrived at Philadelphia on the 21st. I agreed to stop overnight, and on the following morning hoist the flag over Independence Hall. In the evening there was a great crowd where I received my friends, at the Continental Hotel. Mr. Judd, a warm personal friend from Chicago, sent for me to come to his room. I went, and found there Mr. Pinkerton, a skilful police detective, also from Chicago, who had been employed for some days in Baltimore watching or searching for suspicious persons there. Pinkerton informed me that a plan had been laid for my assassination, the exact time when I expected to go through Baltimore being publicly known. He was well informed as to the plan, but did not know that the conspirators would have pluck enough to execute it. He urged me to go right through with him to Washington that night. I didn't like that. I had made engagements to visit Harrisburg and go from there to Baltimore, and I resolved to do so. I

could not believe that there was a plot to murder me. I made arrangements, however, with Mr. Judd for my return to Philadelphia the next night, if I should be convinced that there was danger in going through Baltimore. I told him that if I should meet at Harrisburg, as I had at other places, a delegation to go with me to the next place (then Baltimore), I should feel safe and go on. When I was making my way back to my room, through crowds of people, I met Frederick Seward. We went together to my room, when he told me that he had been sent, at the instance of his father and General Scott, to inform me that their detectives in Baltimore had discovered a plot there to assassinate me. They knew nothing of Pinkerton's movements. I now believed such a plot to be in existence. The next morning I raised the flag over Independence Hall, and then went on to Harrisburg with Mr. Sumner, Major (now General) Hunter, Mr. Judd, Mr. Lamon, and others. There I met the legislature and people, dined, and waited until the time appointed for me to leave (six o'clock in the evening). In the mean time Mr. Judd had so secured the telegraph that no communication could pass to Baltimore and give the conspirators knowledge of a change in my plans. In New York some friend had given me a new beaver hat, in a box, and in it had placed a soft wool hat. I had never worn one of the latter in my life. I had this box in my room. Having informed a very few friends of the secret of my new movements, and the cause, I put on an old overcoat that I had with me, and, putting the soft hat in my pocket, I walked out of the house at a back door, bareheaded, without exciting any special curiosity. Then I put on the soft hat and joined my friends without being recognized by strangers, for I was not the same man. Sumner and Hunter wished to accompany me. I said, 'No; you are known, and your presence might betray me. I will only take Lamon [afterwards marshal of the District of



THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, 1860.

Columbia, whom nobody knew] and Mr. Judd.' Sumner and Hunter felt hurt. We went back to Philadelphia, and found a message there from Pinkerton [who had returned to Baltimore] that the conspirators had held their final meeting that evening, and it was doubtful whether they had nerve enough to attempt the execution of their purpose. I went on, however, as the arrangement had been made, in a special train. We were a long time in the station at Baltimore. I heard people talking around, but no one particularly observed me. At an early hour on Saturday morning [Feb. 23], at about the time I was expected to leave Harrisburg, I arrived in Washington." Mr. Lincoln was received at the railway station by Mr. Washburne, member of Congress from Illinois, and taken to Willard's Hotel.

The Gettysburg Speech.—At the dedication of the National Cemetery on the Gettysburg battle-field, Nov. 19, 1863, Mr. Lincoln delivered his immortal speech, which will be found in the article on GETTYSBURG.

His Re-election.—In the administration party were men who deprecated the cautious policy of Mr. Lincoln and were opposed to his re-election. They held a nominating convention at Cleveland, O., May 31, 1864. It was composed of about 350 persons, very few of whom were regularly chosen delegates. They were called "the radical men of the nation." They adopted a "platform of principles," consisting of thirteen resolutions, among which was one

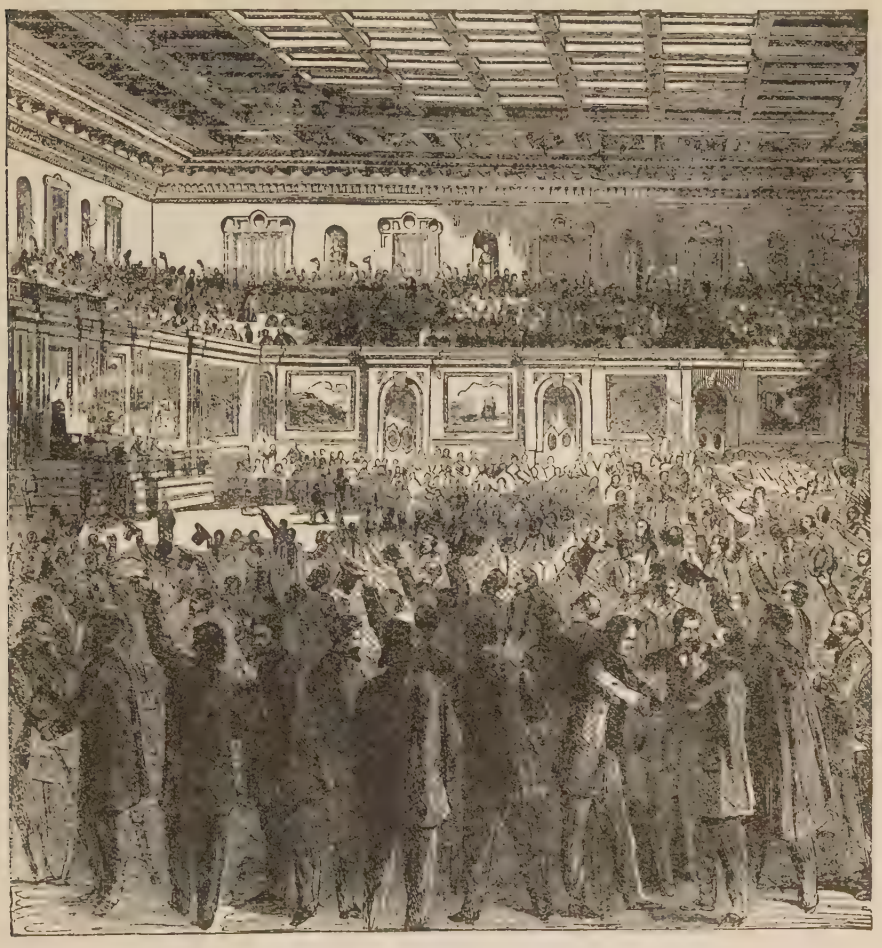
LINCOLN'S INKSTAND.

proposing an amendment to the Constitution to prevent the re-establishment of slavery; another declaring the wisdom of the MONROE DOCTRINE (*q. v.*); a third asserting the policy of restricting the incumbency of the Presidential office to one term; a fourth recommending the election of President directly by the people; a fifth

DESK ON WHICH LINCOLN WROTE HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

proposing to commit the business of "reconstruction" to the people; and a sixth enjoining the duty of confiscating the property of the Confederates and giving it to the Union soldiers and actual settlers. They nominated Gen. John C. Frémont for President, and Gen. John Cochrane for Vice-President. These nominees afterwards withdrew. The Union National Convention assembled at Baltimore June 7, wherein all the States and Territories were represented by delegates, excepting those in the Confederacy. Their "platform of principles" was equally strong in support of national honor, national freedom, the emancipation of the slaves and the perpetuation of their freedom, the Monroe Doctrine, etc. It was the regular Republican Convention. It endorsed the acts of the administration, and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President and Andrew Johnson for Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago, Aug. 29. Horatio Seymour, of New York, was its chairman, and, in his opening address on taking the chair, he expressed sentiments of extreme hostility to the policy of the administration, and condemnatory of the war for the preservation of the Union. They adopted a "platform of principles," composed of six resolutions. It declared the fidelity of the Democratic party to the Union; that the war was a failure, and that "humanity, liberty, and the public welfare" demanded

its immediate cessation; that the government, through its military power, had interfered with elections in four of the late slave-labor States, and was, consequently, guilty of revolutionary action, which should be resisted; that the government had been guilty of unwarrantable usurpations (which were specified), and also been guilty of a shameful disregard of duty respecting the exchange of prisoners and the relief of its suffering captives. The resolutions closed with an assurance that the Democratic party extended its sympathy to the Union soldiers, and that, in the event of their obtaining power, the soldiers should receive "all the care and protection and kindness" which they deserved. Gen. George B. McClellan, who had been relieved from military duty about twenty months before, was nominated for President, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The opposing parties carried on the canvass with great vigor during the autumn. The real practical issue was expressed in two words —Union and Disunion. Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by an unprecedented majority in the electoral college. His opponent—General McClellan—received the votes only of the two late slave-labor States of Dela-



PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITING SLAVERY.

ware and Kentucky and the State of New Jersey. The soldiers in the army gave 121,000 votes for Lincoln and 35,050 for McClellan, or three to one in favor of the former. They did not regard the war in which they were struggling as a "failure." The freedmen rejoiced at the result, for they regarded it as the seal of their sure deliverance, for there was a wonderful power slumbering behind that vote.

President Lincoln's Cabinets.—On the day after his first inauguration (March 5, 1861), President Lincoln nominated the following gentlemen as his constitutional advisers: William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General. These were immediately confirmed by the Senate. At the beginning of his second administration he retained his cabinet—namely, W. H. Seward, Secretary of State; Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; William Dennison, Postmaster-General; J. P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior; James Speed, Attorney-General. There had been previously some changes in his cabinet. At the request of the President, Montgomery Blair had resigned the office of Postmaster-General, and was succeeded by Mr. Dennison, of Ohio. On the death of Chief-Justice Taney, Salmon P. Chase had been made his successor, and the place of the latter in the cabinet had been filled by Hugh McCulloch.

Assassination of the President.—On the morning of April 14, 1865, General Grant arrived in Washington, and attended a meeting of the cabinet at eleven o'clock. An arrangement was made at the close of the meeting for the President and the general to attend Ford's Theatre in the evening, and a box was engaged. The general was called to New York, and did not attend. The President, with Mrs. Lincoln and a little party, was there. Mr. Lincoln was seated in a high-backed chair. The play was *Our*

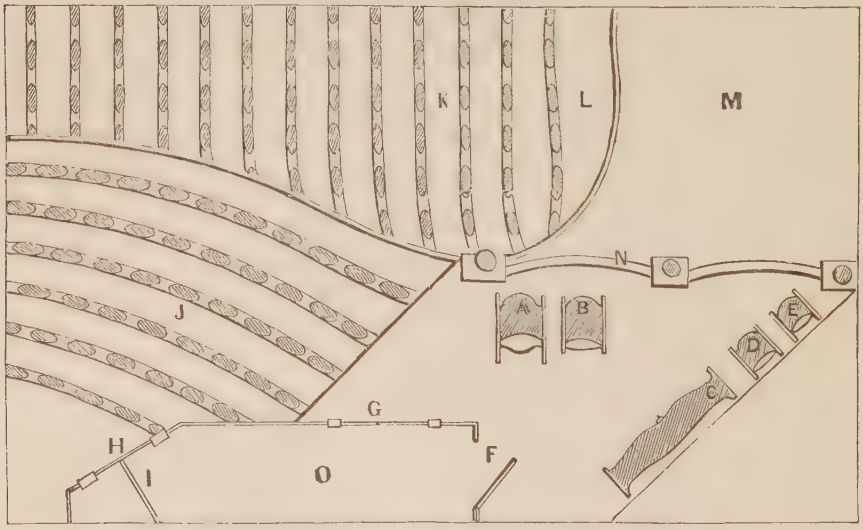
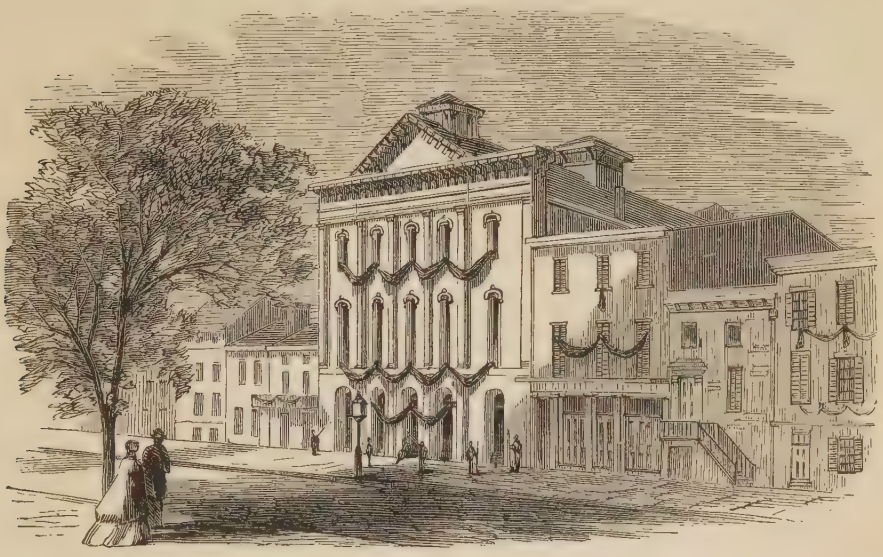


DIAGRAM OF BOX OCCUPIED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN IN THEATRE.

[O. Dark corridor leading from the dress-circle to box.—H. Entrance to corridor.—I. The bar used by Booth to prevent entrance from without.—J. Dress-circle.—K. The parquette.—L. The foot-lights.—M. The stage.—F. Open door to the President's box.—G. Closed door.—N. Place where Booth vaulted over to the stage below. A, B, C, D, E. Chairs and settee.—A. President Lincoln; B. Mrs. Lincoln; C. Major Rathbone; D. Miss Harris; E. Mrs. Ira Harris.]

American Cousin; and just before its close, at a little past ten o'clock, John Wilkes Booth, an actor, entered the President's box, closed and fastened the door behind him, and, with a derringer pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other, he rested the former on the back of the chair occupied by the President and shot him. The ball entered behind his ear, passed through his brain, and lodged near one of his eyes. The President lived nine hours afterwards, but in an insensible state. The assassin was seized by Major Rathbone, who was in the box. Booth dropped his pistol, struck Rathbone on the arm with his dagger, tore away from his grasp, rushed to the front of the box with the gleaming weapon in his hand, and, shouting "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" ("So may it always be with tyrants!"—the motto on the seal of Virginia), leaped upon the stage. He was booted and spurred for a night ride. One of his spurs caught in the flag, and he fell. Rising, he turned to the audience and said, "The South is avenged!" and then escaped by a back door. There he mounted a horse which a boy had held for him, fled across the Anacosta, and found temporary refuge among sympathizing friends in Maryland. The President died the next morning, April 15. Booth was pursued and overtaken in Virginia, concealed in a barn. He refused to surrender. The barn was set on fire, and the assassin was shot by a sergeant. The President's body was embalmed and taken back to his home in Springfield by almost the same route as he went to the capital more than four years before. Everywhere loyal people of the land were his sincere mourners. Foreign governments and distinguished men expressed their grief and sympathy, and French Democrats testified their appreciation of his character and services by causing a magnificent gold medal to be struck and presented to the President's widow. It is about four inches in diameter. One side bears a profile, in relief, of Mr. Lincoln, surrounded by the words, in French, "Dedicated by the French Democracy. A. Lincoln, twice elected President of the United States." On the reverse is an altar, bearing the following inscription, also in French: "Lincoln, Honest Man. Abolished Slavery, Re-established the Union, and Saved the Republic, without Veiling the Statue of Liberty. He was Assassinated the 14th of April, 1865." Below all are the words: "Liberty,



FORD'S THEATRE, WHERE LINCOLN WAS ASSASSINATED.

Equality, and Fraternity." On one side of the altar stands winged Victory, with her right hand resting upon a sword and her left holding a civic wreath. On the other side stand two emancipated slaves —the younger, a lad, offering a palm branch, and the elder pointing him to the American eagle, bearing the shield, the olive-branch, and the lightning, with the motto of the Union. The older freedman holds the musket of the militia-man. Near them are the emblems of industry and progress. Over the altar is a triangle, emblematic of trinity—the trinity of man's inalienable rights—liberty, equality, and fraternity.

THE HOUSE IN WHICH LINCOLN DIED.

Reply to Stephen A. Douglas.—The speech of Senator Douglas, which is given in full in the article on that statesman, and the reply of Abraham Lincoln, which here follows, constitute what is known as the first Douglas and Lincoln debate. It was opened in Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858.

My fellow-citizens, when a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least, I find it so with myself, but, when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him. The first thing I see fit to notice is the fact that Judge Douglas alleges, after running through the history of the old Democratic and the old Whig parties, that Judge Trumbull and myself made an arrangement in 1854 by which I was to have the place of General Shields in the United States Senate, and Judge Trumbull was to have the place of Judge Douglas. Now all I have to say upon that subject is that I think no man—not even Judge Douglas—can prove it, because it is not true. I have no doubt he is "conscientious" in saying it. As to those resolutions that he took such a length of time to read, as being the platform of the Republican party in 1854, I say I never had anything to do with them; and I think Trumbull never had. Judge Douglas cannot show that either of us ever did have anything to do with them. I believe this is true about those resolutions. There was a call for a convention to form a Republican party at Springfield; and I think that my friend Mr. Lovejoy, who is here upon this stand, had a hand in it. I think this is true; and I think, if he will remember accurately, he will be able to recollect that he tried to get me into it, and I would not go in. I believe it is also true that I went away from Springfield, when the convention was in session, to attend court in Tazewell county. It is true they did place my name, though without authority, upon the committee, and afterwards wrote me to attend the meeting of the committee; but I refused to do

MEDAL FROM THE FRENCH DEMOCRATS.

so, and I never had anything to do with that organization. This is the plain truth about all that matter of the resolutions.

Now, about this story that Judge Douglas tells of Trumbull bargaining to sell out the old Democratic party, and Lincoln agreeing to sell out the Old Whig party, I have the means of knowing about that: Judge Douglas cannot have; and I know there is no substance to it whatever. Yet I have no doubt he is "conscientious" about it. I know that, after Mr. Lovejoy got into the legislature that winter, he complained of me that I had told all the Old Whigs of his district that the Old Whig party was good enough for them, and some of them voted against him because I told them so. Now I have no means of totally disproving such charges as this which the judge makes. A man cannot prove a negative; but he has a right to claim that, when a man makes an affirmative charge, he must offer some proof to show the truth of what he says. I certainly cannot introduce testimony to show the negative about things; but I have a right to claim that, if a man says he knows a thing, then he must show how he knows it. I always have a right to claim this, and it is not satisfactory to me that he may be "conscientious" on the subject.

Now, gentlemen, I hate to waste my time on such things, but in regard to that general abolition tilt that Judge Douglas makes when he says that I was engaged at that time in selling out and abolitionizing the Old Whig party, I hope you will permit me to read a part of a printed speech that I made then at Peoria, which will show altogether a different view of the position I took in that contest of 1854. [Voice: "Put on your specs."] Yes, sir, I am obliged to do so. I am no longer a young man.

"This is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular; but I am sure it is sufficiently so for all the uses I shall attempt to make of it, and in it we have before us the chief materials enabling us to correctly judge whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong.

"I think and shall try to show that it is wrong—wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it.

"This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many

really good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty—criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

"Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if

THE LINCOLN MONUMENT IN OAK RIDGE CEMETERY, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave-masters.

"When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that, whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but, for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren in the South.

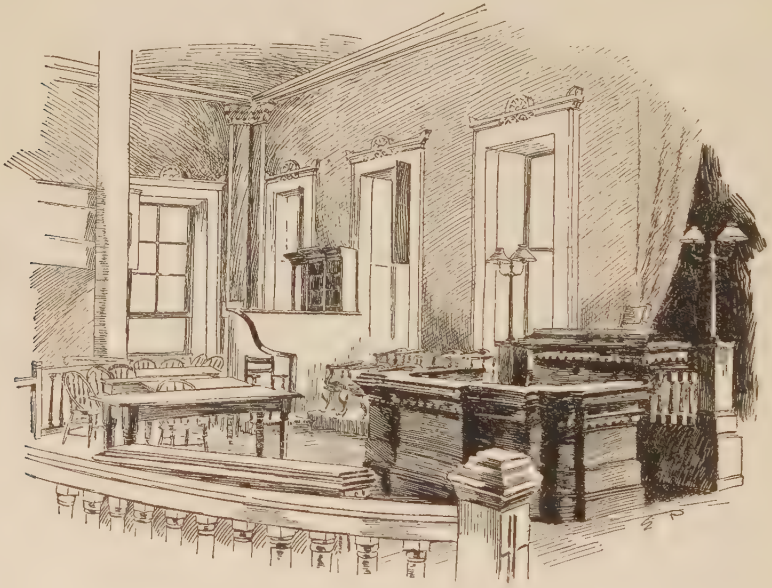
"When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one.

"But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave-trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them to Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter."

I have reason to know that Judge Douglas knows that I said this. I think he has the answer here to one of the questions he put to me. I do not mean to allow him to catechise me unless he pays back for it in kind. I will not answer questions, one after another, unless he reciprocates; but as he has made this inquiry, and I have answered it before, he has got it without my getting anything in return. He has got my answer on the fugitive-slave law.

Now, gentlemen, I don't want to read at any great length; but this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it; and anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and, inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this,

there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.



CHAMBER OF ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
(In which Lincoln made his first speech in opposition to Douglas.)

Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies. The judge is wofully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a "grocery-keeper." I don't think that it would be a great sin if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house up at the head of a hollow. And so I think my friend, the judge, is equally at fault when he charges me at the time when I was in Congress of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War. The judge did not make his charge very distinctly; but I tell you what he can prove, by referring to the record. You remember I was an Old Whig; and, whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But, whenever they asked for any money or land-warrants or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican War, or did anything else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him.

As I have not used up so much of my time as I had supposed, I will dwell a little longer upon one or two of these minor topics upon which the judge has

spoken. He has read from my speech in Springfield in which I say that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Does the judge say it can stand? I don't know whether he does or not. The judge does not seem to be attending to me just now, but I would like to know if it is his opinion that a house divided against itself can stand. If he does, then there is a question of veracity, not between him and me, but between the judge and an authority of a somewhat higher character.

Now, my friends, I ask your attention to this matter for the purpose of saying something seriously. I know that the judge may readily enough agree with me that the maxim which was put forth by the Saviour is true, but he may allege that I misapply it; and the judge has a right to urge that in my application I do misapply it, and then I have a right to show that I do not misapply it. When he undertakes to say that because I think this nation, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, will all become one thing or all the other, I am in favor of bringing about a dead uniformity in the various States in all their institutions, he argues erroneously. The great variety of the local institutions in the States, springing from differences in the soil, differences in the face of the country and in the climate, are bonds of union. They do not make "a house divided against itself," but they make a house united. If they produce in one section of the country what is called for by the wants of another section, and this other section can supply the wants of the first, they are not matters of discord, but bonds of union—true bonds of union. But can this question of slavery be considered as among these varieties in the institutions of the country? I leave it to you to say whether, in the history of our government, this institution of slavery has not always failed to be a bond of union, and, on the contrary, been an apple of discord and an element of division in the house. I ask you to consider whether, so long as the moral constitution of men's minds shall continue to be the same, after this generation and assemblage shall sink into the grave, and another race shall arise with the same moral and intellectual development we have—whether, if that institution is standing in the same irritating position in which it now is, it will not continue an element of division?

If so, then I have a right to say that, in regard to this question, the Union is a house divided against itself; and when the judge reminds me that I have often said to him that the institution of slavery has existed for eighty years in some States, and yet it does not exist in some others, I agree to the fact, and I account for it by looking at the position in which our fathers originally placed it—restricting it from the new Territories where it had not gone, and legislating to cut off its source by the abrogation of the slave-trade, thus putting the seal of legislation against its spread. The public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. But, lately, I think—and in this I charge nothing on the judge's motives—lately, I think that he, and those acting with him, have placed that institution on a new basis, which looks to the perpetuity and nationalization of slavery. And, while it is placed upon this new basis, I say, and I have said, that I believe we shall not have peace upon the question until the opponents of slavery arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or, on the other hand, that its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Now I believe, if we could arrest the spread, and place it where Washington and Jefferson and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind would, as for eighty years past, believe that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. The crisis would be past, and the institution might be let alone for a hundred years—if it should live so long—in the States where it exists, yet it would be going out of existence in the way best for both the black and the white races. [A voice: "Then do you repudiate popular sovereignty?"] Well, then, let us talk about popular sovereignty! What is popular sovereignty? Is it the right of the people to have slavery or not have it, as they see fit, in the Territories? I will state—and I have an able man to watch me—my understanding is

that popular sovereignty, as now applied to the question of slavery, does allow the people of a Territory to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it. I do not mean that, if this vast concourse of people were in a Territory of the United States, any one of them would be obliged to have a slave if he did not want one; but I do say that, as I understand the Dred Scott decision, if any one man wants slaves, all the rest have no way of keeping that one man from holding them.

When I made my speech at Springfield, of which the judge complains, and from which he quotes, I really was not thinking of the things which he ascribes to me at all. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a war between the free and slave States. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a political and social equality of the black and white races. It never occurred to me that I was doing anything or favoring anything to reduce to a dead uniformity all the local institutions of the various States. But I must say, in all fairness to him, if he thinks I am doing something which leads to these bad results, it is none the better that I did not mean it. It is just as fatal to the country, if I have any influence in producing it, whether I intend it or not. But can it be true that placing this institution upon the original basis—the basis upon which our fathers placed it—can have any tendency to set the Northern and the Southern States at war with one another, or that it can have any tendency to make the people of Vermont raise sugar-cane because they raise it in Louisiana, or that it can compel the people of Illinois to cut pine logs on the Grand Prairie where they will not grow, because they cut pine logs in Maine, where they do grow? The judge says this is a new principle started in regard to this question. Does the judge claim that he is working on the plan of the founders of the government? I think he says in some of his speeches—indeed, I have one here now—that he saw evidence of a policy to allow slavery to be south of a certain line, while north of it it should be excluded; and he saw an indisposition on the part of the country to stand upon that policy, and therefore he set about studying the subject upon original principles, and upon original principles he got up the Nebraska bill! I am fighting it upon these "original principles"—fighting it in the Jeffersonian, Washingtonian, and Madisonian fashion.

Now, my friends, I wish you to attend for a little while to one or two other things in that Springfield speech. My main object was to show, so far as my humble ability was capable of showing to the people of this country, what I believed was the truth—that there was a tendency, if not a conspiracy, among those who have engineered this slavery question for the last four or five years, to make slavery perpetual and universal in this nation. Having made that speech principally for that object, after arranging the evidences that I thought tended to prove my proposition, I concluded with this bit of comment:

"We cannot absolutely know that these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert; but, when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen — Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance — and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few — not omitting even the scaffolding — or if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in — in such a case we feel it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn before the first blow was struck."

When my friend, Judge Douglas, came to Chicago on the 9th of July, this speech having been delivered on the 16th of June, he made an harangue there in which he took hold of this speech of mine, showing that he had carefully read it; and, while he paid no attention to this matter at all, but com-

plimented me as being a "kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman," notwithstanding I had said this, he goes on and deduces, or draws out, from my speech this tendency of mine to set the States at war with one another, to make all the institutions uniform, and set the niggers and white people to marry together. Then, as the judge had complimented me with these pleasant titles (I must confess to my weakness), I was a little "taken"; for it came from a great man. I was not very much accustomed to flattery, and it came the sweeter to me. I was rather like the Hoosier with the gingerbread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better than any other man, and got less of it. As the judge had so flattered me, I could not make up my mind that he meant to deal unfairly with me. So I went to work to show him that he misunderstood the whole scope of my speech, and that I really never intended to set the people at war with one another. As an illustration, the next time I met him, which was at Springfield, I used this expression, that I claimed no right under the Constitution, nor had I any inclination, to enter into the slave States and interfere with the institutions of slavery. He says upon that, Lincoln will not enter into the slave States, but will go to the banks of the Ohio, on this side, and shoot over! He runs on, step by step, in the horse-chestnut style of argument, until in the Springfield speech he says, "Unless he shall be successful in firing his batteries until he shall have extinguished slavery in all the States, the Union shall be dissolved." Now I don't think that was exactly the way to treat "a kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman." I know, if I had asked the judge to show when or where it was I had said that, if I didn't succeed in firing into the slave States until slavery should be extinguished, the Union should be dissolved, he could not have shown it. I understand what he would do. He would say, "I don't mean to quote from you, but this was the result of what you say." But I have the right to ask, and I do ask now, Did you not put it in such a form that an ordinary reader or listener would take it as an expression from me?

In a speech at Springfield, on the night of the 17th, I thought I might as well attend to my business a little; and I recalled his attention as well as I could to this charge of conspiracy to nationalize slavery. I called his attention to the fact that he had acknowledged in my hearing twice that he had carefully read the speech; and, in the language of the lawyers, as he had twice read the speech, and still had put in no plea or answer, I took a default on him. I insisted that I had a right then to renew that charge of conspiracy. Ten days afterwards I met the judge at Clinton—that is to say, I was on the ground, but not in the discussion—and heard him make a speech. Then he comes in with his plea to this charge, for the first time; and his plea when put in, as well as I can recollect it, amounted to this: that he never had any talk with Judge Taney or the President of the United States with regard to the Dred Scott decision before it was made; I (Lincoln) ought to know that the man who makes a charge without knowing it to be true falsifies as much as he who knowingly tells a falsehood; and, lastly, that he would pronounce the whole thing a falsehood; but he would make no personal application of the charge of falsehood, not because of any regard for the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman," but because of his own personal self-respect! I have understood since then (but [turning to Judge Douglas] will not hold the judge to it if he is not willing) that he has broken through the "self-respect," and has got to saying the thing out. The judge nods to me that it is so. It is fortunate for me that I can keep as good-humored as I do when the judge acknowledges that he has been trying to make a question of veracity with me. I know the judge is a great man, while I am only a small man; but I feel that I have got him. I demur to that plea. I waive all objections that it was not filed till after default was taken, and demur to it upon the merits. What if Judge Douglas never did talk with Chief-Justice Taney and the President before the Dred Scott decision was made; does it follow that he could not have had as perfect an understanding without talking as with it? I am not disposed to stand upon my legal advantage. I am disposed to take his denial as being like an answer in chan-

cery, that he neither had any knowledge, information, nor belief in the existence of such a conspiracy. I am disposed to take his answer as being as broad as though he had put it in these words. And now, I ask, even if he had done so, have not I a right to prove it on him, and to offer the evidence of more than two witnesses by whom to prove it; and, if the evidence proves the existence of the conspiracy, does his broad answer, denying all knowledge, information, or belief, disturb the fact? It can only show that he was used by conspirators, and was not a leader of them.

Now in regard to his reminding me of the moral rule that persons who tell what they do not know to be true falsify as much as those who knowingly tell falsehoods. I remember the rule, and it must be borne in mind that in what I have read to you I do not say that I know such a conspiracy to exist. To that I reply, I believe it. If the judge says that I do not believe it, then he says what he does not know, and falls within his own rule that he who asserts a thing which he does not know to be true falsifies as much as he who knowingly tells a falsehood. I want to call your attention to a little discussion on that branch of the case, and the evidence which brought my mind to the conclusion which I expressed as my belief. If, in arraying that evidence, I had stated anything which was false or erroneous, it needed but that Judge Douglas should point it out, and I would have taken it back with all the kindness in the world. I do not deal in that way. If I have brought forward anything not a fact, if he will point it out, it will not even ruffle me to take it back. But, if he will not point out anything erroneous in the evidence, is it not rather for him to show by a comparison of the evidence that I have reasoned falsely than to call the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman" a liar? If I have reasoned to a false conclusion, it is the vocation of an able debater to show by argument that I have wandered to an erroneous conclusion. I want to ask your attention to a portion of the Nebraska bill which Judge Douglas has quoted: "It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Thereupon Judge Douglas and others began to argue in favor of "popular sovereignty"—the right of the people to have slaves if they wanted them, and to exclude slavery if they did not want them. "But," said, in substance, a Senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase, I believe), "we more than suspect that you do not mean to allow the people to exclude slavery if they wish to; and, if you do mean it, accept an amendment which I propose expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery." I believe I have the amendment here before me, which was offered, and under which the people of the Territory, through their proper representatives, might, if they saw fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein. And now I state it as a fact, to be taken back if there is any mistake about it, that Judge Douglas and those acting with him voted that amendment down. I now think that those men who voted it down had a real reason for doing so. They know what that reason was. It looks to us, since we have seen the Dred Scott decision pronounced, holding that, "under the Constitution," the people cannot exclude slavery—I say it looks to outsiders, poor, simple, "amiable, intelligent gentlemen," as though the niche was left as a place to put that Dred Scott decision in—a niche which would have been spoiled by adopting the amendment. And now I say again, if this was not the reason, it will avail the judge much more to calmly and good-humoredly point out to these people what that other reason was for voting the amendment down than swelling himself up to vociferate that he may be provoked to call somebody a liar.

Again, there is in that same quotation from the Nebraska bill this clause: "It being the true intent and meaning of this bill not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State." I have always been puzzled to know what business the word "State" had in that connection. Judge Douglas knows. He put it there. He knows what he put it there for. We outsiders cannot say what he put it there for. The law they were passing was not

about States, and was not making provision for States. What was it placed there for? After seeing the Dred Scott decision, which holds that the people cannot exclude slavery from a Territory, if another Dred Scott decision shall come, holding that they cannot exclude it from a State, we shall discover that, when the word was originally put there, it was in view of something which was to come in due time, we shall see that it was the other half of something. I now say again, if there is any different reason for putting it there, Judge Douglas, in a good-humored way, without calling anybody a liar, can tell what the reason was.

When the judge spoke at Clinton, he came very near making a charge of falsehood against me. He used, as I found it printed in a newspaper, which, I remember, was very nearly like the real speech, the following language:

"I did not answer the charge [of conspiracy] before for the reason that I did not suppose there was a man in America with a heart so corrupt as to believe such a charge could be true. I have too much respect for Mr. Lincoln to suppose he is serious in making the charge."

I confess this is rather a curious view, that out of respect for me he should consider I was making what I deemed rather a grave charge in fun. I confess it strikes me rather strangely. But I let it pass. As the judge did not for a moment believe that there was a man in America whose heart was so "corrupt" as to make such a charge, and as he places me among the "men in America" who have hearts base enough to make such a charge, I hope he will excuse me if I hunt out another charge very like this; and, if it should turn out that in hunting I should find that other, and it should turn out to be Judge Douglas himself who made it, I hope he will reconsider this question of the deep corruption of heart he has thought fit to ascribe to me. In Judge Douglas's speech of March 22, 1858, which I hold in my hand, he says:

"In this connection there is another topic to which I desire to allude. I seldom refer to the course of newspapers or notice the articles which they publish in regard to myself; but the course of the Washington *Union* has been so extraordinary for the last two or three months that I think it well enough to make some allusion to it. It has read me out of the Democratic party every other day, at least for two or three months, and keeps reading me out, and, as if it had not succeeded, still continues to read me out, using such terms as 'traitor,' 'renegade,' 'deserter,' and other kinds of polite epithets of that nature. Sir, I have no vindication to make of my Democracy against the Washington *Union* or any other newspaper. I am willing to allow my history and actions for the last twenty years to speak for themselves as to my political principles and my fidelity to political obligations. The Washington *Union* has a personal grievance. When the editor was nominated for public printer, I declined to vote for him, and stated that at some time I might give my reasons for doing so. Since I declined to give that vote, this scurrilous abuse, these vindictive and constant attacks, have been repeated almost daily on me. Will my friend from Michigan read the article to which I allude?"

This is a part of the speech. You must excuse me from reading the entire article of the Washington *Union*, as Mr. Stuart read it for Mr. Douglas. The judge goes on and sums up, as I think, correctly:

"Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington *Union* editorially, and apparently authoritatively; and any man who questions any of them is denounced as an abolitionist, a free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of person and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on

the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

"Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton constitution. It was in these words:

"'Kansas and her constitution. The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone.'

"And a column nearly of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union*. What is it?

"'Art. 7, Sec. 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.'

"Then, in the schedule is a provision that the constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"'But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves.'

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton constitution that they are identical in spirit with the *authoritative* article in the Washington *Union* of the day previous to its endorsement of this constitution."

I pass over some portions of the speech, and I hope that any one who feels interested in this matter will read the entire section of the speech, and see whether I do the judge an injustice. He proceeds:

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a fatal blow being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union."

I stop the quotation there, again requesting that it may all be read. I have read all of the portion I desire to comment upon. What is this charge that the judge thinks I must have a very corrupt heart to make? It was a purpose on the part of certain high functionaries to make it impossible for the people of one State to prohibit the people of any other State from entering it with their "property," so called, and making it a slave State. In other words, it was a charge implying a design to make the institution of slavery national. And now I ask your attention to what Judge Douglas has himself done here. I know that he made that part of the speech as a reason why he had refused to vote for a certain man for public printer; but, when we get at it, the charge itself is the very one I made against him, that he thinks I am so corrupt for uttering. Now, whom does he make that charge against? Does he make it against that newspaper editor merely? No; he says it is identical in spirit with the Lecompton constitution, and so the framers of that constitution are brought in with the editor of the newspaper in that "fatal blow being struck." He did not call it a "conspiracy." In his language it is a "fatal blow being struck." And, if the words carry the meaning better when changed from a "conspiracy" into a "fatal blow being struck," I will change my expression, and call it "fatal blow being struck." We see the charge is made not merely against the editor of the *Union*, but all the framers of the Lecompton constitution; and not only so, but the article was an authoritative article. By whose authority? Is there any question but that he means it was by the authority of the President and his cabinet —the administration? Is there any sort of question but that he means to make that charge? Then there are the editors of the *Union*, the framers of the Lecompton constitution, the President of the United States and his cabinet, and all the supporters of the Lecompton constitution in Congress and out of Congress, who are all involved in this "fatal blow being struck." I commend to Judge Douglas's consideration the question of how corrupt a man's heart must be to make such a charge!

Now, my friends, I have but one branch

of the subject, in the little time I have left, to which to call your attention; and, as I shall come to a close at the end of that branch, it is probable that I shall not occupy quite all the time allotted to me. Although on these questions I would like to talk twice as long as I have, I could not enter upon another head and discuss it properly without running over my time. I ask the attention of the people here assembled and elsewhere to the course that Judge Douglas is pursuing every day as bearing upon this question of making slavery national. Not going back to the records, but taking the speeches he makes, the speeches he made yesterday and day before, and makes constantly all over the country—I ask your attention to them. In the first place, what is necessary to make the institution national? Not war. There is no danger that the people of Kentucky will shoulder their muskets, and, with a young nigger stuck on every bayonet, march into Illinois and force them upon us. There is no danger of our going over there and making war upon them. Then what is necessary for the nationalization of slavery? It is simply the next Dred Scott decision. It is merely for the Supreme Court to decide that no State under the Constitution can exclude it, just as they have already decided that under the Constitution neither Congress nor the Territorial legislature can do it. When that is decided and acquiesced in, the whole thing is done. This being true, and this being the way, as I think, that slavery is to be made national, let us consider what Judge Douglas is doing every day to that end. In the first place, let us see what influence he is exerting on public sentiment. In this and like communities, public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed. This must be borne in mind, as also the additional fact that Judge Douglas is a man of vast influence, so great that it is enough for many men to profess to believe anything when they once find out that Judge Douglas professes to believe it. Consider also the attitude he occupies at the head of a large party—a party which he claims has a majority of all the voters in the country. This man sticks to a decision which forbids the people of a Territory to exclude slavery, and he does so not because he says it is right in itself—he does not give any opinion on that—but because it has been decided by the court; and, being decided by the court, he is, and you are, bound to take it in your political action as law—not that he judges at all of its merits, but because a decision of the court is to him a "Thus saith the Lord." He places it on that ground alone, and you will bear in mind that thus committing himself unreservedly to this decision commits him to the next one just as firmly as to this. He did not commit himself on account of the merit or demerit of the decision, but it is a "Thus saith the Lord." The next decision, as much as this, will be a "Thus saith the Lord." There is nothing that can divert or turn him away from this decision. It is nothing that I point out to him that his great prototype, General Jackson, did not believe in the binding force of decisions. It is nothing to him that Jefferson did not so believe. I have said that I have often heard him approve of Jackson's course in disregarding the decision of the Supreme Court pronouncing a national bank constitutional. He says I did not hear him say so. He denies the accuracy of my recollection. I say he ought to know better than I; but I will make no question about this thing, though it still seems to me that I heard him say it twenty times. I will tell him, though, that he now claims to stand on the Cincinnati platform, which affirms that Congress cannot charter a national bank, in the teeth of that old standing decision that Congress can charter a bank. And I remind him of another piece of history on the question of respect for judicial decisions, and it is a piece of Illinois history, belonging to a time when a large party to which Judge Douglas belonged were displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, because they had decided that a governor could not remove a Secretary of State. You will find the whole story in Ford's *History of Illinois*, and I know that Judge Douglas will not deny that he was then in favor of over-

slaughing that decision by the mode of adding five new judges, so as to vote down the four old ones. Not only so, but it ended in the judge's sitting down on the very bench as one of the five new judges to break down the four old ones. It was in this way precisely that he got his title of judge. Now, when the judge tells me that men appointed conditionally to sit as members of a court will have to be catechised beforehand upon some subject, I say, "You know, judge; you have tried it." When he says a court of this kind will lose the confidence of all men, will be prostituted and disgraced by such a proceeding, I say, "You know best, judge; you have been through the mill."

But I cannot shake Judge Douglas's teeth loose from the Dred Scott decision. Like some obstinate animal (I mean no disrespect) that will hang on when he has once got his teeth fixed, you may cut off a leg or you may tear away an arm, still he will not relax his hold. And so I may point out to the judge, and say that he is bespattered all over, from the beginning of his political life to the present time, with attacks upon judicial decisions—I may cut off limb after limb of his public record, and strive to wrench from him a single dictum of the court, yet I cannot divert him from it. He hangs to the last to the Dred Scott decision. These things show there is a purpose strong as death and eternity for which he adheres to this decision, and for which he will adhere to all other decisions of the same court. [A Hibernian: "Give us something besides Drid Scott."] Yes; no doubt you want to hear something that don't hurt. Now, having spoken of the Dred Scott decision, one more word, and I am done. Henry Clay, my *beau ideal* of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life—Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country. To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary. Judge Douglas is going back to the era of our Revolution, and to the extent of his ability muzzling the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. When he invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. When he says he "cares not whether slavery is voted down or voted up"—that it is a sacred right of self-government—he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul, and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people. And now I will only say that when, by all these means and appliances, Judge Douglas shall succeed in bringing public sentiment to an exact accordance with his own views—when these vast assemblages shall echo back all these sentiments—when they shall come to repeat his views and to avow his principles, and to say all that he says on these mighty questions—then it needs only the formality of the second Dred Scott decision, which he endorses in advance, to make slavery alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South.

Cooper Institute Address.—On Feb. 27, 1860, Mr. Lincoln delivered the following address in Cooper Institute, New York City:

Mr. President and fellow-citizens of New York,—The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the New York *Times*, Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do now."

I fully endorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting-point for a discussion be-

tween Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?

What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these "thirty-nine," for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood "just as well, and even better, than we do now?"

It is this: Does the proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our federal government to control as to slavery in our federal Territories?

Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial form an issue; and this issue—this question—is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood "better than we." Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it—how they expressed that better understanding. In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the "thirty-nine" who afterwards framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in federal territory. The other of the four, James McHenry, voted against the prohibition, showing that for some cause he thought it improper to vote for it.

In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only Territory owned by the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the Territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and two more of the "thirty-nine" who afterwards signed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blount and William Few; and they both voted for the prohibition—thus showing that in their understanding no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in federal territory. This time the prohibition became a law, being part of what is now well known as the ordinance of '87.

The question of federal control of slavery in the Territories seems not to have been directly before the convention which framed the original Constitution; and hence it is not recorded that the "thirty-nine," or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion on that precise question.

In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution, an act was passed to enforce the ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine" — Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without ayes and nays, which is equivalent to a unanimous passage. In this Congress there were sixteen of the thirty-nine fathers who framed the origi-

nal Constitution. They were John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, William S. Johnson, Roger Sherman, Robert Morris, Thomas Fitzsimmons, William Few, Abraham Baldwin, Rufus King, William Paterson, George Clymer, Richard Bassett, George Read, Pierce Butler, Daniel Carroll, and James Madison.

This shows that, in their understanding no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the federal territory; else both their fidelity to correct principle and their oath to support the Constitution would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and as such approved and signed the bill, thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in federal territory.

No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the federal government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the federal government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it—take control of it—even there, to a certain extent. In 1798 Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom to slaves so brought. This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon, George Read, and Abraham Baldwin. They all probably voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record if, in their understanding, any line dividing local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, properly forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in federal territory.

In 1803 the federal government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804 Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the territorial act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it—take control of it—in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made in relation to slaves was:

1st. That no slave should be imported into the Territory from foreign parts.

2d. That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798.

3d. That no slave should be carried into it except by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law and freedom to the slave.

This act also was passed without ayes or nays. In the Congress which passed it there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan Dayton. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it if, in their understanding, it violated either the line properly dividing local from federal authority or any provision of the Constitution.

In 1819–20 came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the

general question. Two of the "thirty-nine"—Rufus King and Charles Pinckney—were members of that Congress. Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises. By this, Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, was violated by Congress prohibiting slavery in federal territory; while Mr. Pinckney, by his votes, showed that, in his understanding, there was some sufficient reason for opposing such prohibition in that case.

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them, upon the direct issue which I have been able to discover.

To enumerate the persons who thus acted as being four in 1784, two in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819–20, there would be thirty of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King, and George Read each twice, and Abraham Baldwin three times. The true number of those of the "thirty-nine" whom I have shown to have acted upon the question which, by the text, they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not shown to have acted upon it in any way.

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers "who framed the government under which we live" who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better than we do now"; and twenty-one of them—a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine"—so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and wilful perjury if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and federal authority, or anything in the Constitution they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in the federal Territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions under such responsibility speak still louder.

Two of the twenty-three voted against congressional prohibition of slavery in the federal Territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reasons they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency. No one who has sworn to support the Constitution can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems constitutional if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition as having done so because, in their understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in federal territory.

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of federal control of slavery in the federal territories. But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine," even on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave-trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of federal control of slavery in federal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the

most noted anti-slavery men of those times—as Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gouverneur Morris—while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.

The sum of the whole is that of our thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one—a clear majority of the whole—certainly understood that no proper division of local from federal authority, nor any part of the Constitution, forbade the federal government to control slavery in the federal Territories; while all the rest had probably the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."

But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of "the government under which we live" consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that federal control of slavery in federal Territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amendatory articles, and not in the original instrument. The Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment, which provides that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law"; while Senator Douglas and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment, providing that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution" "are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution—the identical Congress which passed the act, already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, and at the same time within the session, had under consideration, and in progress towards maturity, these constitutional amendments, and this act prohibiting slavery in all the territory the nation then owned. The constitutional amendments were introduced before, and passed after, the act enforcing the ordinance of '87; so that, during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the ordinance, the constitutional amendments were also pending.

The seventy-six members of that Congress, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were pre-eminently our fathers who framed that part of "the government under which we live" which is now claimed as forbidding the federal government to control slavery in the federal Territories.

Is it not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed, and carried to maturity at the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other? And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation, from the same mouth, that those who did the two things alleged to be inconsistent, understood whether they really were inconsistent better than we—better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent?

It is surely safe to assume that the thirty-nine framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in the federal Territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century (and I might almost say prior to the beginning of the last half of the present century), declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Consti-

tution, forbade the federal government to control as to slavery in the federal Territories. To those who now so declare I give not only "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is that, if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the federal government to control as to slavery in the federal Territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" were of the same opinion — thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the federal government to control as to slavery in the federal Territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

But enough! Let all who believe that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask—all Republicans desire —in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guarantees those fathers gave it be not grudgingly, but fully and fairly, maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.

And now, if they would listen—as I suppose they will not—I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite —license, so to speak—among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now can you or not be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section— gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove

the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started—to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet us as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No! Then you really believe that the principle which "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell Address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the government upon that subject up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it, he wrote Lafayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should at some time have a confederacy of free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you, who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it.

But you say you are conservative—eminently conservative—while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live"; while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You are divided on new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave-trade; some for a congressional slave-code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit slavery within their limits; some for maintaining slavery in the Territories through the judiciary; some for the "gurreat pur-rinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "popular sovereignty"; but never a man among you is in favor of federal prohibition of slavery in federal Territories, according to the practice of "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our government originated. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

Again, you say we have made the

slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it, or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander.

Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair, but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold no doctrine, and make no declaration, which were not held to and made by "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with "our fathers who framed the government under which we live," declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us in their hearing. In your political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood and thunder among the slaves.

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was "got up by Black Republicanism." In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive, slave insurrection is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary freemen, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

Much is said by Southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Haiti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The gunpowder plot of British history, though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In that case only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and

yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event will be alike disappointed.

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the federal government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slave-holding States only. The federal government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution—the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's Book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling—that sentiment—by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your constitutional rights.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed constitutional right of yours to take slaves into the federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the government unless you be allowed to construe and force the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the court has decided the question for you in a sort of

way. The court has substantially said, it is your constitutional right to take slaves into the federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided court, by a bare majority of the judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact—the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not "distinctly and expressly affirmed" in it. Bear in mind, the judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is "distinctly and expressly" affirmed there—"distinctly," that is, not mingled with anything else—"expressly," that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery; and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a "person"; and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor which may be due"—as a debt payable in service or labor. Also it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

To show all this is easy and certain.

When this obvious mistake of the judges shall be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live"—the men who made the Constitution—decided this same constitutional question in our favor long ago: decided it without division among themselves when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any misstatement of facts.

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

To be sure, what the robber demanded of me—my money—was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great confederacy shall be at peace and in harmony one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them.

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have

nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know, because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, What will satisfy them? Simply this: we must not only let them alone, but we must somehow convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only: cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly—done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated—we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Senator Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our free-State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone; do nothing to us, and say what you please about slavery." But we do let them alone—have never disturbed them—so that, after all, it is what we say which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not as yet in terms demanded the overthrow of our free-State constitutions. Yet those constitutions declare the wrong of slavery with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding, as they do, that slavery is morally right and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it as a legal right and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this on any ground save our conviction that slavery is wrong. If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and constitutions against it are themselves wrong, and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality—its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension — its enlargement. All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right and our thinking it wrong is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the national Territories, and to overrun us here in these free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong: vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man;

such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care; such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous, to repentance; such as invocations to Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said and undo what Washington did.

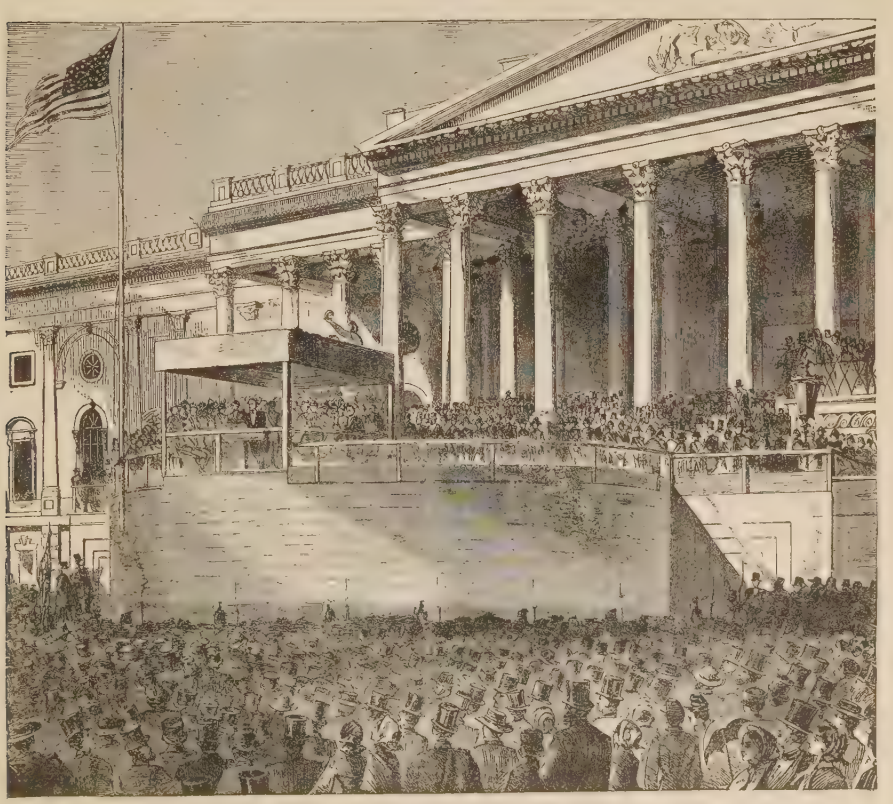
Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

President Lincoln's First Inaugural Address:

Fellow-citizens of the United States,—In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President "before he enters on the execution of his office."

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that, by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one



PRESIDENT LINCOLN MAKING HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments, and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most exclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves, whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him, or to others, by which authority it is done. And should any one, in any case, be content that his oath shall go unkept, on a mere unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon the subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and human jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"?

I shall take the official oath to-day with no mental reservation, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rule. And while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them, trusting to find immunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have, in succession, administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success.

Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only mentioned, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national government, and the Union will endure forever—it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that, in legal contemplation, the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the articles of confederation in 1778. And, finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union."

But if destruction of the Union, by one, or by a part only, of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I, therefore, consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary; I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the direct purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, I deem it better to forego, for the time, the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from—will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no other alternative; for continuing the government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which, in turn, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union, as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some, that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court; nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding, in any case, upon the parties to a suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases, by all other departments of the government. And while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous in any given case, still, the evil effect following it being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon vital questions af-

fecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigations between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured; and it would be worse, in both cases, after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave-trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the others.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amiable or hostile, must continue between them. It is impossible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendment to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision now to be implied constitutional law, I have no objections to its being made express and irrevocable.

The chief magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also if they choose, but the executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it, unimpaired by him, to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences,

is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the government under which we live, the same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulty.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

President Lincoln's Second Inaugural Speech:

Fellow-countrymen,—At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it with war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the

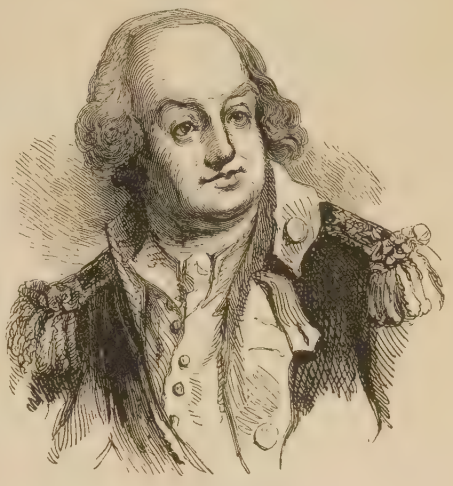
LINCOLN MAKING HIS FAMOUS SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG

magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease when, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came—shall we discern there any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword; as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said, that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

See also BANCROFT, GEORGE, EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATIONS; GETTYSBURG.

Lincoln, BENJAMIN, military officer; born in Hingham, Mass., Jan. 24, 1733; engaged in farming; was a firm and active patriot; and was a major-general of militia when the Revolutionary War broke



BENJAMIM LINCOLN.

out. In June, 1776, he commanded an expedition that cleared Boston Harbor of British vessels, and in February, 1777, was appointed a major-general in the Continental army. His services were varied and important all through the war, and at the surrender of Yorktown he received the sword of the defeated Cornwallis. From that time (October, 1781) until 1784 he was Secretary of War, and received a vote of thanks from Congress on his retirement. In 1787 he commanded the troops which suppressed Shays's insurrection. In that year he was chosen lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and from 1789 to 1808 he was collector of the port of Boston. He was fond of literary and scientific pursuits. He died in Hingham, May 9, 1810.

Lincoln, LEVI, statesman; born in Hingham, Mass., May 15, 1749; graduated at Harvard in 1772; member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1796 and a State Senator in 1797. In 1800 he was elected to Congress and served until Feb. 6, 1801, when he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States, and for a short period was acting

Secretary of State. He died in Worcester, Mass., April 14, 1820.

Lincoln, ROBERT TODD, lawyer; born in Springfield, Ill., Aug. 1, 1843; eldest son of Abraham Lincoln; graduated at Harvard College in 1864; studied at its Law School, but left to enter the army, acting as assistant adjutant-general on the staff of General Grant. He resumed the study of law in Chicago, where he was admitted to the bar in 1867. In 1881–85 he was Secretary of War, and in 1889–93 was United States minister to Great Britain. After the death of George M. Pullman, in 1897, for whose company he had been counsel, he was made acting president of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

ROBERT TODD LINCOLN.

Linderman, HENRY RICHARD, financier; born in Lehman, Pa., Dec. 26, 1825; settled in Philadelphia in 1853; was head clerk in the United States Mint in that city in 1855–64, and director in 1867–69. He aided JOHN JAY KNOX (*q. v.*) in framing "The Coinage Act of 1873," which included all the coinage laws of the United States, with amendments. After this he had supervision of all the assay offices and mints in the United States. He was author of *Money and Legal Tender in the United States.* He died in Washington, D. C., Jan. 27, 1879.

Linn, WILLIAM, clergyman; born in Shippensburg, Pa., Feb. 27, 1752; graduated at Princeton College in 1772, and was ordained in the Presbyterian Church in 1775; served as chaplain in the Continental army in the following year; and was actively engaged as educator and minister till within a few years of his death. He was the author of *Signs of the Times;* a *Funeral Eulogy on General Washington,* etc. He died in Albany, N. Y., Jan. 8, 1808.

Lipan Indians, a branch of the Athabascas. For a long time they roamed from the banks of the Rio Grande and the Chihuahua to the land of the Comanches. They made war on the Spanish frontiers and desolated mission stations. Having learned many Spanish words and advanced somewhat in civilization, they became allies of Mexican partisans in the revolutions in that country; and when Texas became an independent state the Lipans roamed over it from Austin to Corpus Christi, but plundered only the Mexicans, generally. At the close of the war between Mexico and the United States (1848) they began war in Texas, and for a while they desolated the frontier settlements. The remnant has since retired to Mexico.

Lippard, GEORGE, author; born near Yellow Springs, Pa., April 10, 1822. His publications include *Legends of the Revolution; New York—Its Upper Ten and Lower Million; The Quaker City; Washington and His Generals,* etc. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 9, 1854.

Lippincott, SARA JANE (pen-name GRACE GREENWOOD), author; born in Pompey, N. Y., Sept. 23, 1823; married Leander K. Lippincott in 1853. Her books include *Greenwood Leaves; Stories and Legends of Travel; New Life in New Lands; Victoria, Queen of England; Records of Five Years; Recollections of My Childhood;* etc. She died in New Rochelle, N. Y., April 20, 1904.

Lippitt, FRANCIS JAMES, lawyer; born in Providence, R. I., July 19, 1812; graduated at Brown College in 1830; was a captain in the 1st New York Volunteers in the Mexican War; served in the Civil War, becoming colonel of the 2d California Infantry and brevet brigadier-general. His publications include *Treatise on the Tactical Use of the Three Arms; Treatise on Intrenchments; Special Operations of War; Field Service in War; Criminal Law in Massachusetts;* etc. He died in Washington, D. C., Sept. 27, 1902.

Lipton, Sir Thomas Johnstone, merchant; born in Glasgow of Irish parentage. He owns vast tea estates in Ceylon; is president of the Thomas J. Lipton Company, pork packers, in Chicago, and proprietor of the Lipton Refrigerator Car lines of that city. These interests often bring him to the United States, but he is best known here as the owner of the yachts *Erin* and *Shamrock*, and especially in connection with the latter, with which he competed in the fall of 1899 for the America's Cup (*q. v.*) with the American yacht, *Columbia*, by which the race was won. During this contest he won hosts of American friends by his fairness and geniality. In October, 1900, he sent another challenge to the New York Yacht Club for a race to take place in the fall of 1901. Sir Thomas is a man of unbounded generosity to British benevolent interests. In 1898 he sent a check for $10,000 for the relief of the sick and wounded American soldiers of the war with Spain, and in 1900 he gave the New York Yacht Club $1,000 for a prize cup for the season's races.

Liscum, Emerson H., military officer; born in Vermont, July 16, 1841. In the Civil War he served as corporal in the 1st Vermont Infantry from May to August, 1861; enlisted as private in the 12th United States Infantry Feb. 1, 1863; was transferred to the 30th Infantry as first lieutenant; promoted captain of the 25th Infantry March 26, 1867; assigned to the 19th Infantry July 5, 1870; promoted major of the 22d Infantry May 4, 1892; lieutenant-colonel of the 24th Infantry May 26, 1896; and colonel of the 9th Infantry April 25, 1899. In the war with Spain (1898) he went to Cuba, and took part in the battle of San Juan Hill, where he was wounded. He was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers July 12, 1898, and was honorably discharged at the close of that year. From Cuba he was sent with his regiment to the Philippines, where he remained till June 27, 1900, when he was ordered to China. He landed at Taku, proceeded to Tientsin, and in the attempt of the allies to capture the latter city he was shot dead at the head of the American troops, July 13, 1900.

Little, Charles Joseph, educator; born in Philadelphia, Sept. 21, 1840; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1861; professor in Dickinson College in 1874–85; in Syracuse University in 1885–91; and in Garrett Biblical Institute in 1891–99; then became president of the latter institution. He has written much both for American and English periodicals, and was the Fernley lecturer to the British Methodist Episcopal Conference for 1900.

Littlehales, George W., cartographer; born in Schuylkill county, Pa., Oct. 14, 1860; was graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1883; became chief of chart construction for the United States navy. He aided in founding the *International Journal of Terrestrial Magnetism*, of which he became associate editor. His publications include *The Development of Great Circle Sailing; The Methods and Results of the Survey of Lower California; Submarine Cables; The Magnetic Dip or Inclination*, etc.

Little Rock, Capture of. In the summer of 1863 Gen. Frederick Steele organized an expedition at Helena for the seizure of the capital of Arkansas. His forces there, early in August, reached about 12,000 men, with forty pieces of cannon. These moved Aug. 10. They pushed back General Marmaduke, who confronted them; and early in September they moved on the State capital, in two columns, led by Generals Steele and Davidson, having been reinforced. Gen. Sterling Price was in chief command of the Confederates. At Bayou Fourché, on the south side of the river, Davidson was confronted by Marmaduke, and, after a sharp struggle for two hours, the Confederates fell back towards the city. At the same time Steele was moving in a parallel line on the north side of the river. When the Nationals reached Little Rock the Confederates had abandoned it, and on the evening of Sept. 10 the city and its military appurtenances were surrendered to Davidson by the civil authorities. The troops had fled to Arkadelphia, on the Washita River. When the National troops entered the city eight steamboats, fired by the retreating Confederates, were in flames. In his campaign of forty days Steele lost about 100 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and captured about 1,000 prisoners. The Na-

tional loss by sickness was very heavy—not less than 2,000 men.

Little Turtle, Me-che-cun-na-qua, chief of the Miami Indians; received instructions in a Jesuit school in Canada, it is believed, and was remarkable for his mental vigor and great common-sense. Little Turtle was a brave and skilful military leader. He commanded at the defeat of Generals Harmar and St. Clair, the former in October, 1790, and the latter in November, 1791. He was present in the fight with Wayne at Fallen Timbers. The chief, who spoke of Wayne as "the chief who never sleeps," urged his people to make peace with such a formidable warrior. He was one of the signers at the treaty of Greenville. Early in 1797 he visited President Washington at Philadelphia. There Kosciuszko, then on a visit to the United States, gave Little Turtle a pair of elegant pistols. He died in Fort Wayne, Ind., July 14, 1812.

Livermore, George, antiquarian; born in Cambridge, Mass., July 10, 1809; received a common-school education; was greatly interested in historical research. He published numerous essays, including *The New England Primer; Public Libraries; An Historical Research Respecting the opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers,* etc. He died in Cambridge, Mass., Aug. 30, 1865.

Livermore, Mary Ashton, reformer; born in Boston, Mass., Dec. 19, 1821; married Daniel P. Livermore in 1845; was appointed agent of the northwestern branch of the United States Sanitary Commission in 1862. After the close of the war she became famous as a lecturer, both in the United States and abroad, her most popular subjects being *What Shall We Do with Our Daughters; Women of the War;* and *The Moral Heroism of the Temperance Reform.* She was also active in the woman-suffrage and temperance movements. Among her publications are *Pen Pictures;* and *Thirty Years Too Late.*

Livingston, Brockholst, jurist; born in New York City, Nov. 26, 1757; graduated at Princeton in 1774; served in the Revolutionary War until 1779, attaining the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In that year he was appointed private secretary to John Jay, who represented the United States in Europe. After the war he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1783, and in 1806 was appointed an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. He served until his death, in Washington, D. C., March 19, 1823.

LIVINGSTON, EDWARD

Livingston, Edward, statesman; born in Clermont, Columbia co., N. Y., May 26, 1764; graduated at Princeton in 1781; and began the practice of law in New York City in 1785. He soon acquired a high reputation as an advocate. A Republican in politics, he became a member of Congress in 1795, and served until 1801. Jefferson appointed him United States district-attorney for New York in 1801, and the same year he was chosen mayor of the city. Through the misconduct of a clerk, Mr. Livingston became a public defaulter. He went to New Orleans, had great professional success, and paid every dollar he owed the government. Livingston prepared a code of judicial procedure for Louisiana, which gained for him great fame at home and abroad. In the battle of New Orleans he acted as aide to General Jackson. He represented Louisiana in Congress from 1823 to 1829; was United States Senator from 1829 to 1831; Secretary of State from 1831 to 1833; and then minister to France until the close of 1835. He had been chosen a member of the French Academy, and at his death an elegant eulogy upon his life and works was pronounced before that body by Mignot. At the time of his death, in Rhinebeck, N. Y., May 23, 1836, he owned and occupied the mansion and estate of "Montgomery Place," at Rhinebeck, built by his sister, Mrs. General Montgomery. He was the youngest brother of Chancellor Livingston.

Capital Punishment.—The following is

the text of his memorable plea for the abolition of capital punishment:

Existence was the first gift of Omnipotence to man—existence accompanied not only by the instinct to preserve it, and to perpetuate the species, but with a social (not merely a gregarious) disposition, which led so early to the forma-

tion of societies that, unless we carry our imagination back to the first created being, it is scarcely possible to imagine, and certainly impossible to trace, any other state than that of the social—it is found wherever men are found, and must have existed as soon as the number of the species were sufficiently multiplied to produce it. Man, then, being created for society, the Creator of man must have intended that it should be preserved; and, as He acts by general laws, not by special interference (except in the cases which religion directs us to believe), all primitive society, as well as the individuals of which it is composed, must have been endowed with certain rights and correspondent duties, anterior in time, and paramount in authority, to any that may be formed by mutual consent. The first of these rights, perhaps the only one that will not admit of dispute, is, as well on the part of the individual as of the society, the right to continue the existence given by God to man, and, by the nature of man, to the social state in which he was formed to live; and the correspondent mutual duty of the individual and of the society is to defend this right; but when the right is given, the means to enforce it must, in natural as well as positive law, be admitted to be also given. If, then, both individuals and the society have the right to preserve their several existence, and are, moreover, under the reciprocal duty to defend it when attacked, it follows that, if one or the other is threatened with destruction, which cannot be averted but by taking the life of the assailant, the right—nay, more, the duty—to take it exists: the irresistible impulse of nature indicates the right she has conferred, and her first great law shows that life may be taken in self-defence. It is true the aggressor has the same right to exist; but if this right were sacred while he was attempting to destroy that of another, there would be coexisting two equal and conflicting rights, which is a contradiction in terms. The right, therefore, I speak of, is proved; but both in the individual and in society it is strictly defensive—it can only be exerted during that period when the danger lasts, by which I mean the question is, which of the two shall exist, the aggressor or the party attacked—whether this be an individual or the society? Before this crisis has arrived, or after it has passed, it is no longer self-defence, and then their right to enjoy existence would be coexistent and equal, but not conflicting, and for one to deprive the other of it would be, of course, unjust.

Therefore, the positions with which I set out seem to be proved: That the right to inflict death exists, but that it must be in self-defence, either of individual or social existence; and that it is limited to the case where no other alternative remains to prevent the threatened destruction.

In order to judge whether there is any necessity for calling this abstract right into action, we must recollect the duty imposed upon society of protecting its members, deprived, if we have argued correctly, from the social nature of man, independent of any implied contract. While

we can imagine society to be in so rude and imperfect a state as to render the performance of this duty impossible without taking the life of the aggressor, we must concede the right. But is there any such state of society? Certainly none in the civilized world, and our laws are made for civilized man. Imprisonment is an obvious and effectual alternative; therefore, in civilized society, in the usual course of events, we can never suppose it necessary, and of course never lawful; and even among the most savage hordes, where the means of detention might be supposed wanting, banishment, for the most part, would take away the necessity of inflicting death. An active imagination, indeed, might create cases and situations in which the necessity might possibly exist; but if there are any such, and they are sufficiently probable to justify an exception in the law, they should be stated as such, and they would then confirm the rule. But, by a perversity of reasoning in those who advocate this species of punishment, they put the exception in the place of the rule, and, what is worse, an exception of which the possibility is doubtful.

It may be observed that I have taken the preservation of life as the only case in which even necessity could give the right to take life, and that for the simple reason that this is the only case in which the two natural rights of equal importance can be balanced, and in which the scale must preponderate in favor of him who endeavors to destroy. The only true foundation for the right of inflicting death is the preservation of existence. This gift of our Creator seems, by the universal desire to preserve it which He has infused into every part of His animal creation, to be intended as the only one which He did not intend to place at our disposal. But, it may be said, what becomes of our other rights? Are personal liberty, personal inviolability, and private property to be held at the will of any strong invader? How are these to be defended, if you restrain the right to take life to the single case of defence against an attack upon existence? To this it is answered: Society being a natural state, those who compose it have collectively natural rights. The first is that of preserving its existence; but this can only be done by preserving that of the individuals which compose it. It has, then, duties as well as rights; but these are wisely ordered to be inseparable. Society cannot exert its right of self-preservation without, by the same act, performing its duty in the preservation of its members. Whenever any of those things which are the objects of the association, life, liberty, or property, are assailed, the force of the whole social body must be exerted for its preservation; and this collective force, in the case of the individual attack, must in ordinary cases be sufficient to repel it without the sacrifice of life; but in extraordinary cases, when the force of the assailants is so great as to induce them to persevere in a manner that reduces the struggle to one for existence, then the law of self-defence applies.

But there may be a period in which individual rights may be injured before the associated power can interfere. In these cases, as the nature of society does not deprive the individual of his rights, but only comes in to aid in their preservation, he may defend his person or property against illegal violence by a force sufficient to repel that with which he is assailed. This results clearly from the right to property, to whatever source we may refer it; and from that of personal inviolability, which is (under certain restrictions imposed by nature itself) indubitably a natural right. As the injury threatened may not admit of compensation, the individual may use force to prevent the aggression; and if that used by the assailant endangers his life the question then again becomes one of self-defence, and the same reasoning applies which was used to show the right of taking life in that case. But where the individual attacked can, either by his own physical force, or by the aid of the society to which he belongs, defend himself or his property, when the attack is not of such a nature as to jeopardize his own existence in the defence of them—if he take the life of the aggressor under these circumstances, he takes it without necessity, and consequently without right. This is the extent to which the natural law of self-defence allows an individual to go in putting another to death. May any association of individuals inflict it for any other

cause, and under any other circumstance? Society has the right only to defend that which the individuals who compose it have a right to defend, or to defend itself —that is to say, its own existence—and to destroy any individual or any other society which shall attempt its destruction. But this, as in the case of individuals, must be only while the attempt is making, and when there is no other means to defeat it. And it is in that sense only that I understand the word so often used, so often abused, so little understood—*necessity*. It exists between nations during war, or a nation and one of its component parts in a rebellion or insurrection—between individuals during the moment of an attempt against life which cannot otherwise be repelled; but between society and individuals, organized as the former now is, with all the means of repression and self-defence at its command, never. I come then to the conclusion, in which I desire most explicitly to be understood, that although the right to punish with death might be abstractly conceded to exist in certain societies, and under certain circumstances which might make it necessary, yet, composed as society now is, these circumstances cannot reasonably be even supposed to occur; that, therefore, no necessity, and of course no right, to inflict death as a punishment does exist.

There is also great force in the reasonings which have been used to rebut that which founds the right to take life for crimes on an original contract, made by individuals on the first formation of society: 1. That no such contract is proved, or can be well imagined. 2. That if it were, it would be limited to the case of defence. The parties to such contract could only give to the society those rights which they individually had; their only right over the life of another is to defend their own. They can give that to society, and they can give no more. In this case, also, therefore, the right resolves itself into that of doing what is necessary for preservation. The great inquiry then recurs, Is the punishment of death in any civilized society necessary for the preservation either of the lives of its citizens individually or of their social collective rights? If it be not necessary, I hope it has been proved not to be just; and if neither just nor necessary, can it be expedient? To be necessary, it must be shown that the lives of the citizens and the existence of society cannot be preserved without it. But can this be maintained in the face of so many proofs? Egypt, for twenty years, during the reign of Sabaco—Rome, for 250 years—Tuscany, for more than twenty-five—Russia, for twenty-one, during the reign of Elizabeth—are so many proofs to the contrary. Nay, if those are right who tell you that the penal laws of Spain were abrogated by the transfer, this State (Louisiana) itself gives an unanswerable proof that no such necessity exists; for if those laws were not in force, it is very clear that there were none imposing the penalty of death from the time of the transfer, in December, 1803, to May 5, 1805, when our first penal law was passed. Yet, during that period, when national prejudices ran high—when one government had abandoned and the other had not yet established its authority—there was not, I believe, a single instance of murder, or of any attempt to destroy the order of society; so that one argument or the other must be given up. Either the Spanish law existed, or we ourselves furnished a proof that a nation may exist in peace without the punishment of death. Societies have, then, existed without it. In those societies, therefore, it was not necessary. Is there anything in the state of ours that makes it so? It has not, as far as I have observed, been even suggested. But, if not absolutely necessary, have its advocates even the poor pretext that it is convenient; that the crimes for which it is reserved diminish under its operation in a greater proportion than those which incur a different punishment? The reverse is the melancholy truth. Murder, and those attempts to murder which are capitally punished, have increased in some of the United States to a degree that not only creates general alarm, but, by the atrocity with which they are perpetrated, fix a stain on the national character which it will be extremely difficult to efface. I might rely, for this fact, on the general impression which every member of the body I address must have

on this subject; but, as the result is capable of being demonstrated by figures, I pray their attention to the tables annexed to this report, in which, although they are far from being as complete as could be wished, they will see an increase of those crimes that demonstrates, if anything can do it, the inefficiency of the means adopted, and so strangely persisted in, of repressing them. The small number of executions, compared with the well-authenticated instances of the crime, shows that the severity of the punishment increases the chances of acquittal, and the idle curiosity which draws so many thousands to witness the exhibition of human sufferings at the executions—the levity with which the spectacle is beheld—demonstrates its demoralizing and heart-hardening effects, while the crimes committed at the very moment of the example intended to deter from the commission show how entirely ineffectual it is. One instance of this is so remarkable that I cannot omit its detail. In the year 1822 a person named John Lechler was executed at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, for an atrocious murder. The execution was, as usual, witnessed by an immense multitude; and of the salutary effect it had on their feelings and morals we may judge from the following extract from a newspaper, printed in the neighborhood, the material facts which are stated in it having been since confirmed to me, by unquestionable authority.

"It has long," says the judicious editor, "been a controverted point whether public executions, by the parade with which they are conducted, do not operate on the vicious part of the community more as incitements to, than examples deterring from, crime. What has taken place in Lancaster would lead one to believe that the spectacle of a public execution produces less reformation than criminal propensity. While an old offence was atoned for, more than a dozen new ones were committed, and some of the capital grade. Twenty-eight persons were committed to jail on Friday night, for divers offences, at Lancaster, such as murder, larceny, assault and battery, etc.; besides, many gentlemen lost their pocket-books, where the pickpockets escaped, or the jail would have overflowed.

"In the evening, as one Thomas Burn, who was employed as a weaver in a factory near Lancaster, was going home, he was met by one Wilson, with whom he had some previous misunderstanding, when Wilson drew a knife and gave him divers stabs, in sundry places, which are considered mortal. Wilson was apprehended and committed to jail, and had the same irons put on him which had scarcely been laid off long enough by Lechler to get cold."

History presents to us the magic glass on which, by looking at past, we may discern future, events. It is folly not to read; it is perversity not to follow its lessons. If the hemlock had not been brewed for felons in Athens, would the fatal cup have been drained by Socrates? If the people had not been familiarized to scenes of judicial homicide, would France or England have been disgraced by the useless murder of Louis or of Charles? If the punishment of death had not been sanctioned by the ordinary laws of those kingdoms, would the one have been deluged with the blood of innocence, of worth, of patriotism, and of science, in her revolution? Would the best and noblest lives of the other have been lost on the scaffold in her civil broils? Would her lovely and calumniated queen, the virtuous Malesherbes, the learned Condorcet; would religion, personified in the pious ministers of the altar, courage and honor, in the host of high-minded nobles, and science, in its worthy representative, Lavoisier; would the daily hecatomb of loyalty and worth—would all have been immolated by the stroke of the guillotine? or Russell and Sidney, and the long succession of victims of party and tyranny, by the axe? The fires of Smithfield would not have blazed, nor, after the lapse of ages, should we yet shudder at the names of St. Bartholomew if the ordinary ecclesiastical law had not usurped the attributes of divine vengeance, and, by the sacrilegious and absurd doctrine that offences against the Deity were to be punished with death, given a pretext to these atrocities. Nor, in the awful and mysterious scene on Mount Calvary, would that agony have been inflicted if, by the

daily sight of the cross, as an instrument of justice, the Jews had not been prepared to make it one of their sacrilegious rage. But there is no end of the examples which crowd upon the memory to show the length to which the exercise of this power, by the law, has carried the dreadful abuse of it under the semblance of justice. Every nation has wept over the graves of patriots, heroes, and martyrs, sacrificed by its own fury. Every age has had its annals of blood.

But not to resort to the danger of the examples in times of trouble and dissension, advert once more to that which was formerly urged, and to which I must again hereafter return—that which attends its regular practice in peace—the irremediable nature of this punishment, when error, popular prejudice, or false or mistaken testimony has caused its infliction to be ordered upon the innocent—a case by no means of so rare occurrence as may be imagined. It is not intended to enter into a detail of those which I have myself collected; they are not few, although they must necessarily bear a small proportion to those which were not within my reach. The author of a book of high authority on evidence has brought together several cases which are well authenticated. In France, in the short space of one year, I have gathered from the public papers that seven cases occurred in which persons condemned to death by the primary courts and assizes have been acquitted by the sentence of a superior tribunal, on a reversal of the sentence. In other States of our Union, these cases are not uncommon. With us the organizations of our courts prevent the correction of any error, either in law or in fact, by a superior tribunal. But everywhere it is matter of surprise that any cases should be discovered of these fatal mistakes. The unfortunate subjects of them are, for the most part, friendless; generally their lives must have been vicious, or suspicion would not have fastened on them; and men of good character sometimes think it disreputable to show an interest for such men, or to examine critically into the circumstances of their case. They are deserted by their connections, if they have any — friends they have none. They are condemned—executed—forgotten; and in a few days it would seem that the same earth which covered their bodies has buried all remembrance of them, and all doubts of their innocence or guilt. It is, then, not unreasonable to suppose that many more such cases have existed than those which have fortuitously been brought to light. Would you retain a punishment that, in the common course of events, must be irremediably inflicted, at times, on the innocent, even if it secured the punishment of the guilty? But that is far from being the effect. While you cannot, in particular cases, avoid its falling upon innocence, that very cause, from the imperfection of all testimony, will make it favorable to the escape of the guilty; and the maxim so often quoted on this occasion will no longer be perverted in order to effect a compromise between the conscience of the juror and the severity of the law when your punishments are such only as admit of remission when they have been found to be unjustly imposed.

Other arguments, not less forcible—other authorities, equally respectable—might be adduced to show the ill effects of this species of punishment; but the many topics that are still before me in this report oblige me to pursue this one no further than to inquire what good can be expected or what present advantage is derived from retaining this punishment? Our legislation surrendered it without a struggle in all cases, at first, but murder, attempt to murder, rape, and servile insurrection; and afterwards extended it to a species of aggravated burglary. Now, as these cases are those only in which it has been deemed expedient to retain this punishment, as it has been abandoned in all others, the serious inquiry presents itself, why it was retained in these, or why abandoned in the others? Its inefficiency, or some of the other objections to it, must have been apparent in all the other numerous offences in which it has been dispensed with, or it would certainly have been retained, or restored. Taking this acknowledged inefficiency in the numerous cases for the basis of the argument, let us inquire whether there is anything which makes it peculiarly adapted to the enumerated crimes which it is unjust or inex-

pedient to apply to any of the others? We have three modes of discovering the truth on this subject: by reasoning from the general effects of particular motives on human actions; by analogy, or judging from the effects in one case to the probable effects in another; or by experience of the effect on the particular case. The general reasoning upon the justice and efficacy of the punishment will not be repeated here, but it is referred to as being conclusive as to all offences, and admitting of no exceptions that would apply to murder, or either of the three other cases in which our laws inflict it. If we reason from analogy, we should say the only argument ever used in favor of death as a punishment is that the awful example it presents will deter from the commission of the offence; but by your abandonment of it in all cases but these you acknowledge it has no efficacy there. Analogy, therefore, would lead us to the conclusion that, if it was useless in the many cases, it would be so in the few. But it is acknowledged that no analogy or any mode of reasoning—no theory, however plausible—ought to influence when contradicted by experience. You have tried this remedy, and found it ineffectual. The crimes to which you have applied it are decreasing in number and atrocity under its influence! If so, it would be imprudent to make any change, even under the most favorable prospects that the new system would be equally efficient. Let us try it by this test. For the first three years after the transfer of the province there was not a single execution or conviction of either of these crimes. In the course, however, of the first six years four Indians, residing within the limits of the State, made an attack on some of the settlers, and were given up by the tribe, or arrested and condemned; and two were executed as for murder, and one negro was condemned and executed for insurrection. In the next six years there were ten convictions; in the succeeding four, to the month of January, 1822, fourteen; so we find the number of convictions for the enumerated crimes have nearly doubled in every period of six years, in the face of this efficient penalty. But the population of the State doubles only once in twenty years; therefore the increase of this crime progresses in a ratio of three to one of that of the population; and we should not forget, in making this calculation, the important and alarming fact that numerous instances of homicide and attempts to kill occur which are rarely followed by prosecution, and more rarely still by conviction.

We have seen a deliberate murder committed in the very crowd assembled to enjoy the spectacle of a murderer's death; and do we still talk of its force as an example? In defiance of your menaced punishment, homicide stalks abroad and raises its bloody hand, at noonday, in your crowded streets; and, when arrested in its career, takes shelter under the example of your laws, and is protected, by their very severity, from punishment. Try the efficacy of milder punishments; they have succeeded. Your own statutes —all those of every State in the Union— prove that they have succeeded in other offences; try the great experiment on this also. Be consistent; restore capital punishment in other crimes, or abolish it in this. Do not fear that the murderers from all quarters of the earth, seduced by the mildness of your penal code, will choose this as the theatre of their exploits. On this point we have a most persuasive example. In Tuscany, as we have seen, neither murder nor any other crime was punished with death for more than twenty years, during which time we have not only the official declaration of the sovereign, that "all crimes had diminished, and those of an atrocious nature had become extremely rare," but the authority of the venerable Franklin for these conclusive facts: that in Tuscany, where murder was not punished with death, only five had been committed in twenty years, while in Rome, where that punishment is inflicted with great pomp and parade, sixty murders were committed in the short space of three months, in the city and its vicinity. "It is remarkable," he adds to this account, "that the manners, principles, and religion of the inhabitants of Tuscany and of Rome are exactly the same. The abolition of death alone, as a punishment for murder, produced this difference in the moral character of the two nations." From this it would appear, rather that the murder-

ers of Tuscany were invited by the severe punishments in the neighboring territories of Rome, than those of Rome were attracted into Tuscany by their abolition. We have nothing to apprehend, then, from this measure; and if any ill effects should follow the experiment, it is but too easy to return to the system of extermination.

One argument—the ferocious character impressed on the people by this punishment, which was insisted on in the first report—has been so strongly illustrated by a subsequent event in Pennsylvania, that I cannot omit stating it. After the execution of Lechler had gratified the people about York and Lancaster with the spectacle of his death, and had produced its proper complement of homicide and other crimes, a poor wretch was condemned to suffer the same fate, for a similar offence, in another part of the State, where the people had not yet been indulged with such a spectacle. They, also, collected by thousands and tens of thousands. The victim was brought out. All the eyes in the living mass that surrounded the gibbet were fixed on his countenance; and they waited, with strong desire, the expected signal for launching him into eternity. There was a delay. They grew impatient. It was prolonged, and they were outrageous; cries like those which precede the tardy rising of the curtain in a theatre were heard. Impatient for the delight they expected in seeing a fellow-creature die, they raised a ferocious cry. But when it was at last announced that a reprieve had left them no hope of witnessing his agonies, their fury knew no bounds; and the poor maniac—for it was discovered that he was insane—was with difficulty snatched, by the officers of justice, from the fate which the most violent among them seemed determined to inflict.

This is not an overcharged picture; the same savage feeling has been more than once exhibited in different parts of the Union, and will always be produced by public executions, unless it is replaced by the equally dangerous feeling of admiration and interest for the sufferer. Which of the two is to prevail depends on circumstances totally out of the power of the law-giver or the judge to foresee or control; but, by the indulgence of either feeling, every good end of punishment is totally defeated.

I cannot, I ought not to dismiss this subject without once more pressing on the most serious consideration of the legislature an argument which every new view of it convinces me is important, and, if we listen to the voice of conscience, conclusive—the irremediable nature of this punishment. Until men acquire new faculties, and are enabled to decide upon innocence or guilt without the aid of fallible and corruptible human evidence, so long will the risk be incurred of condemning the innocent. Were the consequence felt as deeply as it ought to be, would there be an advocate for that punishment which, applied in such case, has all the consequences of the most atrocious murder to the innocent sufferers—worse than the worst murderer? He stabs, or strikes, or poisons, and the victim dies—he dies unconscious of the blow, without being made a spectacle to satisfy ferocious curiosity, and without the torture of leaving his dearest friends doubtful of his innocence, or seeing them abandon him under the conviction of his guilt. He dies, and his death is like one of those inevitable chances to which all mortals are subject. His family are distressed, but not dishonored; his death is lamented by his friends, and, if his life deserved it, honored by his country. But the death inflicted by such laws—the murder of the innocent under its holy forms—has no such mitigating circumstances. Slow in its approach, uncertain in its stroke, its victim feels not only the sickness of the heart that arises from the alternation of hope and fear until his doom is pronounced; but when that becomes inevitable—alone, the tenant of a dungeon during every moment that the lenity of the law prolongs his life—he is made to feel all those anticipations, worse than a thousand deaths. The consciousness of innocence, that which is our support under other miseries, is here converted into a source of bitter anguish, when it is found to be no protection from infamy and death; and when the ties which connected him to his country, his friends, his family, are torn asunder, no consoling reflection mitigates the misery of that mo-

ment. He leaves unmerited infamy to his children; a name stamped with dishonor to their surviving parent, and bows down the gray heads of his own with sorrow to the grave. As he walks from his dungeon, he sees the thousands who have come to gaze upon his last agony. He mounts the fatal tree, and a life of innocence is closed by a death of dishonor. This is no picture of the imagination. Would to God it were! Would to God that, if death must be inflicted, some sure means might be discovered of making it fall upon the guilty. These things have happened. These legal murders have been committed! and who were the primary causes of the crime? Who authorized a punishment which, once inflicted, could never be remitted to the innocent? Who tied the cord, or let fall the axe upon the guiltless head? Not the executioner, the vile instrument who is hired to do the work of death, not the jury who convicts, or the judge who condemns—not the law which sanctions these errors; but the legislators who make the law—those who, having the power, did not repeal it. These are the persons responsible to their country, their consciences, and their God.

These horrors not only have happened, but they must be repeated; the same causes will produce the same effects. The innocent have suffered the death of the guilty; the innocent will suffer. We know it. The horrible truth stares us in the face. We dare not deny, and cannot evade it. A word, while it saves the innocent, will secure the punishment of the guilty, and shall we hesitate to pronounce it? Shall we content ourselves with our own imagined exemption from this fate, and shut our ears to the cries of justice and humanity? Shall "sensibility (as has been finely observed) sleep in the lap of luxury," and not awake at the voice of wretchedness? I urge this point with more earnestness, because I have witnessed more than one condemnation under false instructions of law, or perjured or mistaken testimony; sentences that would now have been reversed if the unfortunate sufferers were within reach of mercy. I have seen in the gloom and silence of the dungeon the deep concentrated expression of indignity which contended with grief; have heard the earnest assertions of innocence, made in tones which no art could imitate, and listened with awe to the dreadful adjuration poured forth by one of these victims with an energy and solemnity that seemed superhuman, summoning his false accuser and his mistaken judge to meet him before the throne of God. Such an appeal to the high tribunal which never errs, and before which he who made it was in a few hours to appear, was calculated to create a belief of his innocence; that belief was changed into certainty. The perjury of the witness was discovered, and he fled from the infamy that awaited him, but it was too late for any other effect than to add one more example to the many that preceded it of the danger, and, I may add, impiety, of using this attribute of the divine power without the infallibility that can alone properly direct it. And this objection alone, did none of the other cogent reasons against capital punishment exist—this alone would make me hail the decree for its abolition as an event so honorable to my country, and so consoling to humanity, as to be cheaply purchased by the labor of a life.

I cannot quit this part of the subject without submitting to the General Assembly the opinion of one whose authority would justify an experiment even more hazardous than this, but whose arguments are as convincing as his name is respectable. They are not the opinions of one whom the cant, which is used to cover the ignorance of the day, would call a theorist, but a man whose whole life was spent in the useful and honorable functions of the highest magistracy, whose name is always mentioned with reverence, and whose doctrines are quoted as authority wherever the true principles of legal knowledge are regarded. Hear the venerable D'Aguesseau:

"Who would believe that a first impression may sometimes decide a question of life and death? A fatal mass of circumstances, which seem as if fate had collected them together for the ruin of an unfortunate wretch, a crowd of mute witnesses (and, from that character, more dangerous), depose against innocence; they prejudice the judge; his indignation is roused; his zeal contributes to seduce him. Losing the character of judge in

that of the accuser, he looks only to that which is evidence of guilt, and he sacrifices to his own reasonings the man whom he would have saved had he listened only to the proofs of the law. An unforeseen event sometimes shows that innocence has sunk under the weight of conjectures, and falsifies the conclusions which circumstances had induced the magistrate to draw. Truth lifts up the veil with which probability had enveloped her; but she appears too late! The blood of the innocent cries aloud for vengeance against the prejudice of his judge; and the magistrate passes the rest of his life deploring a misfortune which his *repentance cannot repair.*"

The earnestness for this reform is sometimes reproached to its advocates as proceeding from a childish fear, that magnifies the apprehension of that which we know is appointed to us all. Not so. The value of life is not overrated in the argument. There are occasions in which the risk of its loss must be incurred; in which the certainty of death must be encountered with firmness and composure. These occasions are presented by patriotism, in defence of our country and our country's rights; by benevolence, in the rescue of another from danger; by religion, whenever persecution offers the martyr's crown to the faithful; and it is not known, or believed, that those who propose to abolish death as a punishment either fear it as a natural event, or shun its encounter when required by duty, more than those who think it ought to be retained. He who preserved the life of a Roman citizen was entitled to a more honorable recompense than the daring soldier who ventured his own by first mounting the breach. The civic was preferred to the mural crown. The Romans, during the best period of their history, reduced this abolition to practice. "Far," said their great orator, endeavoring, in a corrupted age, to restore the ancient feeling on the subject—"far from us be the punishment of death—its ministers, its instruments. Remove them, not only from their actual operation on our bodies, but banish them from our eyes, our ears, our thoughts; for, not only the executions, but the apprehension, the existence, the very mention of these things, is disgraceful to a freeman and a Roman citizen." Yet the Romans were not very remarkable for a pusillanimous fear of death. In the age of which I speak, they did not want the excitement of capital punishment to induce them to die for their country. On the contrary, it might, perhaps, be plausibly argued that the servile disposition, which disgraced the latter ages of the republic, was in some measure caused by the change, which made the sacrifice of life the expiation of crime, instead of the consummation and proof of patriotic devotion.

Conscious of having been guilty of much repetition, and certain that I have weakened, by my version of them, arguments much better used by others, I am yet fearful of having omitted many things that might have an effect in convincing any one of those to whom this report is addressed. The firm religious belief I have of the truth of the doctrine I advance, contrasted with the sense of my incapacity to enforce it upon others, must have produced obscurity where the interests of humanity require there should be light, and confusion where the performance of my great duty demands order. But the truth will appear in spite of these obstacles. From the midst of the cloud, with which human imperfections has surrounded her, her voice, like that of the Almighty from the Mount, will be heard reiterating to nations, as well as to individuals, the great command, "*Thou shalt not kill.*"

Livingston, Henry Beekman, military officer; born in Clermont, N. Y., Nov. 9, 1750; was a brother of Chancellor and Edward Livingston. In 1775 he raised a company, with which he accompanied his brother-in-law, General Montgomery, to Canada, where he performed excellent service, and was voted a sword by Congress for his skill and bravery at Chambly. He was with Montgomery at the siege of Quebec. In 1776 he was aide to General Schuyler, and late in that year he was promoted to colonel. He was with Sullivan in Rhode Island, and was in the battle of Quaker Hill. He resigned in 1779. After the war he became attorney-general, judge, and chief-justice of the State of New York. Colonel Livingston was a general in the

War of 1812, and was president of the New York Society of the Cincinnati. He died in Rhinebeck, N. Y., Nov. 5, 1831.

Livingston, HENRY BROCKHOLST, jurist; born in New York City, Nov. 26, 1757; son of Gov. William Livingston, of New Jersey; was attached to the staff of General Schuyler in 1776, and afterwards to that of General Arnold, and was a participant in the capture of Burgoyne. He was promoted to colonel. In 1779 he accompanied John Jay to the Spanish Court as his private secretary, and on his return he studied law, and became eminent in his profession. In January, 1802, he was made judge of the Supreme Court of New York. He died in Washington, March 19, 1823.

Livingston, JAMES, military officer; born in Canada, March 27, 1747; possessed some influence with the Canadians, and became colonel of a regiment of Canadian refugees, and, with them, joined General Montgomery. With these Livingston captured Fort Chambly, at the rapids of the Sorel, and he participated in the attack on Quebec. He was also in the battle of Bemis's Heights, and served throughout the Revolutionary War. He died in Saratoga county, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1832.

Livingston, JOHN HENRY, clergyman; born at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., May 30, 1746; graduated at Yale College in 1762; and studied theology at Utrecht, Holland, where he was ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam. While in Holland he successfully worked for the independence of the American Dutch Reformed Church from the Dutch Classis. He settled as a pastor in New York; but when that city was taken possession of by the British he went on foot to Albany, and thence to Kingston, and finally to Poughkeepsie, whence, at the close of the war, he returned to New York. He was held in high esteem by his denomination; and in 1807 was chosen president of Queen's (now Rutgers) College, at New Brunswick, N. J., which post he held until his death, Jan. 20, 1825.

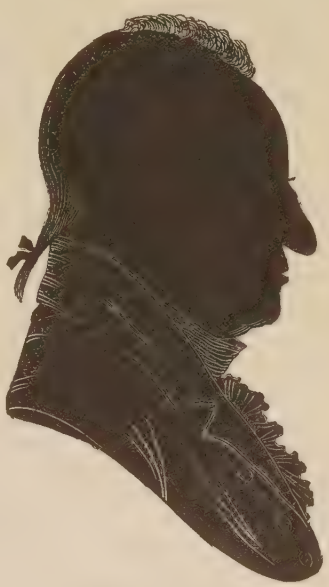
Livingston, PHILIP, signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Albany, N. Y., Jan. 15, 1716; graduated at Yale College in 1737; became a prominent merchant in the city of New York; was an alderman there from 1754 to 1758; and a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1759, in which he was one of the committee of correspondence with the colonial agent in England, Edmund Burke. Livingston opposed the taxation schemes of Parliament, and was unseated by a Tory majority in 1769, when the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies ran high. He was a member of the first Congress (1774), and held a seat in that body until his death, when their session was held at York, the British having possession of Philadelphia. Mr. Livingston was associated with Lee and Jay in the preparation of the two state papers put forth by the first Congress, and was very active on the most important committees in Congress. He founded the professorship of divinity at Yale College in 1746; was one of the founders of the New York Society Library; and also aided materially in the establishment of King's College, now Columbia University. He patriotically sold a part of his property to sustain the public credit with its proceeds just before his death, in York, Pa., June 12, 1778.

Livingston, ROBERT, legislator; born in Ancrum, Scotland, Dec. 13, 1634; emigrated to America in 1673, first settling in Charlestown, Mass., and afterwards removing to Albany, N. Y. He possessed a bold, adventurous spirit, and was soon in public employment at Albany, where, in 1683, he married Alida, widow of Rev. Nicholas van Rensselaer, and daughter of Philip Pietersen van Schuyler. She brought him considerable wealth, with which he purchased a large landed estate on the east bank of the Hudson. Its boundary commenced about 5 miles south of the site of the city of Hudson, and extended 12 miles along the river, and eastward to the line between the States of New York and Massachusetts. The area widened as it extended eastward, so that, on its eastern boundary, the tract was nearly 20 miles in width. In 1686 Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, granted Livingston a patent for this domain, which comprised over 120,000 acres. It was the largest landed estate in the province, excepting that of Van Rensselaer. Five or six thousand acres of it were purchased for the use of the palatines who came over with Governor Hunter in 1700, which tract still bears the name of Germantown, given to it at

that time. In 1715 the grant of the Livingston Manor, given by Dongan, was confirmed by royal authority, and full manorial privileges were given to the proprietor. The lord of the manor exercised moderate judicial functions within his domain, and had the privilege of electing a representative to the General Assembly of the colony and two constables. This manor occupied a portion of Columbia and Dutchess counties. Robert died in Albany, April 20, 1725.

Livingston, ROBERT R., statesman; born in New York City, Nov. 27, 1747; graduated at King's College in 1765; practised law successfully in New York, and was made recorder of the city in 1773. Of this office he was deprived early in 1775, because of his espousal of the patriot cause. He was elected to the Continental Congress in 1775, and was one of the committee appointed to draft a declaration of independence, but his necessary absence from Congress prevented his signing it. On the organization of the State of New York under a constitution, he was appointed chancellor, and held that post until 1801. In 1780 he was again a member of Congress, and was Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1781 to 1783. Mr. Livingston was a member of the convention of New York which adopted the national Constitution, and voted for it. Minister plenipotentiary to France, from 1801 to 1804, he secured the cession of LOUISIANA (*q. v.*) to the United States. He was the coadjutor of Fulton in perfecting the system of steam navigation. He died in Clermont, N. Y., Feb. 26, 1813. See STEAMBOAT, INVENTION OF.

Livingston, WILLIAM, governor; born in Albany, N. Y., Nov. 30, 1723; was an eminent member of the bar of both New York and New Jersey. With William Smith he published the first *Digest of the Colonial Laws*, in 1752. For a while he published the *Independent Reflector*. Thoroughly educated at Yale College, he possessed many solid as well as brilliant attainments in law and literature, and was an elegant and facile writer. Behind the mask of anonymity, Mr. Livingston dealt heavy blows in favor of Presbyterianism, and against Episcopacy, in his weekly periodical, first published late in 1752. In 1757 he published, in defence of Governor Shirley, a *Review of the Military Operations in North America from 1753 to April 14, 1756, in a Letter to a Nobleman.* The following year he was elected a member of the New York Assembly. Having purchased land in Elizabethtown, N. J., he built a fine mansion there, which he called "Liberty Hall," and removed there in 1773. He early espoused the cause of the oppressed colonies, and



WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

was a representative of New Jersey in the first Continental Congress (1774). He was again a delegate to that body in 1775, but was soon called (June 5) to command the militia of New Jersey, with the commission of brigadier-general. After William Franklin was deposed in 1776, Livingston succeeded him as governor of New Jersey. Mr. Livingston was a delegate to the convention which framed the national Constitution. He died in Elizabethtown, N. J., July 25, 1790.

Lloyd, HENRY DEMOREST, publicist; born in New York City, May 1, 1847; was graduated at Columbia College; lectured on political economy in the city schools; admitted to the bar in 1869; assistant-secretary American Free Trade League in 1869–72; editorial writer on the Chicago *Tribune* in 1872–85; and was

subsequently engaged in writing and lecturing on economic and social questions. His publications include *Every Man His Own Voter* (1871); *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners* (1890); *Wealth vs. Commonwealth* (1894); *Labor Co-Partnership* (1898); *A Country without Strikes* (1900); *Newest England* (1900); etc. He died in Winnetka, Ill., Sept. 28, 1903.

Lloyd, JAMES, legislator; born in Boston, Mass., in 1769; was graduated at Harvard College in 1787; was Federalist United States Senator, succeeding John Quincy Adams, in 1808–13, and again, succeeding Harrison Gray Otis, in 1822–26; resigned each time; removed to Philadelphia, Pa. He died in New York City, April 5, 1831.

Locke, DAVIS ROSS (pen name PETROLEUM V. NASBY), satirist; born in Vestal, N. Y., Sept. 20, 1833; was successively editor and publisher of the Plymouth *Advertiser*, Mansfield *Herald*, Bucyrus *Journal*, and Findlay *Jeffersonian* in 1852–60. He later became proprietor and editor of the Toledo *Blade*, in which were published his famous *Nasby Letters*. In 1871 he became managing editor of the *Evening Mail* in New York City. Among his publications are *Ekkoes from Kentucky; Swingin' Round the Cirkle; The Moral History of America's Life Struggle; The Morals of Abou ben Adhem;* etc. He died in Toledo, O., Feb. 15, 1888.

Locke, JOHN; born in Wrington, Somersetshire, Aug. 29, 1632. His father was a parliamentary captain. His first public employment was as secretary in a diplomatic mission to the Court of Brandenburg in 1664. While pursuing philosophical studies in 1667, he became acquainted with Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury), and by his medical skill advised a surgical operation that saved his lordship's life. By him Locke was introduced to the most distinguished statesmen of the time. He superintended the education of Ashley's son, and assisted him in preparing a scheme of government for the Carolinas (see FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS). When Ashley (then Earl of Shaftesbury) was accused of treason (1683), he fled to Holland, and Locke followed him. Locke had held various public offices, but now he remained quietly in Holland until after the revolution (1688), when he returned to England in the same vessel that bore the Princess Mary thither. Locke's principal work was an *Essay on the Human Understanding*, published twenty years after it was begun. He died in Essex county, England, Oct. 28, 1704.

Lockhart, CLINTON, educator; born in Loverington, Ill., Feb. 21, 1858; graduated at the Kentucky University in 1886; held pastorates in Kentucky in 1885–92; was professor in Ann Arbor in 1893–94; president of Columbia College, Kentucky, in 1894–95; and became president of Christian University, Canton, Mo., in 1895. He is president of the Missouri Christian Ministerial Association, and author of *Laws of Interpretation*, and *Critical Commentary on Book of Nahum*.

Lockwood, BELVA ANN BENNETT, lawyer; born in Royalton, N. Y., Oct. 24, 1830; graduated at Genesee College, Lima, N. Y.; married in 1848, Uriah H. McNall (died 1853), taught school in 1857–68, and married Dr. Ezekiel Lockwood in the latter year. She began the study of law in Washington; was admitted to the bar in 1873, and began practice before the Supreme Court and the Court of Claims in 1879. Afterwards she became prominent in the temperance, peace, and woman's suffrage movements. In 1888 she was nominated by the Equal Rights party for President of the United States. She represented the United States at the international congress of charities and corrections in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1896, and for several years was secretary of the American branch of the International Peace Bureau.

Lockwood, DANIEL NEWTON, lawyer; born in Hamburg, N. Y., June 1, 1844; was graduated at Union College in 1865; admitted to the bar of the New York Supreme Court in 1866; settled in Buffalo; district-attorney for Erie county in 1874–77; member of Congress in 1877–79 and 1891–95; United States attorney for the Northern District of New York in 1886–89; and was appointed president of the board of general managers of the Pan-American Exposition in 1901.

Lockwood, HENRY HAYES, educator; born in Kent county, Del., Aug. 17, 1814; graduated at the United States Military Academy and assigned to the artil-

lery in 1836, and after serving in the Seminole War resigned and engaged in farming till 1841. Subsequently he was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the United States Naval Academy; served on the frigate *United States* at the capture of Monterey, Cal., in October, 1842. Returning, he served at the naval asylum in Philadelphia until 1845, when he became Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the Naval Academy; was transferred to the chair of Field Artillery and Infantry Tactics in 1851, and occupied the chair of Astronomy and Gunnery till 1866. During the Civil War he served both on land and sea, entering the Union army as colonel of the 1st Delaware Regiment and rising to brigadier-general of volunteers. In 1864 he commanded the Middle Department, with headquarters at Baltimore. He was mustered out of the volunteer service at the close of the war, and returned to the Naval Academy, where he was Professor of Natural Philosophy till 1871. In 1871–76 he served at the National Observatory; and in the latter year was retired. Professor Lockwood has written several books on naval subjects, and is author of *Manual for Naval Batteries; Exercises in Small-Arms and Field Artillery Arranged for Naval Service*, etc.

Loco-foco Party, the name originally applied to a faction of the Democratic party. At a meeting in Tammany Hall, New York, in 1834, there was great diversity of sentiment upon certain questions. The conservative chairman and his friends, perceiving the radical movement to be strong, determined to defeat it by a sort of *coup d'état.* To dissolve the meeting, the chairman left his seat and the lights were all extinguished, but the radicals rekindled the lights with "loco-foco," or friction, matches, reorganized the meeting, and carried their measures; and it finally became a popular designation of the whole Democratic party in the Union.

Lodge, Henry Cabot, legislator and author; born in Boston, May 12, 1850; graduated at Harvard University in 1871, and at the Harvard Law School in 1875; was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1876; edited *North American Review* in 1873–76, and the *International Review* in 1879–81; was a Republican Representative in Congress in 1886–93, when he was elected United States Senator; re-elected, 1899. Among his publications are *A Short History of the English Colonies in America; Alexander Hamilton; Daniel Webster; Studies in History*, etc. Since his entrance into political life he has been a stalwart Republican, and on the questions of the war with Spain and the events growing therefrom he has

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

given President McKinley's administration a hearty and effective support. Besides the following speeches, see Election Bill, Federal.

Restriction of Immigration.—In 1896 Senator Lodge introduced into the Senate a bill to restrict the flood of immigration, the most striking feature of which was the provision of an educational qualification, requiring that every alien hereafter landing in the ports of the United States should be able to read and write the language of his native country. The test to ascertain the intelligence of candidates for citizenship in this great republic was to be applied as follows:

"The inspection officers shall be furnished with copies of the Constitution of the United States, printed on numbered uniform pasteboard slips, each containing five lines of said Constitution in the various languages of the immigrants, in double small-pica type. These slips shall be kept in boxes made for that purpose, and so constructed as to conceal the slips

from view, each box to contain slips of but one language, and the immigrant may designate the language in which he prefers the test shall be made. Each immigrant shall be required to draw one of said slips from the box, and read, and afterwards write out, in full view of the immigration officers, the five lines printed thereon. Each slip shall be returned to the box immediately after the test is finished, and the contents of the box shall be shaken up by an inspection officer before another drawing is made. The immigrant failing to read and write out the slip thus drawn by him shall be returned to the country from which he came at the expense of the steamship or railroad company which brought him, as now provided by law. The inspection officers shall keep in each box, at all times, a full number of said printed pasteboard slips, and, in the case of each excluded immigrant, shall keep a certified memorandum of the number of the slip which the said immigrant failed to read or copy out in writing."

In support of his bill, Senator Lodge made an argument, of which the subjoined is the substance:

There can be no doubt that there is a very earnest desire on the part of the American people to restrict further and much more extensively than has yet been done foreign immigration to the United States. Three methods of obtaining this further restriction have been widely discussed of late years, and in various forms have been brought to the attention of Congress. The first was the imposition of a capitation tax on all immigrants. There can be no doubt as to the effectiveness of this method if the tax is made sufficiently heavy. But although exclusion by a tax would be thorough, it would be undiscriminating, and your committee did not feel that the time had yet come for its application. The second scheme was to restrict immigration by requiring consular certification of immigrants. This plan has been much advocated, and if it were possible to carry it out thoroughly, and to add very largely to the number of our consuls in order to do so, it would no doubt be effective and beneficial. But the committee was satisfied that consular certification was unpractical; that the necessary machinery could not be provided; that it would lead to many serious questions with foreign governments, and that it could not be properly and justly enforced.

The third method was to exclude all immigrants who could neither read nor write, and this is the plan which was adopted by the committee, and which is embodied in this bill. In their report the committee have shown by statistics, which have been collected and tabulated with great care, the immigrants who would be affected by the illiteracy test. It is found, in the first place, that the illiteracy test will bear most heavily upon the Italians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, and Asiatics, and very lightly, or not at all, upon English-speaking immigrants, or Germans, Scandinavians, and French. In other words, the races most affected by the illiteracy test are those whose immigration to this country has begun within the last twenty years and swelled rapidly to enormous proportions, races with which the English-speaking people have never hitherto assimilated, and which are most alien to the great body of the people of the United States. On the other hand, immigrants from the United Kingdom and of those races which are most closely related to the English-speaking people, and who with the English-speaking people themselves founded the American colonies and built up the United States, are affected but little by the proposed test.

The statistics prepared by the committee show further that the immigrants excluded by the illiteracy test are those who remain for the most part in congested masses in our great cities. They furnish a large proportion of the population of the slums. It also appears from investigations which have been made that the immigrants who would be shut out by the illiteracy test are those who bring least money to the country and come most quickly upon private or public charity for support. The classes now excluded by law — the criminals, the diseased, the paupers, and the contract laborers—are furnished chiefly by the same races as those affected by the test of illiteracy. The same is true as to those immigrants who come to this country for a

brief season and return to their native land, taking with them the money they have earned in the United States. There is no more hurtful and undesirable class of immigrants from every point of view than these "birds of passage," and the tables show that the races furnishing the largest number of "birds of passage" have also the greatest proportion of illiterates.

There is no one thing which does so much to bring about a reduction of wages and to injure the American wage-earner as the unlimited introduction of cheap foreign labor through unrestricted immigration. Statistics show that the change in the race character of our immigration has been accompanied by a corresponding decline in its quality. The number of skilled mechanics and of persons trained to some occupation or pursuit has fallen off, while the number of those without occupation or training—that is, who are totally unskilled—has risen in our recent immigration to enormous proportions. This low, unskilled labor is the most deadly enemy of the American wage-earner, and does more than anything else towards lowering his wages and forcing down his standard of living. An attempt was made, with the general assent of both political parties, to meet this crying evil some years ago by the passage of what are known as the contract-labor laws. That legislation was excellent in intention, but has proved of but little value in practice. It is perfectly clear after the experience of several years that the only relief which can come to the American wage-earner from the competition of low-class immigrant labor must be by general laws, restricting the total amount of immigration, framed in such a way as to affect most strongly those elements of the immigration which furnish the low, unskilled, and ignorant foreign labor.

The injury of unrestricted immigration to American wages and American standards of living is sufficiently plain, and is bad enough, but the danger which this immigration threatens to the quality of our citizenship is far worse. While the people who for 250 years have been migrating to America have continued to furnish large numbers of immigrants to the United States, other races of totally different origin, with whom the English-speaking people have never hitherto been assimilated or brought in contact, have suddenly begun to immigrate to the United States in large numbers. Russians, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, Greeks, and even Asiatics, whose immigration to America was almost unknown twenty years ago, have, during the last twenty years, poured in in steadily increasing numbers, until now they nearly equal the immigration of those races kindred in blood or speech, or both, by whom the United States has hitherto been built up and the American people formed.

This momentous fact is the one which confronts us to-day, and, if continued, it carries with it future consequences far deeper than any other event of our times. It involves, in a word, nothing less than the possibility of a great and perilous change in the very fabric of our race.

When we speak of a race we do not mean its expressions in art or in language, or its achievements in knowledge. We mean the moral and intellectual characters which, in their association, make the soul of a race, and which represent the product of all its past, the inheritance of all its ancestors, and the motives of all its conduct. The men of each race possess an indestructible stock of ideas, traditions, sentiments, modes of thought, an unconscious inheritance from their ancestors, upon which argument has no effect. What make a race are their mental, and, above all, their moral characteristics, the slow growth and accumulations of centuries of toil and conflict.

It is on the moral qualities of the English-speaking race that our history, our victories, and all our future rest. There is only one way in which you can lower those qualities or weaken those characteristics, and that is by breeding them out. If a lower race mixes with a higher in sufficient numbers, history teaches us that the lower race will prevail. The lower race will absorb the higher, not the higher the lower, where the two strains approach equality in numbers. In other words, there is a limit to the capacity of any race for assimilating and elevating an inferior race, and when you begin to pour in in unlimited numbers people of alien or lower races of less social effi-

ciency and less moral force, you are running the most frightful risk that any people can run. The lowering of a great race means not only its own decline, but that of human civilization.

The danger has begun. It is small as yet, comparatively speaking, but it is large enough to warn us to act while there is yet time, and when it can be done easily and efficiently. There lies the peril at the portals of our land; there is pressing in the tide of unrestricted immigration. The time has certainly come, if not to stop, at least to check, to sift, and to restrict those immigrants.

Problem of the Philippines.—On March 7, 1900, Senator Lodge delivered a speech in the Senate on the new relations of the United States in the East, substantially as follows:

The questions involved in the future management of these islands, and in our policy in the Far East, are of a nature to demand the highest and the most sagacious statesmanship. I have always thought with Webster that party politics should cease "at the water's edge." He spoke only in reference to our relations with foreign nations, but I think we might well apply his patriotic principle to our dealings with our own insular possessions, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Philippines should be an American question, not the sport of parties or the subject of party creeds. The responsibility for them rests upon the American people, not upon the Democratic or American party. If we fail in dealing with them, we shall all alike suffer from the failure; and if we succeed, the honor and the profit will redound in the end to the glory and the benefit of all. This view, no doubt, seems visionary. It certainly ought not to be so, and in time I believe it will be accepted. Unfortunately, it is not the case to-day.

One of the great political parties of the country has seen fit to make what is called "an issue" of the Philippines. They have no alternative policy to propose which does not fall to pieces as soon as it is stated. A large and important part of their membership, North and South, is heartily in favor of expansion, because they are Americans, and have not only patriotism but an intelligent perception of their own interests. They are the traditional party of expansion—the party which first went beyond seas and tried to annex Hawaii, which plotted for years to annex Cuba, which have in our past acquisitions of territory their one great and enduring monument. In their new wanderings they have developed a highly commendable, if somewhat hysterical, tenderness for the rights of men with dark skins dwelling in the islands of the Pacific, in pleasing contrast to the harsh indifference which they have always manifested towards those American citizens who "wear the shadowed livery of the burnished sun" within the boundaries of the United States. The Democratic party has for years been the advocate of free-trade and increased exports, but now they shudder at our gaining control of the Pacific and developing our commerce with the East. Ready in their opposition to protection to open our markets to the free competition of all the tropical, all the cheapest labor of the world, they are now filled with horror at the thought of admitting to our markets that small fragment of the world's cheap labor contained in the Philippine Islands—something which neither Republicans nor any one else think for one moment of doing. Heedless of their past and of their best traditions, careless of their inconsistencies, utterly regardless of the obvious commercial interests of the South, which they control; totally indifferent to the wishes and beliefs of a large portion of their membership and to the advice and example of some of their most patriotic, most loyal, and most courageous leaders, to whom all honor is due, the managers of the Democratic organization have decided to oppose the retention of the Philippines and our policy of trade expansion in the East, for which those islands supply the corner-stone. Their reason appears to be the highly sagacious one that it is always wise to oppose whatever the Republicans advocate, without regard to the merits of the policy or to the circumstances which gave it birth. I will make no comment upon this theory of political action, except to say that it has seemed for a long time exceedingly congenial to the intelligence of the Democratic party, and that it may

perhaps account for the fact that since 1860 they have only held for eight years a brief and ineffective power.

As an American I regret that our opponents should insist on making a party question of this new and far-reaching problem, so fraught with great promise of good, both to ourselves and to others. As a party man and as a Republican I can only rejoice. Once more our opponents insist we shall be the only political party devoted to American policies. As the standard of expansion once so strongly held by their great predecessors drops from their nerveless hands we take it up, and invite the American people to march with it. We offer our policy to the American people, to Democrats and to Republicans, as an American policy, alike in duty and honor, in morals and in interest, as one not of scepticism and doubt, but of hope and faith in ourselves and in the future, as becomes a great young nation, which has not yet learned to use the art of retreat or to speak with the accents of despair. In 1804 the party which opposed expansion went down in utter wreck before the man who, interpreting aright the instincts, the hopes, and the spirit of the American people, made the Louisiana purchase. We make the same appeal in behalf of our American policies. We have made the appeal before, and won, as we deserved to win. We shall not fail now.

Before explaining our policy I should be glad, as a preliminary, to state the policy proposed by our opponents, so that I could contrast our own with it, but I have thus far been unable to discover what their policy is. No doubt it exists, no doubt it is beautiful, but, like many beautiful things, it seems to the average searcher after truth both diaphanous and elusive. We have had presented to us, it is true, the policy desired by Aguinaldo and his followers, that we should acknowledge him as a government, enforce his rule upon the other eighty-three tribes, and upon all the other islands, and then protect him from foreign interference. This plan, which would involve us in endless wars with the natives and keep us embroiled with other nations, loads us with responsibility without power, and falls into ruin and absurdity the moment it is stated. Another proposition is that we should treat the Philippines as we treat Cuba. That is precisely what we are doing. But what is really meant by this demand is not that we should treat the Philippines as we treat Cuba, but that we should make them a promise as to the future. And that is what every proposition made by those opposed to the Republican party comes down to, a promise as to the future. We are to put down insurrection and disorder, and hold the islands temporarily without the consent of the governed, but simultaneously we are to make large promises as to the future which will look well in print, and keep insurrection and disorder alive.

The resolutions offered by Senators on the other side, and the tenor of their speeches, are all of this description. They present no policy, but invite us to make promises. Promises are neither action nor policy, and, in the form of legislation, are a grave mistake. Those which involve us in pledges of independence have the additional disadvantage of being the one sure means of keeping alive war and disorder in the islands. Those who offer them or urge them proceed on the assumption that you can deal with an Asiatic in the same manner and expect from him the same results as from a European or an American. This shows, it seems to me, a fatal misconception. The Asiatic mind and habit of thought are utterly different from ours. Words or acts which to us would show generosity and kindness, and would bring peace and order, to an Asiatic mean simply weakness and timidity and are to him an incentive to riot, resistance, and bloodshed. Promises of this kind, therefore, are neither effective action nor intelligent policy, but the sure breeders of war. If we must abandon the Philippines, let us abandon them frankly. If we mean to turn them over to domestic anarchy or foreign control, let us do it squarely. If we are to retain them, let us deal manfully with the problems as they arise. But do not indulge in the unspeakable cruelty of making promises, which our successors may be unable or unwilling to fulfil, and which will serve merely to light the flames of war once more, and bring death to hundreds of natives and to scores of American soldiers. Let us not attempt in such a sit-

uation, and with such responsibilities, to mortgage an unknown future and give bonds to fate which will be redeemed in blood.

The policy we offer, on the other hand, is simple and straightforward. We believe in the frank acceptance of existing facts, and in dealing with them as they are and not on a theory of what they might or ought to be. We accept the fact that the Philippine Islands are ours today, and that we are responsible for them before the world. The next fact is that there is a war in those islands which, with its chief in hiding, and no semblance of a government, has now degenerated into mere guerilla fighting and brigandage. Our immediate duty, therefore, is to suppress this disorder, put an end to fighting, and restore peace and order. That is what we are doing. That is all we are called upon to do in order to meet the demands of the living present. Beyond this we ought not to go by a legislative act, except to make such provision that there may be no delay in re-establishing civil government when the war ends. The question of our constitutional right and power to govern those islands in any way we please I shall not discuss. Not only is it still in the future, but if authority is lacking, the Constitution gives full right and authority to hold and govern the Philippines without making them either economically or politically part of our system, neither of which they should ever be. When our great chief-justice, John Marshall — *magnum et venerabile nomen* —declared in the Cherokee case that the United States could have under its control, exercised by treaty or the laws of Congress, a "domestic and dependent nation," I think he solved the question of our constitutional relations to the Philippines. Further than the acts and the policy, which I have just stated, I can only give my own opinion and belief as to the future, and as to the course to be pursued in the Philippines. I hope and believe that we shall retain the islands, and that peace and order once restored we shall and should re-establish civil government, beginning with the towns and villages, where the inhabitants are able to manage their own affairs. We should give them honest administration, and prompt and efficient courts. We should see to it there is entire protection to persons and property, in order to encourage the development of the islands by the assurance of safety to investors of capital. All men should be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and the doors thrown open to missionaries of all Christian sects. The land which belongs to the people, and of which they have been robbed in the past, should be returned to them and their titles made secure. We should inaugurate and carry forward, in the most earnest and liberal way, a comprehensive system of popular education. Finally, while we bring prosperity to the islands by developing their resources, we should, as rapidly as conditions will permit, bestow upon them self-government and home rule. Such, in outline, is the policy which I believe can be and will be pursued towards the Philippines. It will require time, patience, honesty, and ability for its completion, but it is thoroughly practicable and reasonable.

The foundation of it all is the retention of the islands by the United States, and it is to that question that I desire to address myself. I shall not argue our title to the islands by the law of nations, for it is perfect. No other nation has ever questioned it. It is too plain a proposition to warrant the waste of time and words upon it. Equally plain is our right under the Constitution, by a treaty which is the supreme law of the land, to hold those islands. I will not argue this point nor the entire legality of all that the President has done in accordance with his constitutional power and with the law passed by Congress at the last session, which recognized the necessity of an increased army in order to cope with the existing insurrection. The opposition rests its weight on grounds widely different from these. They assert that on moral grounds we have no right to take or retain the Philippines, and that as a matter of expediency our whole Eastern policy was a costly mistake. I traverse both assertions. I deny both propositions. I believe we are in the Philippines as righteously as we are there rightfully and legally. I believe that to abandon the islands, or to leave them now, would be a wrong to humanity, a dereliction of duty,

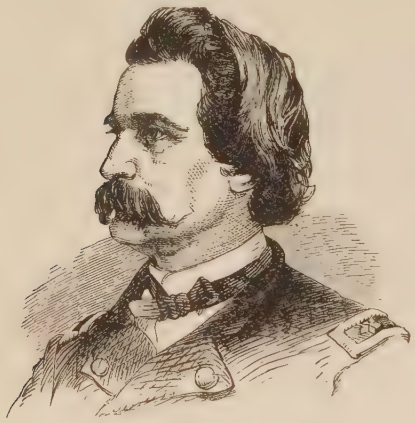
a base betrayal of the Filipinos who have supported us, led by the best men of Luzon, and in the highest degree contrary to sound morals. As to expediency, the arguments in favor of the retention of the Philippines seem to me so overwhelming that I should regard their loss as a calamity to our trade and commerce, and to all our business interests, so great that no man can measure it.

Logan (Indian name, TA-GA-JUTE), Cayuga chief; born in Shamokin, Pa., about 1725; received his English name from James Logan, secretary of the province of Pennsylvania; went beyond the Alleghanies before 1767; and in 1772, Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, met him on the Beaver River, and observed his great mental capacity. His family were massacred by a party of white people in the spring of 1774, which was the occasion of his celebrated speech after the defeat of the Indians at Point Pleasant. He was invited to a conference with Lord Dunmore on the Scioto. He refused to have any friendly intercourse with a white man, but sent by the messenger (Col. John Gibson, who married his sister) the following remarkable speech to the council: "I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him no meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!" Logan was mistaken; it was not Cresap who led the band of assassins. He was not then in that region. Logan's speech was translated into English, and was pronounced inimitable for eloquence and pathos. Logan fought the white people desperately afterwards, when occasion offered, in the West. At a council held at Detroit, in 1780, while maddened by strong drink, he felled his wife by a heavy blow. Supposing he had killed her, he fled. Overtaken by a troop of Indians on the southern shore of Lake Erie, he supposed them to be avengers, and frantically declared that he would slay the whole party. As he leaped from his horse he was shot dead.

Logan, BENJAMIN, pioneer; born in Augusta county, Va., about 1752; removed to the banks of the Holston when twenty-one years old, and bought a farm and married. He became a sergeant in Bouquet's expedition, and in 1774 was in Dunmore's expedition. Removing to Kentucky in 1775, in 1776 he took his family to Logan's Fort, near Harrodsburg. There he was attacked by a large force of Indians, but they were repulsed. He was second in command of an expedition against the Indians at Chillicothe, under Colonel Bowman, in July, 1779. In 1788 he conducted an expedition against the Northwestern tribes, burning their villages and destroying their crops. In 1792 he was a member of the convention that framed the first constitution for Kentucky. He died in Shelby county, Ky., Dec. 11, 1802.

Logan, JAMES, statesman; born in Lurgan, Ireland, Oct. 20, 1674; was an accomplished scholar and linguist. In 1699 he accepted the invitation of William Penn to become the secretary of his province of Pennsylvania; and when the proprietor returned to England in 1701, he left Logan intrusted with important executive offices, which he filled with zeal, ability, and good judgment. He was chief-justice of the province. On the death of Gordon (1736), so long the faithful guardian of the proprietor's rights, Logan, as president of the council, administered the government for two years. Logan was always the friend of the Indians. At his death, near Philadelphia, Oct. 31, 1751, he left his valuable library of 2,000 volumes to the city of Philadelphia.

Logan, JOHN ALEXANDER, statesman; born in Jackson county, Ill., Feb. 9, 1826; received a common school education; served in the Mexican War, rising from the rank of private to that of lieutenant and quartermaster. He was admitted to the practice of law in 1852; was in the Illinois legislature, and in Congress from 1859 to 1862. He was a private in a



JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN.

Michigan regiment at the battle of Bull Run (July, 1861); returned to Illinois and raised the 31st Illinois Infantry, of which he was commissioned colonel; was wounded at Fort Donelson; and the following month (March, 1862) was made a brigadier-general. In April of the same year he was promoted to major-general, and commanded a division in the Vicksburg and Atlanta campaigns (1863–64). He was one of the most successful volunteer generals. He was again elected to Congress in 1866 and remained in the House till March 4, 1871, when he entered the Senate, having been elected to succeed Richard Yates. At the expiration of this term in 1877 he was defeated for re-election; but in 1879 he was a successful candidate, and held this seat by re-election in 1885 till his death. In 1884 he was the Republican candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the unsuccessful ticket headed by James G. Blaine. He died in Washington, D. C., Dec. 26, 1886.

General Logan was an aggressive and effective speaker, and during his service in the United States Senate his voice was heard discussing fearlessly all important measures. Between 1867 and the beginning of 1886, his most notable speeches, in the House and Senate were on *Reconstruction; The Impeachment of President Johnson; Principles of the Democratic Party; Vindication of President Grant Against the Attack of Charles Sumner; The Ku-Klux in Louisiana; The Equalization of Bounties, etc.; The Power of the Government to Enforce the United States Laws;* and the one declaring his belief that Gen. Fitz-John Porter had been justly condemned.

The Case of Fitz-John Porter.—Under the title of GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON (*q. v.*), is given General Grant's conclusions on the celebrated case of General Porter after a re-examination of the facts bearing on it. General Logan, who had opposed in the Senate the bill to restore General Porter to the army, made the following reply to General Grant:

I dislike very much to enter into any discussion with General Grant on matters pertaining to military movements, as I must do so knowing I am contesting ground with a man of great military renown. But inasmuch as General Grant has so recently changed his opinion on this subject, after having the case before him when general of the army and during eight years while President of the United States, based upon Porter's own statement of the case, and after careful examination of the case concluded that he was guilty, and having more than once impressed his then opinion upon my mind, which very strongly confirmed me in my own conclusions of Porter's guilt, therefore, I take it that the general's generosity will be sufficient to pardon me if I shall now differ with him and trust my own judgment in the case, instead of accepting his present conclusions—especially when I feel confident that I can clearly demonstrate that his present opinions are based upon a misapprehension of the facts as they did exist and were understood by those understanding them at the time.

But that there may be a proper understanding of the question in dispute, it may be necessary to understand something

in reference to the positions occupied by the opposing forces. General Pope, being in command of the Army of Virginia, had withdrawn from his former line of operations, and had begun his movements against Jackson on the evening of the day on which he sent the first order to Fitz-John Porter.

General Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps having moved along the railroad from Warrenton Junction towards Manassas Junction, meeting Ewell's division of Jackson's force at Bristoe Station in the evening, a sharp engagement ensued, in which Hooker drove Ewell in the direction of Manassas Junction.

General Pope's headquarters were with this division. In his rear, at Warrenton Junction, was Porter's command (the 5th Army Corps). Anticipating an attack from the Confederate forces on the morning of the 28th, Hooker's command being out of ammunition at the time, and in order that he might be prepared for this attack, and also that he might have his troops up and well in hand—inasmuch as he desired to send a portion of his forces in the direction of Gainesville and on to Thoroughfare Gap, so as to impede the advance of Longstreet, who was then marching rapidly to join Jackson—Pope issued the following imperative order to General Porter at 6.30 P.M., and sent the same by Capt. Drake De Kay, one of his (Pope's) staff officers.

The order is in the following language:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF VIRGINIA,
"BRISTOE STATION, *Aug.* 27, 1862—6.30 P.M.

"GENERAL,—The major-general commanding directs that you start at one o'clock to-night, and come forward with your whole corps, or such part of it as is with you, so as to be here by daylight to-morrow morning. Hooker has had a very severe action with the enemy, with a loss of about 300 killed and wounded. The enemy has been driven back, but is retiring along the railroad. We must drive him from Manassas, and clear the country between that place and Gainesville, where McDowell is. If Morell has not joined you, send word to him to push forward immediately; also send word to Banks to hurry forward with all speed to take your place at Warrenton Junction. It is necessary, on all accounts, that you should be here by daylight. I send an officer with this despatch who will conduct you to this place. Be sure to send word to Banks, who is on the road from Fayetteville, probably in the direction of Bealeton. Say to Banks, also, that he had best run back the railroad trains to this side of Cedar Run. If he is not with you, write him to that effect.

"By command of Major-General Pope.
"GEORGE D. RUGGLES,
"Colonel and Chief of Staff.

"Maj.-Gen. F.-J. Porter, Warrenton Junction.

"P. S.—If Banks is not at Warrenton Junction, leave a regiment of infantry and two pieces of artillery as a guard till he comes up, with instructions to follow you immediately. If Banks is not at the Junction, instruct Colonel Cleary to run the trains back to this side of Cedar Run, and post a regiment and section of artillery with it.

"By command of Major-General Pope.
"GEORGE D. RUGGLES,
"Colonel and Chief of Staff."

When this order was delivered Capt. Drake De Kay was instructed to remain with Porter and direct him on the road to Bristoe Station, a distance of about 9 miles. This order was delivered to General Porter (as Capt. Drake De Kay testifies) at about 9.30 P.M. General Porter decided not to move at one o'clock, as directed, but at three o'clock on the morning of the 28th; but, in fact, did not move from his tent, as the evidence shows, or move his troops, until after sunrise on the morning of the 28th. General Grant justifies Porter in the disobedience of this order, because, he says, Porter's troops had been marching that day, were fatigued, the night was dark, the road was blockaded, and that he showed his order to the leading generals, and because they said his troops were tired he did not obey the order.

General Grant further says:

"He (meaning Porter) was entirely justified in exercising his own judgment in the matter, because the order shows that he was not to take part in any battle when he arrived there, but was to pursue a fleeing enemy. He did not leave the commanding general in ignorance of his proposed delay, nor of the reasons for it, but at once sent a request that the general commanding should send back cavalry and clear the road near him of encumbrances, so that the march might be unobstructed."

General Grant also says that "a literal obedience to the order of Aug. 27 was a physical impossibility. It is further shown that General Porter was desirous of obeying it literally so far as it was practicable,

but was prevailed upon by his leading generals not to do so."

General Grant also says: "If the night had been clear, and the road an open one, there would not have been so much justification," and, continuing, he describes the road as being in a "terrible condition—almost impassable."

I am very much surprised at this statement of General Grant's, inasmuch as he goes far beyond the evidence in the case to justify the disobedience of said order by Porter.

The evidence in the case shows that a great portion of Porter's troops had been in camp at Warrenton Junction from 11 o'clock in the morning, where they had been resting during the whole day. The evidence does not show that the generals could not obey the order, but that they only complained that the troops were tired and fatigued. This, General Grant knows, as a military man, is an excuse common in any army, that troops are fatigued when they are ordered to march either in the night or at any other time when they desire to rest. And he knows, further, that it is not an excuse justified by any one in time of necessity when an order can be obeyed.

General Grant says that Porter wanted to obey the order, because he sent two men to General Pope, a distance of 9 miles, to ask Pope to clear the road for him. I would like to ask General Grant if during his command of armies he had issued an order to one of his commanding generals to move his troops and that commanding general had sent back word to General Grant to "clear the road for him" so that he might move, what kind of an answer he would have given that general?

The troops that Pope was with had been fighting that day. Does General Grant pretend to say that they were in better condition to "clear the road" than the troops of Porter that were to march on the road? Did he ever know an instance of a commanding general of a corps asking the commanding general of the army to "clear the wagons out of the road" so that he himself could march, when he had the very troops marching along the road whose duty it was to perform that office for themselves?

General Grant's statement that "the road was a bad road, in bad condition, almost impassable, outside of being full of wagons," is not supported by the testimony. The evidence of those who passed over the road is positive to the effect that the road was in good condition; that there was a railroad open from Warrenton Junction to Bristoe Station, on which infantry troops could have marched; that there was a road on either side of the railroad, plain, open, and passable. The evidence further shows that when General Pope sent this order to General Porter, he (Pope) at the same time rode up to General Myers (the chief quartermaster having charge of the trains), and notified him that Porter would march on that road that night, and that he must clear it of wagons and all impediments so that there would be no obstruction to the march.

The evidence further shows that at the time the order was delivered to General Porter the wagons were going into park off the road; that they did go into park, and that from the time (one o'clock) in the morning that he was ordered to march there was no obstruction whatever on the road; and that the road was kept clear until after daylight on the morning of the 28th, at which time General Porter's orders required him to be at Bristoe Station, but that the wagons left the park on the supposition that the troops had passed, and they did again enter the road after daylight on the 28th, and that the only obstruction that there was to his march was the road being obstructed after the time he was to have been at Bristoe Station; that he did not move his command the next morning until after these parked trains had commenced pulling out into the road to move to Bristoe Station.

As regards the darkness of the night, if General Grant has read the evidence carefully he will find that other troops moved that same night—in fact, were moving all night—not only troops belonging to the Union army under Pope, but that the whole Confederate army under Jackson, composed of 32,000 men, moved on that night, with all their wagons and baggage, from Centreville to the position which they held on the 29th, the day of the battle.

I would like General Grant to answer the question how it was that the whole

Confederate army could move a distance equal, if not greater, than that which Porter was ordered to move, and take their positions during that night to defend themselves against the assault of Pope's army, and that Porter, who was expected to take part in that battle, could not move the distance of 9 miles along the road when the wagons had been removed or parked out of his way?

General Grant well knows that marches have to be made under great difficulty where the commanding officer is preparing for action, either night or day, rain or shine, and I know of many instances that I could mention where troops under General Grant, especially in the Western army, moved through storm, rain, and in the night, whether light or dark, and I could give an instance where troops were moved under his command where they had to make their road as they went—making bridges also—and never heard of an officer that was ordered to move under that direction having to send to the general of the army for "cavalry to clear the road of wagons for the infantry to march on."

General Grant says that Porter could exercise his discretion about obeying this order strictly, for the reason that he was not ordered there to fight, but merely to "pursue the enemy." It will not do to say this, for the very order itself notifies Porter that he must be there at daylight, for the reason that he wanted to drive Jackson's army out of that part of the country. Does any one suspect or believe that an army of 32,000 could be driven out of that part of the country without fighting? But what is the difference? Porter could neither fight nor harm the enemy unless he got there to do it. Not only so, but it was not an order in which the general had a right to exercise his discretion; it was an imperative order to move at "one o'clock in the morning, and to be at Bristoe Station by daylight."

There could be no misunderstanding of the order, and under the circumstances there was no excuse for not obeying it. The facts are, there was no attempt made to obey it, and the evidence through the whole case shows that Porter did not intend to obey that or any other order strictly, but intended to obey only in such a way as to impede the progress of Pope. Porter did not arrive at Bristoe Station until after ten o'clock the next day. General Grant says: "Under the circumstances, his order (meaning Pope's) required of the troops an impossibility that was quite evident to Porter."

In what is this statement justified? Certainly not by any knowledge that General Grant had of the ground over which Porter was to march, any more than any one else who reads the evidence; certainly not on account of the road; not on account of its being obstructed; not on account of the condition of the troops, as some of them had been resting from ten o'clock that day until that time; certainly not on account of the distance, and on no account whatever, as disclosed by the evidence in the case, except an indisposition on the part of General Porter to support General Pope in fighting that battle.

For the purpose of showing that which was working in Fitz-John Porter's mind, as well as showing his feeling of contempt for Pope and McDowell, I will here give two letters to show his animus at the time and to show the unkind terms in which he expressed his distrust of the capacity of his superior commander, and in order to show that he had no intention of faithfully serving under Pope.

In the first letter he speaks of the enemy having captured all of Pope's clothing, and McDowell's also, including McDowell's liquors, when it is a well-known fact that the enemy did not capture Pope's or McDowell's clothing, nor could they capture McDowell's whiskey, as it was equally well known in the army and by all his acquaintances that he never used liquor in his life of any kind. This letter is as follows:

"WARRENTON, 27th—P.M.

"To General Burnside:

"Morell left his medicine, ammunition, and baggage at Kelly's Ford. Can you have it hauled to Fredericksburg and stored? His wagons were all sent to you for grain and ammunition. I have sent back to you every man of the 1st and 6th New York Cavalry, except what has been sent to Gainesville. I will get them to you after a while. Everything here is all sixes and sevens, and I find I am to take care of myself in every respect. Our line of communication has taken care of itself, in compliance with orders. The army has not three days' provisions. The enemy captured all Pope's and other clothing; and

from McDowell the same, including liquors. No guards accompanying the trains, and small ones guard bridges. The wagons are rolling on, and I shall be here to-morrow. Good-night.

"F.-J. PORTER, Major-General."

Following this was a letter to General Burnside, at Falmouth, Va., at four o'clock P.M.:

"WARRENTON JUNCTION,

"*Aug.* 27, 1862—4 P.M.

"GENERAL BURNSIDE, Falmouth,—I send you the last order from General Pope, which indicates the future as well as the present. Wagons are rolling along rapidly to the rear, as if a mighty power was propelling them. I see no cause for alarm, though I think this order may cause it. McDowell moves on Gainesville, where Sigel now is. The latter got to Buckland Bridge in time to put out the fire and kick the enemy, who is pursuing his route unmolested to the Shenandoah, or Loudoun county. The forces are Longstreet's, A. P. Hill's, Jackson's, Whiting's, Ewell's, and Anderson's (late Huger's) divisions. Longstreet is said by a deserter to be very strong. They have much artillery and long wagon-trains. The raid on the railroad was near Cedar Run, and made by a regiment of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and a section of artillery. The place was guarded by nearly three regiments of infantry and some cavalry. They routed the guard, captured a train and many men, destroyed the bridge, and retired leisurely down the road towards Manassas. It can easily be repaired. No troops are coming up, except new troops, that I can hear of. Sturgis is here with two regiments. Four were cut off by the raid. The positions of the troops are given in the order. No enemy in our original front. A letter of General Lee, seized when Stuart's assistant adjutant-general was taken, directs Stuart to leave a squadron only to watch in front of Hanover Junction, etc. Everything has moved up north. I find a vast difference between these troops and ours. But I suppose they were new, as they to-day burned their clothes, etc., when there was not the least cause. I hear that they are much disorganized, and needed some good troops to give them heart and, I think, head. We are working now to get behind Bull Run, and, I presume, will be there in a few days, if strategy don't use us up. The strategy is magnificent and tactics in the inverse proportion. I would like some of my ambulances. I would like, also, to be ordered to return to Fredericksburg and push towards Hanover, or, with a large force, to strike at Orange Court-house. I wish Sumner was at Washington and up near the Monocacy with good batteries. I do not doubt the enemy have large amounts of supplies provided for them, and I believe they have a contempt for this Army of Virginia. I wish myself away from it, with all our old Army of the Potomac, and so do our companions. I was informed to-day by the best authority that, in opposition to General Pope's views, this army was pushed out to save the Army of the Potomac, an army that could take the best care of itself. Pope says he long since wanted to go behind the Occoquan. I am in great need of ambulances, and the officers need medicines, which, for want of transportation, were left behind. I hear many of the sick of my corps are in houses on the road very sick. I think there is no fear of the enemy crossing the Rappahannock. The cavalry are all in the advance of the rebel army. At Kelly's and Barnett's fords much property was left, in consequence of the wagons going down for grain, etc. If you can push up the grain to-night, please do so, direct to this place. There is no grain here to-day, or anywhere, and this army is wretchedly supplied in that line. Pope says he never could get enough. Most of this is private. F.-J. PORTER.

"But if you can get me away, please do so. Make what use of this you choose, so it does good. F.-J. P."

This was written on the evening that Porter received the order to support General Pope, in which he gives the most discouraging account possible of Pope's movements, for no other purpose, in my judgment, than to demoralize the army and bring Pope into disrepute among the officers. He says, "The strategy is magnificent and tactics in the inverse proportion," showing his utter contempt for the ability of his commanding officers. In the conclusion of his letter he begs, "Please." Do what? Please get me out of this. Out of what?

He had not yet received his orders to move or to fight, and what does he want to get out of? Out of the Army of Virginia? I suppose out from the command of General Pope, and to bring about such influence as would put Pope under the ban of his officers, so that he might be relieved and probably McClellan put back in command. This letter shows that he started in, after receiving his very first order from Pope, with criticisms of the army and the general commanding, his movements, his positions, and of everything in connection with what he had to do in commanding the same.

He begged to be taken away, saying to Burnside to do what he wished with the letter, so that it would do good. What did he mean by that, unless he was in a conspiracy against Pope, and determined not only to disobey him, but to assist in destroying him? No officer liv-

ing ever had the confidence or affection of General Grant, in my judgment, to such an extent that if he had written such a letter about him (Grant), criticising him and his movements, and showing a determination not to support him, he could have stayed in the army of General Grant fifteen minutes without being arrested and punished. Even the board that tried to furnish reasons for acquitting Porter could not help but condemn him for his criticisms of his commanding officer. Yet General Grant speaks of him suffering through prejudice, without being guilty of any act of insubordination. How he can do this is a mystery and a wonder to me. It is a well-known fact, recorded both in ancient and modern history, that many of the greatest battles have been fought after night marches, and if General Grant will take the pains to examine the history of wars, down to the very present day, he will find this to be true.

General Grant doubtless remembers, from his readings, that the Athenian general, Demosthenes, led the Athenians against the Syracusans in the night-time, and was successful after having been defeated in the daytime. He will find, too, that Alexander the Great, prior to the battle of Arbela, made his long march at night, starting at dark and arriving on the high ground overlooking the camp of Darius at daylight. He will also find in the battle of Metaurus, where Nero, Lirius, and Porcius succeeded in taking Hasdrubal, the Carthagenian, marches made by these Romans were successfully made after night. Also his reading will tell him that, at the battle of Saratoga, Colonel Brooks after night turned Burgoyne's right, and Burgoyne had to escape by withdrawing his whole force. He will also find that the assault on and the capture of Stony Point, on July 15, 1779, was made at twelve o'clock at night by Anthony Wayne.

He will find also that George Washington crossed the Delaware in small boats on the night of Dec. 25, 1776, when the ice was gorging, floating, and crushing everywhere, and on the 26th the surrender of Colonel Rolf was made. Would General Grant pretend to compare the march that Porter was required to make in the night-time with the crossing of the Delaware when the stream was gorged with ice? He will see also that on the night of Aug. 29, 1776, Washington withdrew from the front of the enemy and crossed over from Long Island to New York over a broad river.

General Grant well remembers the passing of Vicksburg on a dark, foggy night in small steamers, old and unsafe, under the rain of shot and shell, as pouring down from the heavens. He will remember the march made the night before the battle of Thompson's Hill, where many troops were moved in the darkness of night. I myself marched my division from "Hard Times Landing" to Bruinsburg, a distance of 8 miles, in the night-time—crossing the river in a boat at daylight—marched to the field of battle, and was on the field, a distance of 12 miles, by twelve o'clock that day.

General Grant will remember that General McPherson's corps, after marching the greater part of the day to the sound of General Sherman's guns at the battle of Jackson, moved that night at one o'clock under orders from General Grant, marching 22 miles over a muddy road, and by twelve o'clock next day was formed in line of battle and confronting the enemy.

These things, however, were done under orders from General Grant, whose orders were always observed.

Suppose his officers had taken it upon themselves to determine the manner of obeying imperative commands, how long does any one suppose they would have kept their commands? And suppose General Grant's justification of the disobedience of orders, as he has stated it now in defence of Porter, had been published by him (Grant) to his armies and been so understood by his generals, does any one suppose by such discipline he would ever have made the success he did and become the hero he is? No, sir! His officers did not stop to write letters of criticism against him. They obeyed his orders and fought the enemy with a good will. If they failed to obey his orders they failed to retain their commands longer under him.

The general's present justification of the disobedience of a peremptory order, if followed out by generals, would make any army a mob, and the commanding

general a laughing-stock. It would authorize every officer, down to the lower officers in rank, to determine how and when they would act under orders.

George Washington, who is not yet forgotten in this country as a leader of an army, issued the following order to his army, and until now I have never heard its correctness disputed by any military man:

"It is not for every officer to know the principles upon which every order is issued, and to judge how they may or may not be dispensed with or suspended, but their duty to carry it into execution with the utmost punctuality and exactness. They are to consider that military movements are like the working of a clock, and they will go quickly, readily, and easier if every officer does his duty, but without it be as easily disordered, because neglect from any one, like the stopping of a wheel, disorders the whole. The general therefore expects that every officer will duly consider the importance of the observation. Their own reputation and the duty they owe to their country claims it of them, and earnestly calls upon them to do it."

This order was issued at General Washington's headquarters on Oct. 10, 1777, at Taomensing.

This much I have said, based upon undisputed testimony, in answer to General Grant's justification of Porter's disobedience of Pope's order of 6.30 P.M., Aug. 27, 1862.

I now desire to examine the position of General Grant in his justification of Porter in the disobedience of what is known as the "4.30 P.M. order of the 29th," delivered to Porter by Capt. Douglas Pope; but, in order to get a better understanding of this part of the case, it will be necessary to take up the orders issued to Porter prior to the "4.30 order." In doing so, I propose to show that he not only disobeyed the "4.30 order," but all that preceded it. The situation was about as follows:

Jackson, with the Confederate army, was behind the Independent and Manassas Gap Railroad cut, which contemplated road was to connect with the old Manassas Gap Railroad at Gainesville, his left at Sudley Springs, his line following the railroad cut. Longstreet was marching down through Thoroughfare Gap to Gainesville, to the support of Jackson. Pope was moving his force to the front and left of Jackson; his right near Sudley Springs; his left running up the Warrenton, Gainesville, and Centreville pike, extending his left beyond the right flank of Jackson, on and up the pike beyond Groveton. Pope issued an order at three o'clock A.M. for Porter to move at daylight to Centreville. This order being a verbal order, Porter did not obey it, but, instead of moving, he was in his camp at six o'clock A.M., one hour after sunrise, writing another letter to General Burnside criticising the movements of the general commanding. General Pope, in the mean time, finding that Longstreet was moving to the support of Jackson, and that Porter was still not moving, changed his order and put it in writing to Porter, to avoid any excuse on Porter's part. The order was in the following language:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF VIRGINIA,
"CENTREVILLE, *Aug.* 29, 1862.

"To Maj.-Gen. Fitz-John Porter:

"Push forward with your corps and King's division, which you will take with you, upon Gainesville. I am following the enemy down the Warrenton turnpike. Be expeditious or you will lose much.

"JOHN POPE, Major-General Commanding."

This order was handed to General Porter about nine o'clock. His troops were then ready to move. Let me ask: How did he obey this order? He states in his own testimony, before the McDowell court of inquiry, that he did not move until ten o'clock. His line of march was on the road from Manassas Station across Dawkins's Branch to Gainesville, passing some 2 miles to the left of Groveton, the whole distance being 8 miles. He moved slowly and leisurely, and arrived at Dawkins's Branch at twelve o'clock, a distance of 5 miles. By this time Longstreet had his command between Gainesville and Groveton, forming his line on Pageland Lane, to the right and rear of Jackson, his right resting on the old Manassas Gap Railroad, which lay between the Warrenton and Centreville turnpike, and the road on which Porter was marching, his (Longstreet's) right not coming nearer

than about one-half mile of the route over which Porter would march to Gainesville. In fact, if Porter had moved forward, his command would have come square upon Longstreet's right flank.

At Dawkins's Branch, General McDowell came up to the head of Porter's column, having what is known as the joint order, or an order to McDowell and Porter both to proceed to Gainesville. Here Porter had halted, and insisted that the enemy were in his immediate front. He put out a few skirmishers and stopped his whole command, stretching along the road back to Bethel Chapel, nearly 3 miles, and remained in that position the whole day. At this point McDowell showed Porter the joint order to proceed to Gainesville, at the same time giving him the information sent to Pope by Buford, of the passage of the fifteen regiments of infantry and 1,500 cavalry through Gainesville that morning. This was the only information that Porter had on the subject of Longstreet's forces, as stated by himself. McDowell, finding that it was impossible to pass Porter's forces in the road with his command, went back and took his command on a road off to the right, reaching out to the rear of Pope's forces that were then engaged in battle. He marched, and arrived in time to put his forces in action, and fought them until nine o'clock that evening.

General Grant says: "And now it is known by others, as it was known by Porter at the time, that Longstreet, with some 25,000 men, was in position confronting Porter by twelve o'clock on Aug. 29, four and a half hours before the 4.30 order was written." Upon what this statement of General Grant is based it is impossible for me to understand. In the first place, Porter did not know that Longstreet was there with 25,000 men, nor did he know, unless he made a false statement, anything about the force except what General McDowell told him was his information received from General Buford. Nor was Longstreet confronting Porter. He was 2½ miles away from Porter; was not on the same road that Porter was, but was forming west of the old Manassas Railroad, on Pageland Lane, to the right rear of Jackson's forces, fronting the forces under Pope, on Pope's left flank, that were then attacking Jackson. His front was entirely in a different direction from Porter's.

If Porter had moved forward from Dawkins's Branch he would have attacked Longstreet on his right flank and in rear, and, no matter how many troops Longstreet had, Porter would have had an open road behind him. Whether he could have whipped Longstreet or not is not the question. He could have forced Longstreet's whole command to change front and face about, throwing their left clear around and fronting the east instead of the north, and during that movement he would have had the opportunity of striking him heavily in the flank and doubling his forces up, forcing him to withdraw his whole force from attacking Pope on his (Pope's) left flank. If Porter could not have been successful, he had the open road behind him upon which to retreat. General Grant says that Porter was left with 10,000 men. If General Grant will examine the report he will find that King's division was no part of Porter's command; withdrawing it did not reduce his own force, or the force that he had reported as under his command that morning. His own report shows that he had about 13,000 men.

I would like to put this question to General Grant: On his own showing General Grant says that Pope had 33,000 men confronting Jackson. Jackson had 22,000 men. Porter had 10,000 men. Longstreet's own report shows that a large portion of his force was attacking Pope's left in front of Jackson. Add the 25,000, men of Longstreet to Jackson's 22,000, and it would make the Confederate army 47,000 strong. Adding Porter's 10,000 men, Grant's estimate, to Pope's 33,000, would have made 43,000 men contending against 47,000 men. But take Porter's report (morning report) showing that he had 13,000 men, which with Pope's 33,000 would make 46,000 men on Pope's side and 47,000 men on the Confederate side. As a military man, would General Grant not say, no matter where the attack was made by Porter, it would have been using 46,000 men against 47,000 men, instead of using 33,000 men against 47,000 men?

In all battles General Grant well knows that men are not formed in one straight

line, or attacked in one place; but the attacks are made wherever the enemy is found, and wherever there is a position for attacking, and will he say that a flank attack is not the best attack that one army can make upon another, unless the rear is left open to attack? Will he contend (as he has in his article) that the intention was that Porter should attack Jackson on his left, when he was directed to attack the enemy in the flank? Does he consider Longstreet's command any less the enemy than Jackson's command?

General Longstreet in his report of that battle to General Lee states that:

"About four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy began to press forward against General Jackson's position. Wilcox's brigades were moved back to their former position, and Hood's two brigades, supported by Evans, were quickly thrust forward to the attack. At the same time Wilcox's three brigades made a like advance, as also Hunton's brigade of Kemper's command."

Now we will see how many troops there were. Wilcox had three brigades and Hood two brigades, Evans one, and Hunton one. Seven brigades of Longstreet's command (besides his artillery), that were formed in battery and playing furiously upon Pope's left in the direction of Groveton, and at four o'clock were attacking Pope's left at that very time, and they were not withdrawn, but continued the onslaught. At five o'clock (one hour later), General Porter received the "4.30 order" to attack the enemy's right and rear at once. At this very moment when he was ordered to attack the larger portion of Longstreet's forces were engaged against Pope's forces in front of Jackson, leaving but a small force back under Longstreet for the protection of the flank of the army. Will General Grant pretend to say, as a military man, that this attack at that time if made by Porter would have been a failure? His troops were rested, had been lying on the road, had not been in action, had not been formed in line of battle; but listening to the sound of the guns of the enemy during the whole time. General Grant says (speaking of Porter):

"Thus left alone, facing superior numbers advantageously posted, and ignorant of the needs of Pope, if indeed he had any, Porter had necessarily to bide McDowell's arrival on his right. In the mean time, his duty was manifestly to engage Longstreet's attention and prevent him from moving against Pope, especially while McDowell was out of support of both Pope and Porter."

If General Grant has examined the evidence carefully, he will find that Porter faced no such numbers; there was nothing in his front during the day except cavalry pickets, except at one time when Jones's brigade moved down on another road, on a higher position, where they could look at Porter, and fired a few shots from two pieces of light artillery, forcing Porter to have his men hide in the brush (which the evidence shows) to keep from being seen.

His duty, General Grant says, was to purposely engage Longstreet's attention. I presume he does not mean that Pope should have done this by not moving forward, either to attack or under pretext of attacking, nor by moving all his troops to Dawkins's Branch, nor by allowing them to lie along the road a distance of 3 miles under cover of woods with arms stacked. How did he engage his attention? Did he engage his attention so as to prevent nearly the whole force of Longstreet from attacking Pope's left flank and forcing it back? Certainly not, if the evidence is to be believed; certainly not, if Longstreet reported the truth. But the truth is, instead of Porter's engaging Longstreet's attention, General Stuart's report shows clearly that a few cavalrymen engaged Porter's attention.

In Porter's report of that day's operations he says that the dust on the road in his front was so heavy that it was evident to his mind a large force was moving against him. Stuart (a Confederate general) says in his report (and it seems that General Grant takes the statements of Confederates for their numbers, and he ought consequently to accept all they say) that he fooled Porter that day, and kept him from attacking Longstreet's right flank, by having some brush tied to mules' tails and dragging them up and down the road to make dust, and this dust made by brush was the "large force" that Porter

found in his front on the road leading from Manassas Station to Gainesville.

It seems that General Grant has fallen into the same error by insisting in his article that Longstreet's force was in front of Porter, when it was not at any time in his front, or near his front, or facing his front. General Grant says that the court-martial that tried Porter made a mistake. He says that the "4.30 order" ordering Porter to attack at once contemplated the attacking of Jackson's forces on the right flank, and "that no doubt this was in the mind of the court and of the commanding general." General Grant falls into error here again. General Pope had the information at nine o'clock in the morning that a force had passed through Gainesville (fifteen regiments of infantry and 1,500 cavalry), and when he issued the order to Porter in the morning it was to meet the force that he knew to be coming in that direction, but whether he knew it when he issued his order in the morning is immaterial, as he had the information early that day. After receiving this information, as a general he knew that the force coming down the road was coming to Jackson's right and rear so as to attack him on the left flank; and when he issued the "4.30 order," how can General Grant say that he (Pope) had not contemplated the attack of Longstreet on the right flank, when he claims that Porter himself knew that Longstreet was resting his right flank in his (Porter's) direction, and there was nothing in sight that he could attack except the right flank of Longstreet?

General Grant makes a plan, draws lines, and puts Jackson's 22,000 men facing Pope's 33,000, and places on this line Porter squarely fronting Longstreet's 25,000 men, when he must know, if he has examined the evidence, that no such positions were occupied during that day by the forces of Longstreet and Porter. General Grant says:

"As shown by this diagram, Porter was not in a position to attack the right flank of Jackson, because he was at least 3 miles away and not across his flank, as shown in the first diagram. With Longstreet's presence, to have obeyed that order he would have been obliged with 10,000 men to have defeated 25,000 men in a chosen position before he could have moved upon the flank of the enemy as the order directed."

Thus General Grant puts Porter squarely in front of Longstreet with his 25,000 men, and says that he could not have obeyed the order without first whipping Longstreet's 25,000 with 10,000 men. He would have had to have done that and then turned around and attacked Jackson on the right flank. I admit this would have been requiring too much of a man whose movements were like those of General Porter; but I would ask General Grant to explain how it is that Longstreet shows that he had seven brigades at this time attacking Pope's left flank, yet he (Grant) says that Porter would have had to whip the whole 25,000. He (Porter) was certainly not required to whip any one. He was only required to attack the right flank of the enemy, and the right flank of the enemy was the right flank of Longstreet's command. He was part of the enemy, his flank being in the direction of Porter.

General Grant says: "He was 3 miles away from Jackson's flank." If so, then why not attack Longstreet, whose flank was sticking out in air where Porter could have attacked it, as it was the only flank that presented itself where he could attack. How, then, was he to construe the order? Was he to order his men to attack Jackson, when the order did not say so? Was he to say, "Longstreet's flank is sticking out there, I can see it, but I am not to attack that! He is not the enemy! The order says to attack the enemy." Will he say that does not mean to attack Longstreet? This is the logic of General Grant's position.

General Grant also assumes that to have attacked under that order would have taken Porter until nine o'clock, inasmuch as he would have had to make disposition of some of his troops, issue orders, etc. How is it possible that it would have required so much time when he was sent out there that morning for the purpose of fighting? What orders would he have been obliged to issue except to move the troops forward to the position of the flank and put them in line? And, as he moved up the road, with his troops following, one regiment right after the

other, and faced them to the flank of the enemy, he would have been in line for battle. These men lay there for a whole day prepared (as Grant says) at twelve o'clock for the attack on the enemy. Does General Grant come in now and say it would have taken him from five until nine o'clock to have made an attack, when his troops were in readiness to do so, as Porter himself claims they were, at twelve o'clock on that day, and as General Grant also claims?

Let us contrast also the action of Porter with that of General McDowell, who, as the evidence proves, moved in line of battle and attacked the enemy at six o'clock, and McDowell's forces, with others along the line of Pope, were engaged in battle until nine o'clock at night. Could not Porter have fought his troops at this hour as well as General McDowell and other officers did theirs? Was he to be a special exception to all rules of warfare? Is he to be excused for everything he failed to do, while others did the things he failed in?

I wish to call General Grant's attention to one little thing which occurred during the war, under his command. He remembers the march that McPherson's troops made in the night from Jackson to Baker's Creek. Does he not remember that while Pemberton, with nearly his whole army, was attacking Hovey's division, my division was moved in on the right of Hovey, and Crocker supporting Hovey, these three divisions receiving nearly the whole force of Pemberton's 30,000 men? Does he not remember of one small brigade sent by me (with his assent) down through a strip of wood, a distance of a mile or a mile and a half away from the balance of the force, getting in on the left flank of Pemberton's army? Does he not remember that that one little brigade of not more than 2,000 men attacked the left flank of Pemberton's army, and that the latter became so panic-stricken that the whole army fled, and we captured all the artillery and drove them that night across Black River? If a brigade of 2,000 men could do all this by striking the flank of the enemy, what does General Grant think Porter with his corps could have done by striking Longstreet in flank on that afternoon?

There may be this difference, however: General Grant will remember that his generals were in earnest, and supported him in all things that he required. The evidence shows that after Porter received this "4.30 order" a movement was made across Dawkins's Branch by some of his troops, and the general officer, while placing his troops in position as though going to move in the direction of Longstreet's flank, looked around to see where the other troops were, and found they were all retiring. The evidence shows that they not only did not advance, or attempt to do so other than what I have stated, but that they retired, and that some of Porter's command—to wit, one brigade, returned to Centreville that night, a distance of several miles.

The evidence shows that Porter did not attempt to communicate with Pope during the day, but that all three of the notes that he sent during the day in reference to position, etc., were sent to McDowell and King. At the time that Pope issued his order to Porter it was expected that Porter would move forward, and McDowell's command would also attack at the same time. McDowell's command did attack, and Longstreet's forces poured down upon the left flank of Pope and forced them back, and instead, as I have said, of Porter's attacking or moving to the front, he moved to the rear.

In order to show that Porter not only failed to obey orders, but that he attempted to demoralize the army, I herewith insert a note sent to General McDowell by him, which was received at Pope's headquarters at five o'clock, as noted in General Heintzelman's minutes of the battle kept that day. General Heintzelman says in his minutes: "General Porter reports the enemy is driving him back, and he is retiring on Manassas." This was received just at or about the time that McDowell was going into action with his division. Here is the note received at Pope's headquarters:

"GENERAL MCDOWELL,—Failed in getting Morell over to you. After wandering about the woods for a time I withdrew him, and while doing so artillery opened upon us. The fire of the enemy having advanced and ours retired, have determined to withdraw to Manassas. I have attempted to communicate with McDowell and Sigel, but my messengers

have run into the enemy. They have gathered artillery, and cavalry, and infantry, and the advancing masses of dust show the enemy coming in force. I am now going to the head of the column to see what is passing and how affairs are going, and I will communicate with you. Had you not better send your trains back?

"F.-J. PORTER, Major-General."

In this note he says: "I withdrew, and while doing so artillery opened upon us, and the fire of the enemy having advanced and ours retired, *I have determined to withdraw to Manassas*" (Manassas being the station from which he started that morning, 5 miles to the rear). What artillery opened upon him? Two small pieces that I have mentioned before. One section of a battery fired a few shots at about three o'clock, when his men were directed to put themselves under cover to keep the enemy from discovering them. No attack was made upon him. He made no attack upon any one, and yet he says, "I have determined to withdraw to Manassas," showing that at the very time that Pope was in the height of the engagement the whole corps of Porter, covering his left flank, was probably then on the retreat.

He says further that "they have gathered artillery, and cavalry, and infantry, and the advancing masses of dust show the enemy coming in force." Now, the evidence shows that no enemy came in his front except what I have mentioned heretofore; that no attack was made on him, no movement in force was made against him, and that but one brigade ever showed itself during the whole day, and that did not advance upon him.

The evidence does show that the dust he mentioned was produced by dragging brush up and down the road, and in no other way; showing that he had decided not to fight, but was determined that Pope should lose that battle. By his conduct one might easily conclude that he was seeking to produce a panic in the army; and, while a portion of his command were retreating back, not only to Manassas, but to Centreville, Pope's 33,000 men were fighting the whole combined army of 47,000, with probably the exception of a few brigades, and the battle raged until, some reports say, nine o'clock, others ten o'clock, at night. Yet General Grant insists that those men could not have possibly gotten into that fight in any way during that engagement without being utterly destroyed.

You will see from the facts I have stated that General Porter did not only disobey the 6.30 order of the 27th, but disobeyed the three o'clock order of the morning of the 29th, which directed him to move on to Centreville; that he disobeyed the order delivered to him about nine o'clock on the morning of the 29th, ordering him to push forward to Gainesville, in not leaving until ten o'clock; that he disobeyed it in not pushing forward; that he utterly disobeyed the 4.30 order directing him to attack the enemy's right flank; and, in fact, that he obeyed no order in any proper military sense that was given to him, from the first order on the night of the 27th up to and through the engagement of the 29th. General Smith, who is now a paymaster of the army, in a conversation with Pope, on the morning of the 29th, told General Pope that General Porter would fail him in that battle. Gen. Ben Roberts did the same thing. Porter did fail him, utterly disobeying his orders, so that General Pope was constrained to issue an order on the night of the 29th in the following words:

"Major-General Porter:

"GENERAL,—Immediately upon receipt of this order, the precise hour of which you will acknowledge, you will march your command to the field of battle of to-day, and report to me in person for orders. You are to understand that you are expected to comply strictly with this order, and be present on the field within three hours after its reception or after daybreak to-morrow morning."

And General Grant further says that he considers the facts given before the Schofield board "fully exonerated Porter of the charge of disobedience of the 4.30 order, and also in his lukewarmness in supporting the commanding general." How he can make this last statement I cannot understand. I will here insert a paragraph from a letter of George B. McClellan, major-general, written on Sept. 1, 1862, at 5.30 P.M., to Major-General Porter at Centreville, commanding the 5th Corps: "I ask you, for my sake, that of the country, and of all the old Army of the Potomac, that you and all friends will lend the fullest and most cordial co-

operation to General Pope in all the operations now going on."

I merely put this in to ask the question of General Grant whether or not McClellan himself does not show from the writing of this note to General Porter that he did not believe that he (Porter) was cordially co-operating with General Pope? This note was written three days after the battle, and yet General Grant says he is fully exonerated from the imputation of lukewarmness in his support of General Pope. The sworn testimony of a man named Lord shows that General Porter told him (Lord) that he was not loyal, and had not been loyal to Pope, and all the facts collated show this statement to be true. Porter, with his troops—13,000 men under arms—lay the whole day within 2½ miles of a battle raging where the artillery and musketry did not cease during the whole time.

I would like to know when a similar case has occurred? He ought to have moved and fought without orders to do so, but he did not move; he did not fight even with orders to do so. A better excuse for not doing so must be found.

I now wish to call attention to another proposition of General Grant's which is equally as astounding as anything in reference to Porter's conduct. Speaking of Porter, he says that "twenty years of the best part of his life have been consumed in trying to have his name and his reputation restored before his countrymen. In his application now before Congress he asks only that he may be restored to the rolls of the army, with the rank that he would have if the court-martial had never been held. This, in my judgment, is a very simple part of what is possible to do in this case and of what ought to be done. General Porter should, in the way of partial restoration, be declared by Congress to have been convicted by mistaken testimony, and therefore not to have been out of the army. This would make him a major-general of volunteers until the date might be fixed for his muster-out of that rank, after which he would be continued as a colonel of infantry and brevet brigadier-general of the United States army from the date of the act when he could be placed on the retired list."

This proposition would give him over $70,000 out of the treasury of the United States for no act performed, for no duty done, for no service rendered, except the failure in performance of his duty on Aug. 29, 1862. General Grant ought to know whether Porter was dismissed or not from the army on what he considers "mistaken evidence"; that he was dismissed and put out of the army, his place was filled, and he has been a citizen ever since, is to-day a citizen and not a soldier. I know of no rule of law, no rule of justice, that would give this to General Porter or to any other man dismissed from the army. This rule would establish a precedent that would pay money back to every man dismissed from the army that might ever afterwards be placed back again, whether dismissed at the beginning of the war for disloyalty or not, if they could get up testimony such as is wanted. Some have been put back into the army by act of Congress since, and, under this rule of General Grant's, they could come and claim pay for the whole time they have been out of the army, saying that they were not disloyal and were improperly dismissed. Every officer that may be convicted for misconduct in office, civil or military, and removed from office, if afterwards, on examination of the evidence, he obtains a decision that he was improperly dismissed, on this proposition would he be entitled to pay while he was out of office? A proposition of this kind and a principle of this sort should not be entertained for a moment, and I am very much surprised to find a suggestion of this kind coming from the pen of General Grant.

I believe I have answered fully the propositions laid down by General Grant in justification of Fitz-John Porter, and merely wish to add that, after twenty years have passed and the country has been raked and scraped for some kind of flimsy testimony for an excuse to restore this man to the army, no such testimony has been found. The effort to vindicate Porter at the expense of the reputations of such men as General Garfield, General Hunter, and their associates, all honorable gentlemen, who found him guilty, and also to cloud the reputation of Abraham Lincoln, who approved the findings, cannot succeed.

This is asking too much, even though it be asked by such men as General Grant.

London Company, The. Twenty years after Raleigh's first attempt to establish a colony in America, Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, incited several gentlemen, some of them personal friends of Raleigh, to petition King James I. to grant them a patent for planting colonies in North America. Raleigh's grant was made void by his attainder. There was not an Englishman to be found in America then, and there was only one permanent settlement north of Mexico, that of St. Augustine. The petition was received by the King, and on April 10, 1606, James issued letters-patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and others, granting to them a territory extending from lat. 34° to 45° N., together with all the islands in the ocean within 100 miles of the coast. The object of the patent was "to make habitations and plantations," and to form colonies by sending English people into that portion of America "commonly called Virginia, with the hope of Christianizing and civilizing the pagans there." The territory was divided into two districts, called, respectively, North and South Virginia. A supreme government of the domain was vested in a council, resident in England, to be named by the King, to be governed by laws which he should prescribe, and subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council resident in Virginia. All the rights of citizenship were to be guaranteed to the colonists; besides this they would possess no political rights. Homage and rent were the prime conditions of the charter—rent in the form of one-fifth of the net profits arising from mines of precious metals.

The charter had not the feature of a free government; for, to the emigrants, not a single elective franchise, or a right to self-government, was conceded. They were to be governed by a commercial corporation, of which they were not allowed to be members, and even in matters of divine worship they had no choice. The doctrine and ritual of the Church of England were to be the established theology and mode of worship in the American colonies, and no dissent was allowed. The colonists were permitted to coin money for their own use, to import necessaries from England free of duty for seven years, and to take measures for repelling enemies. The proprietors of each section were invested with the right of property in the lands extending along the coast 50 miles each way from the point first settled respectively, and back 100 miles from the coast. To an association of "noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants," chiefly residing in London, was granted a charter for the settlement of South Virginia. This was known as the "London Company." A similar charter was granted to "knights, gentlemen, and merchants," of Plymouth, Bristol, and other places in the west of England, and this was known as the "Plymouth Company."

The King prepared a code of laws for the colonists, in which kindness to the Indians, regular preaching of the Gospel, and teaching religion to the pagans were enjoined; also providing for the well-ordering of a civil community. Under this charter, and laws and instructions from the King, presented in November, 1606, the London Company sent three ships with emigrants from the Thames, on Dec. 20, under the command of Captain Newport, and they landed on the banks of the James River in May, 1607. The company desired more the immediate profits from precious metals discovered than to found a commonwealth. Indeed, the class of men they sent over were totally unfit for such a noble service. The disappointed company demanded impossibilities. In 1608 they sent word to the colonists that, if they did not send them commodities sufficient to pay the charges of the voyage in which their demand was sent ($10,000); a "lump of gold, the product of Virginia; assurance of having found a passage to the Pacific Ocean, and also one of the lost colony sent to Roanoke," they should be "left in Virginia as banished men." To this absurd demand and threat Captain Smith made a spirited answer, in which he implored them to send better emigrants if they expected the fruits of industry.

The company now sought strength by influential alliances, and they succeeded in associating with them wealthy and powerful men in the kingdom. In the

spring of 1609 the company was composed of twenty-one peers, several bishops, ninety-eight knights, and a multitude of professional men, "gentlemen," and merchants. They thus obtained great influence in Parliament, and in May, 1609, they procured a new charter, under the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia," by which the border of the domain was extended, by a grant of new territory, northward to Chesapeake Bay; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished, and all laws for the government of the colony were to be passed by the supreme council in England, and administered by persons appointed by that body. The colonists were really vassals, without any recognized power to remove the yoke from their necks. The rule of the appointed governor was absolute, and they were compelled to share a certain portion of their net earnings with the proprietors.

In 1612 a third charter was obtained by the London Company, by which the control of the King in their affairs was annulled, the supreme council was abolished, and the whole company, sitting as a democratic assembly, elected the officers and ordained laws for the colonists, who remained without political rights. In spite of their disabilities, the Virginians flourished under the new order of things. The seeds of representative government were then sown, and in 1621 the company gave the colonists a written constitution that conferred the privilege of the elective franchise in a limited degree. The King, in May, 1623, appointed a commission to examine the transactions of the corporation from the beginning and to report to the privy council. All their charters, books, and papers were seized; two of the principal officers were arrested, and all letters from the colony were intercepted and taken to the privy council. Captain Smith's testimony was damaging to the company.

The report was kept a secret until the company received a notice from the King and privy council (October, 1623) that it was judged that the misfortunes to Virginia had been occasioned by their mismanagement, and that the sovereign had determined to revoke the old charter and issue a new one which would concentrate the power of government in a few hands. The astonished company indignantly refused to sanction the stigma affixed to their conduct by this order, or to consent to a change in the popular form of their government. They declared themselves prepared to defend their rights against any measures the King might decide on. Incensed by their audacity, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, to try the validity of the charter in the court of King's Bench. The company, hopeless of obtaining justice in that court, appealed to the House of Commons for redress. They sympathized with the company, but their session was too near its close to allow them to enter into inquiries. The exasperated King launched a proclamation, July 4, 1624, suppressing the courts of the company and committing the temporary management of colonial affairs to members of the privy council. The contest resulted in the vacation of the charter, by order of the court of King's Bench, the dissolution of the London Company, and Virginia becoming a royal province. It had been an unprofitable speculation for the members of the company.

Londonderry, MARQUIS OF. See SHELBURNE.

Long, CHESTER I., lawyer; born in Perry county, Pa., Oct. 12, 1860; received an academic education; removed to Paola, Kan., in 1879; and was admitted to the bar in 1885; and began practice in Medicine Lodge. He was a member of the State Senate in 1889–93, and of Congress in 1895–97 and 1899–1903; and a United States Senator in 1903–09.

Long, ELI, military officer; born in Woodford county, Ky., June 16, 1837; was educated at a military school in Frankfort, Ky.; and in 1856 was appointed a second lieutenant in the 1st United States Cavalry. He served in campaigns against the Indians, and in May, 1861, was made captain. He did good service throughout the Civil War, rising rapidly until he commanded a division; in March, 1865, he was brevetted major-general of volunteers; and in August, 1867, was retired with the rank of major-general, United States army, because of wounds received in action. General Long's most brilliant exploit was the

capture by cavalry of Selma, Ala., April 2, 1865. Selma was defended by earthworks intended to resist infantry. Thirty pieces of artillery in position, with a garrison of about 3,000 of General Forrest's cavalry, and 2,000 militia. The works were taken within a half-hour after the advance was sounded. Three hundred and twenty officers and men out of 1,250 engaged were killed and wounded, and 2,700 prisoners, 200 pieces of artillery, and a vast amount of war materials were the results of the capture of this place. He died in New York, Jan. 5, 1903.

Long, JOHN DAVIS, lawyer; born in Buckfield, Me., Oct. 27, 1838; graduated at Harvard College in 1857; taught school

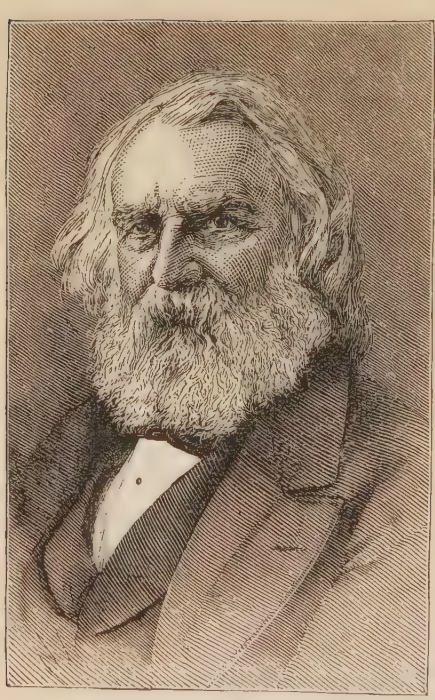
JOHN DAVIS LONG.

till 1859; was admitted to the bar in 1861; settled in Boston; and afterwards removed to Hingham. In 1875–78 he was a member of the State legislature; and in the last two years of this period was speaker of the House. He was elected governor in 1879, 1880, and 1881; and was a Representative in Congress in 1883–89. At the beginning of President McKinley's first administration Mr. Long was appointed Secretary of the Navy, a post to which he was reappointed by the President, March 5, 1901, and which he resigned May 1, 1902. He has published *The Republican Party* (1892), and a translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Long, PIERCE, legislator; born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1739; was a member of the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire in 1775, and became colonel of a regiment, which he commanded in the retreat from Ticond roga in July, 1777. He defeated a pursuing British force at Fort Anne, and was serving as a volunteer at the time of the surrender of Burgoyne. Colonel Long was in Congress from 1784 to 1786; a State councillor from 1786 to 1789; and collector of the port of Portsmouth at the time of his death, April 3, 1789.

Long, ROBERT CAREY, architect; born about 1819; after practising in Baltimore for several years settled in New York City in 1848. He was the author of *Aztec Architecture; Ancient Architecture of America*, etc. He died in New York City in July, 1849.

Longfellow, HENRY WADSWORTH, poet; born in Portland, Me., Feb. 27, 1807; was a descendant of William Longfellow, of Newbury, Mass., and on his mother's side of John Alden, a passenger on the *Mayflower;* and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1825. He studied law a short time, when he received the appointment of Professor of Modern Languages in his *alma mater*. To better fit himself for the duties, he spent three years and a half in Europe, and assumed his office in 1829. In 1835 he was chosen Professor of Belles-Lettres in Harvard, and again he made a pilgrimage to Europe to make himself familiar with Continental literature. For nearly twenty years he was a professor in Harvard College, retiring from that post in 1854, and pursued the task of literary composition in his fine old mansion at Cambridge, which Washington had used for his headquarters in 1775–76. He first wrote timidly for literary periodicals, and the first seven articles in a collection published in 1857 were written before he was nineteen years of age. Among these is his exquisite *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns*. He also wrote prose essays for the *North American Review* and other periodicals. An analytical list of Mr. Longfellow's works may be found in Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, etc. Some of Mr. Longfellow's later poems are translations from the modern languages of Europe, and these are models. "As a translator," says a critic, "he has succeeded admirably in preserving the spirit of the originals, and as a



HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

poet he appeals to the universal affections of humanity by the thoughts and images derived from original perceptions of nature and life." As an indication of the popularity of Mr. Longfellow, the sales of his poetical compositions had amounted in 1857 (when he was fifty years of age) to 293,000 copies, and his prose productions to 32,550 copies. Since that time the number has probably been increased to 500,000. The sales in England, where he is as popular as in America have been very large. His translation of Dante, in 3 volumes (1867–70) is regarded by good judges as the best in the English language. He died in Cambridge, March 24, 1882.

Longfellow, STEPHEN, lawyer; born in Gorham, Me., June 23, 1775; father of Henry W. Longfellow; graduated at Harvard, and was admitted to the bar in 1801. In 1814 he was a delegate to the Hartford Convention, and was a member of Congress from 1823 to 1825. In 1834 he was president of the Maine Historical Society. He died in Portland, Me., Aug. 2, 1849.

Long Island. Some of the inhabitants of Lynn, Mass., finding themselves straitened for land, went to Long Island in search of a plantation. They bargained for a tract near the west end with Lord Stirling's agent and with the natives. The jealous Dutch sent a force to take possession of the land, and set up the arms of the Prince of Orange. Soon afterwards a dozen of the English company began to erect buildings there, and took down the Dutch arms and placed the effigy of an ugly Indian in its place. The Dutch, provoked, sent some soldiers, who brought off the Englishmen and imprisoned them; but they were released after a few days, having taken an oath of allegiance to the stadtholder. The adventurers now moved to the east end of the island, and, to the number of forty families, settled the town of Southampton. Rev. Mr. Pierson, with several of the company at Lynn, formed a church, and all went to Southampton, where he became their pastor. There they formed a civil government in 1640. The same year a large tract of land on Long Island was purchased of the Indians for the Connecticut colony, and settlements were begun there. The tract was on the north part of the island, in the vicinity of Oyster Bay. Connecticut colonists began to settle there, but were driven back by Kieft, the Dutch governor, because they appeared within sight of his residence. The inhabitants of Connecticut immediately seized the fort just below Hartford, and obliged the Dutch to recede within 10 miles of the Hudson River. The eight men selected by the people of New Amsterdam as a council made some provision for defence against the Indians in the autumn of 1643. They equipped a large force of soldiers, of whom fifty were Englishmen, under John Underhill, the Massachusetts leader, who had fought the PEQUOD INDIANS (*q. v.*). In the succeeding winter, suffering dreadfully from the hostile Indians, some English families who had moved from Stamford, Conn., to Hempstead, L. I., were exposed to forays by the Canarsie Indians, and begged for troops to protect them. The governor and the eight men sent 120 soldiers, who surprised and sacked the Indian villages and killed more than 100 warriors. Two of the Indians were taken to Manhattan and cruelly

tortured to death. This was soon followed by another expedition against the Indians at Stamford and Greenwich. Underhill, with a force 150 strong of Dutch and English, marched through deep snow in February, 1644, to attack the principal Indian village there. The moon shone brightly, but the savages had been warned, and were on the ground 700 in number. They were also protected by rude fortifications. Steadily the Dutch and English moved upon them, and nearly 200 Indians were slain. After a while Underhill succeeded in setting fire to the village. The slaughter was dreadful. Only

were poorly equipped, very little disciplined, distracted by sectional jealousies, and, in the New England troops especially, there was so much democratic freedom that there was little subordination. On the whole, it presented a very unpromising force with which to oppose the British veterans, greater in numbers, then preparing to invade Long Island and attempt the capture of New York and Washington's army. General Howe had been reinforced by Hessians, the troops under Clinton from Charleston, and others, making a total force of about 24,000, encamped on Staten Island. Admiral Howe sent some

MAP OF THE OPERATIONS ON LONG ISLAND.

eight of the 700 Indians escaped, while the assailants had only fifteen wounded. When, a few days afterwards, the victors arrived at Manhattan, a day of thanksgiving was held.

On Aug. 1, 1776, the army of Washington at New York did not exceed 20,000 men, of whom one-fifth were sick and as many were absent on detached duty. Soon afterwards 7,000 militia reinforced him, and later on a few more came. But they armed ships up the Hudson to reconnoitre and take soundings. They passed the batteries at Fort Washington and elsewhere, and, having narrowly escaped some fireships and accomplished their errand, they returned to the fleet. Divining the purpose of the British, Washington sent a considerable force, under General Greene, to Long Island, who cast up strong intrenchments back of Brooklyn; but he was soon compelled to retire, on account

THE BRITISH FLEET IN THE LOWER BAY.

of sickness, and leave the command to General Sullivan. There was a range of thickly wooded hills, extending from the Narrows to Jamaica, through which several roads passed; while another extended near the shores of the bay, from the Narrows to Brooklyn. These passes through the hills were imperfectly guarded by Sullivan, when, on the morning of Aug. 22, about 15,000 British and German troops landed on the western end of Long Island and prepared to move forward. Washington sent reinforcements to Sullivan, and General Putnam was placed in chief command on the island, with instructions to thoroughly guard the passes in the hills. The whole American force on the island did not exceed 8,000 men, and 2,500 of these were sent to guard the passes. On the 26th the British moved forward, under the chief command of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, followed by the Germans, under General de Heister. The combined forces formed a thoroughly disciplined army. It was obvious that they intended to gain the rear of the Americans by the Bedford and Jamaica passes. At three o'clock on the morning of the 27th word reached Putnam that his pickets at the lower pass (below the present Greenwood Cemetery) had been driven in. He immediately sent General Lord Stirling with some Delaware and Maryland troops to repulse the invaders. He was followed by General Parsons with some Connecticut troops. Beyond Gowanus Creek, Stirling found himself confronted by overwhelming numbers under General Grant, with some of Howe's ships on his right flank. At the same time the Germans, under De Heister and Knyphausen, were moving to force their way at the pass farther eastward (now in Prospect Park); while Howe, with the main body of the British, under Clinton and Cornwallis, was pressing towards the Bedford and Jamaica passes to gain the rear of the Americans. Putnam had neglected to guard the latter pass. When, at eight o'clock, the invaders had reached those passes, not more than 4,000 men were out of the lines at Brooklyn; and, instead of ordering Stirling to fall back from almost certain destruction, he allowed Sullivan to go out with a few troops and take command at the pass below (now in Prospect Park), not nearly so important. The consequence was that, while Sullivan was fighting the Germans, Clinton had gained his rear and fell upon

him. It was a surprise. Sullivan was driven back upon the Germans. After a severe hand-to-hand fight, and seeing no chance for success or an orderly retreat, Sullivan ordered his men to shift for themselves. Some fought through the attacking lines; some fled to the woods; and many were made prisoners; while Sullivan, hidden in a field of corn, was captured. Stirling and his party were now the only unbroken body of Americans in the field, and they fought with spirit four hours. Then, hopeless of receiving reinforcements, and seeing a strong body of the British approaching his flank and rear, he ordered a retreat. The bridge across Gowanus Creek (on the border of which he was fighting, near where the old mill stood in 1850) was in flames, and his troops were compelled to wade the water and the oozy morass. Even that passage was about to be cut off by the enemy, led by Cornwallis. Quickly ordering the Delaware and Maryland troops to ford the creek and morass with some German prisoners, he, with the remainder, fought Cornwallis desperately until all the others had crossed excepting seven, who were drowned. No longer able to resist the pressure, Stirling and his men were made prisoners. The loss of the Americans did not exceed 1,000, of whom one-half were prisoners. Howe did not follow up his advantage, but allowed the American army on Long Island to retreat in safety to New York.

This retreat was unsuspected by the British leaders on land and water until it was too late to pursue. A Tory woman

LORD STIRLING'S LAST STAND AROUND THE CORTELYOU HOUSE.

living near the ferry sent her negro servant to inform the British of the retreat.

BROWER'S MILL IN 1850

He encountered a German sentinel, who could not understand a word he said, and would not let him pass. Before six o'clock (Aug. 30, 1776) 9,000 American soldiers, with their baggage and munitions of war, excepting some heavy artillery, had crossed the East River from Long Island to Manhattan, or New York, Island. When Howe perceived this he became greatly enraged, took possession of the deserted camp, moved his army eastward, its advance being at Flushing, and prepared to seize the city of New York with the American troops in it.

Long Parliament, The. Charles I. of England, who attempted to rule that realm without a Parliament, was compelled, in 1640, to call one, which became a long-existing body, and one of the most remarkable in the history of England. It first met Nov. 3, 1640, and was dissolved by Cromwell April 20, 1653. A large number of its members were Puritans, and almost all of them were opposed to the tyrannous measures of the King. They entered at once on the redress of grievances, and in the course of eighteen months assumed the entire political control and authority of the kingdom. Among their earlier acts was a resolution that the English-American colonists should enjoy all their liberties according to their patents. Exercising equal liberality towards English subjects at home caused almost a total cessation of emigration to America. About 25,000 British emigrants had then been received in America, and east of the Hudson River were then twelve independent communities, comprising not less than fifty towns or distinct settlements.

Longstreet, James, military officer; born in Edgefield district, S. C., Jan. 8, 1821; graduated at West Point in 1842; served in the war against Mexico (1846–48), in which he was severely wounded; and was distinguished for bravery. He held the rank of major in the United States army when the Civil War broke out, and, joining the Confederates, was made a brigadier-general in their army in October, 1861. All through the Civil War he was regarded as one of the ablest of the Confederate military leaders, and as Lee's "right hand," attaining the rank of lieutenant-general. After the close of the war he became a Republican. He was appointed minister to Turkey in 1880, and United States commissioner of

JAMES LONGSTREET.

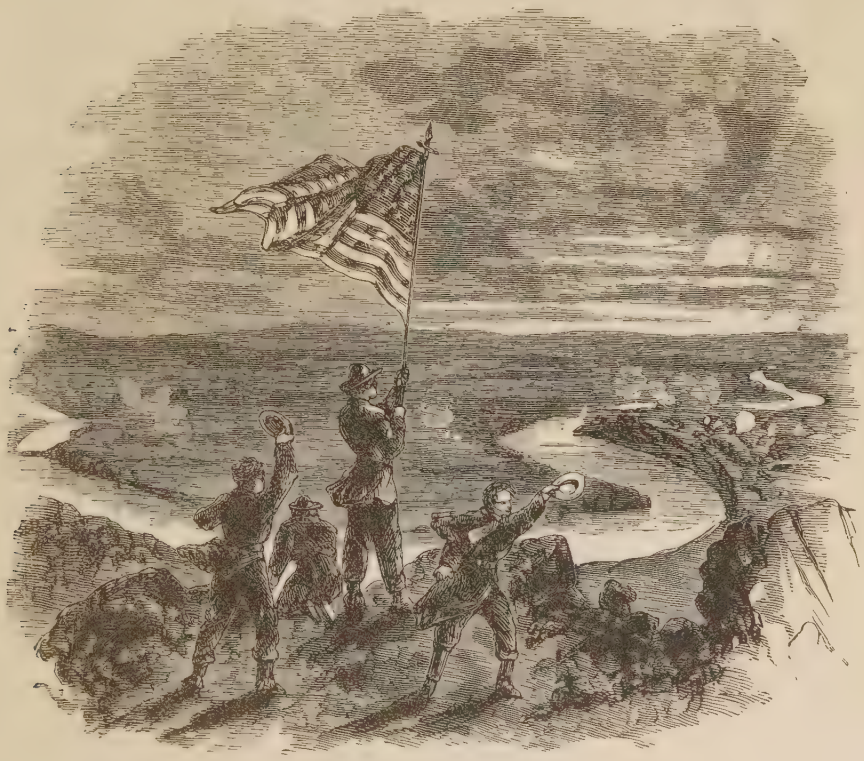
Pacific railroads in 1897. He died in Gainesville, Ga., Jan. 2, 1904.

Longwoods, Battle of. Captain Holmes, of the 24th United States Infantry, proceeded, Feb. 27, 1814, with a party of about 160 rangers and mounted men against some of the British posts in Upper Canada. At Longwoods, on the Thames, he had a very sharp battle, on March 4, with the British, who, after an hour of hard fighting, ordered a retreat. Their loss was sixty-five killed and wounded, besides Indians. The loss of the Americans was seven men.

Longworth, Nicholas, viniculturist; born in Newark, N. J., Jan. 16, 1782; in early life was a clerk in a store in South

Carolina, but removed to Cincinnati at the age of twenty-one years, when that place was not much more than a hamlet. He studied law, which he practised there for twenty-five years, and invested money in lands, long since covered by the rapidly growing city. He finally turned his attention to the cultivation of grapes, first raising foreign vines and then the native Catawba and Isabella. He produced very fine wine from the latter. At one time he had 200 acres of vineyard and a wine-house. He published *Buchanan's Treatise on the Grape, with an Appendix on Strawberry Culture.* He died in Cincinnati, Feb. 10, 1863.

Lookout Mountain, Battle on. Gen. W. T. Sherman arrived near Chattanooga late in November, 1863. It was important to get his army over the river without being discovered. To attract the chief attention of the Confederates in another quarter, Hooker was ordered to attack them on the northern face of Lookout Mountain. His entire force consisted of nearly 10,000 men. The main Confederate force was encamped in a hollow half-way up the mountain, and the summit was held by several brigades. Their pickets held a continuous line along Lookout Creek, with reserves in the valley. Hooker moved to the attack on the morning of Nov. 24. Geary, supported by Cruft, marched to Wauhatchie and crossed Lookout Creek there, while the rest of the troops crossed in front of the Confederates on temporary bridges. A heavy mist enveloped mountain and plain. Geary crossed at eight o'clock, seized a picket-guard of forty men, and extended his line to the foot of the mountain. Gross's brigade seized the bridge below the railway crossing, and T. J. Wood's brigade crossed half a mile above. Two



TOP OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN, SUNRISE, NOVEMBER 25, 1863.

batteries had been planted on a hill near, and by eleven o'clock Hooker was endeavoring to drive the Confederates from the mountain. His adversary in immediate command before him was General Walthall. Hooker's guns all opened at once on the breastworks and rifle-pits along the steep wooded acclivity. The brigades just mentioned formed a junction, and, sweeping everything before them, captured the rifle-pits, allowing but few men to escape up the mountain. At the same time the troops scaled the rugged heights, cutting their way through felled trees, and driving the Confederates from the hollow to a plateau well up towards the crest and forcing them around towards the Chattanooga Valley. At the same time Freeland's brigade was rolling them up on the flank. The struggle on the mountain-sides, in a dense fog (or, rather, a cumulus cloud) that hid the combatants from view, was fierce. It was, literally, a "battle in the clouds." At considerably past noon the plateau was cleared, and the Confederates were flying in confusion down the precipitous ravines and rugged slopes towards the Chattanooga Valley. All the morning, while the battle was raging, so thick was the cloud on the mountain that only at intervals could the straining eyes of spectators at Chattanooga and on Orchard Knob, listening to the thunders of the artillery, catch a glimpse of the lines and banners. Hooker established his line on the easterly face of the mountain; so that, by an enfilading fire, he completely commanded the Confederate defences, stretching across the Chattanooga Valley to Missionary Ridge. A National battery on Moccasin Point, 1,500 feet below the

CONFEDERATE BATTERY ON THE TOP OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN.

crest of Lookout Mountain, had dismounted a gun in a battery on that crest.

Loomis, FRANCIS B., diplomatist; born in Marietta, O., July 27, 1861; graduated at Marietta College in 1883; entered journalism on the New York *Tribune;* was State librarian of Ohio in 1886–90; United States consul at Étienne, France, in 1890–93; and editor-in-chief of the Cincinnati *Daily Tribune* in 1893–97. In the latter year he was appointed United States minister to Venezuela, where he negotiated an extradition treaty, and arranged for reciprocity and parcels-post conventions. His persistency in demanding the payment of various large sums due to American citizens prior to payments due other foreigners, according to a pledge by President Castro, led to strained relations between the United States and Venezuela in 1901. For several months his residence at Caracas was rendered exceedingly unpleasant by newspaper and other attacks upon him. The United States government sustained Mr. Loomis in his official actions, and, on March 30, recalled him to Washington, ostensibly to give the State Department a clearer view of the unfriendly issues that had been raised between the two governments.

Lopez, NARCISO, military officer; born in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1799; was a merchant in early life. He first sided with the revolutionists in 1814, but afterwards enlisted in the Spanish army, and was a colonel in 1822. He went to Cuba, and became conspicuous as a liberal in politics. Going to Spain, he became a senator for Seville, which office he resigned because delegates from Cuba were not admitted. On his return to Cuba he was in the employ of the government for a while, but in 1849 he came to the United States and organized a force for revolutionizing Cuba and effecting its independence. He failed in an attempted invasion, and, landing again in Cuba with an invading force, was captured and garroted in Havana, Sept. 1, 1851.

Lord, ELEAZAR, financier; born in Franklin, Conn., Sept. 9, 1788; studied theology for five years, but never held a charge owing to bad eyesight; settled in New York City in 1815, where he established the Manhattan Insurance Company in 1821, of which he was president for twelve years. He was one of the founders of the New York and Erie Railroad, and president of the same for many years. He was a strong advocate of the "free-banking system," which became a law in New York in 1838. His publications include *Credit, Currency, and Banking; A Letter on National Currency; Six Letters on the Necessity and Practicality of a National Currency;* and many works of a religious nature. He died in Piermont, N. Y., June 3, 1871.

Loring, CHARLES GREELEY, lawyer; born in Boston, Mass., May 2, 1794; graduated at Harvard College in 1812. He was the author of *Neutral Relations between the United States and England,* and *Life of William Sturgis.* He died in Beverly, Mass., Oct. 8, 1868.

Loring, JOSHUA, naval officer; born in Boston, Mass., in 1716; was appointed a captain in the royal navy in 1757, and in the French and Indian War was a naval commander in the operations on Lakes Champlain and Ontario, accompanying Amherst to Montreal in 1760. He died in Highgate, England, in 1781.

Loring, WILLIAM WING, military officer; born in Wilmington, N. C., Dec. 4, 1818; commanded a detachment of volunteers in Florida (1835–42), and afterwards mounted riflemen in the war against Mexico, where he lost an arm, and was brevetted colonel. He was afterwards colonel of a regiment fighting the Indians in New Mexico. He left the army, joined the Confederates, was made a brigadier-general, and afterwards major-general. He served later in the army of the Khedive in Egypt, becoming a general of division. He died in New York City, Dec. 30, 1886. General Loring published *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt.*

Lossing, BENSON JOHN, historian; born in Beekman, Dutchess co., N. Y., Feb. 12, 1813. Self-educated, a watch-maker, editor, and wood-engraver, he devoted his attention to the pictorial side of history, especially to the antiquities of his own region, the Hudson Valley. His chief work was the *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution,* published in 1850–52. He wrote also *Pictorial Field-Books* of the War of 1812 and the Civil War, an illustrated book on the Hudson, histories of the

United States, historical biographies, and the *Cyclopædia of American History*. His great service was the preservation of the "local color" in many noted episodes of the early history. He died near Dover Plains, N. Y., June 3, 1891.

Lost Cause, THE, a phrase employed in the Southern States to indicate the unsuccessful attempt to establish the Confederate States of America in 1861–65, otherwise known as the Civil War in the United States.

Lost Colony, THE. John White, whom Sir Walter Raleigh sent to Virginia with some colonists, to be their governor, had with him his daughter, Mrs. Eleanore Dare, mother of Virginia. White went back to England for supplies, and was detained a long time. When he returned to Roanoke Island, the colony he had left there had disappeared. With nineteen men, in two boats, he went in search of them. The colonists had agreed with White, when he left for England, to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place to which they had emigrated, if they should leave, for they were then preparing to go to a place 50 miles into the interior. It was also agreed, in case they should be in distress, that they would carve a cross over the letters. As White and his friends ascended the bank at the site of the settlement, they found carved upon the trunk of a tree, in fair Roman letters, CROATAN, but, to their great comfort they saw no sign of distress. The houses had been taken down, and the place strongly palisaded. They determined to sail for Croatan the next morning. A tempest arose, the ship parted her cables, their provisions and fresh water were scanty, and they concluded to sail to the West Indies, remain there through the winter, and go to Croatan in the spring. But they were compelled to return to England. The colony was never heard of afterwards. It is asserted that some of the Hatteras Indians, of a subsequent generation, had light complexions, and their faces resembled the English type, and it is supposed the colony became amalgamated with the Hatteras tribe on the eastern coast of North Carolina.

Lost Prince, THE. See WILLIAMS, ELEAZAR.

Loubat, JOSEPH FLORIMUND, DUC DE, philanthropist; born in New York City, Jan. 21, 1831; fell heir to a large fortune, much of which he has given to public institutions, including $1,000,000 to Columbia University for its library; gifts to the Roman Catholic Church, etc. His title was conferred upon him in 1893 by the pope. He is the author of *Narrative of the Mission to Russia in 1866 by G. V. Fox;* and *Medallic History of the United States*.

Loudon, FORT. A defensive work on the Tennessee River, built in 1750. Also the name of a fort built in 1752 near Winchester, Va., intended for the protection of the town.

Loudoun, JOHN CAMPBELL, FOURTH EARL OF, military officer; born in Scotland in 1705; was appointed governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief of the

Loudoun

British forces in America in 1756. Leaving his lieutenant, Dinwiddie, to govern the province, he paid attention to military affairs, in which his indolence, indecision, and general inefficiency were most conspicuous, and worked disasters. Franklin said of him: "He is like little St. George on the sign-boards, always on horseback, but never goes forward." He was recalled in 1757, and returned to England. In 1758 he was made lieutenant-general, and

in 1770 general. He died in Scotland, April 27, 1782.

According to his instructions, the Earl of Loudoun demanded of the authorities of New York City free quarters for himself, his officers, and 1,000 men. "Your demand is contrary to the laws of England and the liberties of America," said the mayor of the city. "Free quarters are everywhere usual. I assert it on my honor, which is the highest evidence you can require," answered the haughty earl. The mayor was firm, and Loudoun determined to make New York an example for the rest of the continent. When the citizens, by the lips of the mayor, pleaded their rights as Englishmen, his lordship, with a vulgar oath, said to the magistrate, "If you don't billet my officers upon free quarters this day, I'll order here all the troops under my command, and billet them myself upon the city." A subscription for the purpose was raised, the officers were billeted on the city, and there Loudoun won his first victory. A similar contest, with a similar result, occurred in Philadelphia, and there Loudoun won his second and last victory in America.

When the Earl, on July 9, 1757, had assembled his whole armament, consisting of 10,000 soldiers, sixteen ships-of-the-line, several frigates, and many transports, for an attack on LOUISBURG (*q. v.*), it was believed an immediate assault would be made. The troops were landed, and set at work levelling the earth and cultivating a vegetable garden; and in these labors and in the exercise of sham-fights almost a month was spent. The army became dispirited, and its officers exasperated. One day, when Maj.-Gen. Lord Charles Hay was sitting under a tree near the sea-shore discussing army matters with his fellow-officers, he said: "See how the power of England is held in chains by imbecility! With such ships and such men as we have here, led by an energetic and competent commander, Cape Breton and its fortresses might have been a part of the British Empire a month ago." For these brave words Lord Hay was arrested by Loudoun, sent to England, tried by court-martial, and acquitted of all blame.

Louis XVI., KING OF FRANCE; born in Versailles, Aug. 23, 1754; was a grandson of Louis XV. and of a daughter of Frederick Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. His father dying in 1765, he became heir presumptive to the throne of France, which he ascended on May 10, 1774, with the beautiful Marie Antoinette, Archduchess of Austria, whom he married in May, 1770, as his Queen. Louis was amiable, fond of simple enjoyments, and was beloved by his people. Through bad advisers and the wickedness of demagogues, he was placed in seeming opposition to the people when his heart was really with them, and the madmen of France, who ruled the realm during the Reign of Terror, brought both Louis and his beautiful Queen to the scaffold. They went through the farce of a trial after

LOUIS XVI.

arraigning the King on a charge of treason, found him guilty, of course, and beheaded him by the guillotine, with accompaniments of vulgar cruelty, in Paris, Jan. 21, 1793. His death was seriously mourned. He was weak, but not wicked. His friends dared not make any public demonstrations of grief, or even of attachment, at the time. A small commemorative medal of brass was struck, and secretly circulated. These were cherished by the loyalists with great affection. Upon this medal—over a funeral urn from which a crown and sceptre had fallen—were the significant words, "*Sol regni abiit*" ("The sun of the kingdom has departed"). King Louis was closely

identified with the Americans in their struggle for independence, consenting, through the influence of his chief minister,

LOUIS XVI. MEMORIAL MEDAL.

Vergennes, to give material aid, and make a treaty of friendship and alliance with them. Personally, he despised republicans, and could never hear with patience Dr. Franklin spoken of in words of praise, while his Queen was a great admirer of the philosopher and statesman.

Louisburg. The fortress of Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton, was built by the French soon after the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. Its cost was great, its strength enormous, and so long as the French held it it was a source of annoyance to New England and of support to Canada. When, in 1746, France declared war against Great Britain Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, perceived the great importance of driving the French from it. He proposed to the Massachusetts legislature the bold project of attempting its capture, and after some hesitation a colonial expedition for the purpose was authorized, Jan. 25, 1745, by a vote of a majority of one. A circular letter, soliciting aid, was sent to all the colonies as far south as Pennsylvania. The latter voted £4,000 currency, to purchase provisions. New Jersey furnished £2,000 towards the expedition, but declined to furnish any men. The New York Assembly contributed £3,000 currency, but Governor Clinton sent, besides, a quantity of provisions purchased by private subscription and ten 18-pounders from the public magazine. Connecticut voted 500 men, led by Roger Wolcott, who was appointed second in command of the expedition. Rhode Island and New Hampshire each raised a regiment of 300 men. As was to be expected, the chief burden of the expedition was borne by Massachusetts. Much interest was manifested everywhere. In seven weeks an army of 3,250 men was enlisted, transports were procured, and an ample quantity of bills of credit issued to pay the expense. Massachusetts provided ten armed vessels. The chief command of the expedition was given to William Pepperell, of Maine. Whitefield, who was then making his third preaching tour throughout the colonies, successfully advocated the expedition, and suggested the motto of the New Hampshire regimental flag—"*Nil desperandum Christo duce*" ("Nothing is to be despaired of with Christ for a leader"). It assumed the character of an anti-papist crusade. One of the chaplains, a disciple of Whitefield, carried a hatchet, provided to hew down all images in the French churches. "Louisburg must be subdued," was the thought of the New-Englanders. Commodore Warren, in the West Indies, refused to co-operate with his fleet until he received express orders to do so. The expedition sailed from Boston, April 4, 1745, and at Canseau they were unexpectedly joined by Warren on May 9. The combined forces (4,000 troops) landed, April 30, at Gabarus Bay, not far from Louisburg, and their sudden appearance there was the first intimation the French had of the near approach of danger. Consternation prevailed in the fortress and town. The cannon on shore, commanded by Richard Gridley, were dragged, with provisions, on sledges, over a morass; trenches were dug, batteries were erected, and a regular siege was commenced on May 1 (N. S.). Commodore Warren captured a French man-of-war of sixty-four guns, with over 500 men and a large quantity of stores for the garrison. Other English vessels of war arrived, and the fleet and army prepared to make a final and combined assault. The French, despairing of receiving any aid from France, surrendered the fortress and town of Louisburg and the island of Cape Breton to the English on June 17, after a siege of forty-eight days. The island of St. John was also surrendered. The capitulation included 650 soldiers of the garrison and 1,300 inhabitants of the town of Louisburg, all of whom were to be shipped to France. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), in 1748, the British government restored Louisburg and Cape Breton to the French.

The capture of Louisburg was Lord Loudoun's first care in the campaign of 1757. He found himself at the head of 6,000 provincials on June 1. He sailed from New York on the 20th, and arrived at Halifax on the 30th, where he was joined by Admiral Holborne, with a powerful naval armament and 5,000 troops from England. The combined forces were about to sail for Louisburg when information reached Loudoun that 6,000 troops were in the fortress there, and that a French fleet, larger than that of the English, was lying in that harbor. The latter had gained this position while the indolent Loudoun was moving with his accustomed slowness. The enterprise was abandoned, and Loudoun returned to New York (Aug. 31) with intelligence that had met him on the way of defeat and disgrace to the English arms in the north.

The zeal of the New Englanders, in 1758, in raising a force for a second attack on Louisburg was intense. Massachusetts voted 7,000 men, besides 600 maintained for frontier defence. The advances made by the province during that year were not less than $1,000,000. Connecticut voted 5,000 men, and New Hampshire and Rhode Island furnished 1,000 more between them. The people were alive with enthusiasm, and the New England provinces raised 15,000 men. Boscawen arrived at Halifax early in May, with about forty armed vessels, bearing a land force of over 12,000 men, under General Amherst as chief, and General Wolfe as his lieutenant. The armament left Halifax May 28, and the troops landed on the shores of Gabarus Bay, June 8, without much opposition, within a short distance of the fort. Alarmed by this unexpected and powerful display, the French almost immediately deserted their outposts, and retired within the fortress and the town. They made a vigorous resistance to the besiegers for almost fifty days. When all the shipping in the harbor was lost to the French, they surrendered the town, the fort, the islands of Cape Breton and St. John (now Prince Edward), and their dependencies, July 26, 1758. The garrison became prisoners of war. The spoils of victory were more than 5,000 prisoners and a large amount of munitions of war. The garrison lost about 1,500 men, and the town was made a ruin. So ended the attempts of the French to settle in and near the Gulf of St. Lawrence. That region passed into the permanent possession of the English. With the fall of Louisburg the power of France in America began to wane, and its decline was rapid.

LOUISIANA, STATE OF

Louisiana, STATE OF, was first visited by La Salle, who discovered the mouth of the Mississippi (1691), and took possession of the country in the name of Louis, King of France. Settlements were soon afterwards formed. In 1712 Louis XIV. named the region Louisiana, in honor of himself, and granted it to M. Crozat. The territory was granted to "The Western Company" in 1717. The French remained in possession until 1762, when they ceded it to Spain. In 1800 it was retroceded to France, and in 1803 it was bought from the latter by the United States for $15,000,000, and the American flag was first raised in New Orleans on Dec. 20, 1803. In 1804 the territory was divided into two governments—namely, "Territory of Orleans" and "District of Louisiana." The former entered the Union as the State of Louisiana April 8, 1812, and the name of the latter was changed, June 4, 1812, to Missouri. At the close of 1814 Louisiana was invaded by British troops, but they were speedily driven away. As soon as the election of Mr. Lincoln was known, the governor of Louisiana took measures looking to the secession of the State from the Union. A convention assembled, Jan. 8, 1861, and on the 26th passed an ordinance of secession. The public property of the national government was seized by the State authorities. In the spring of 1862 an expedition under General Butler and Admiral Farragut captured all the defences on the Mississippi below New Orleans, and took possession of the city. The State became the theatre of stormy events during the Civil War. On Dec. 4, 1862,

two congressional districts, under the control of National troops, were permitted to elect delegates to Congress, and Benjamin F. Flanders and Michael Hahn were chosen and took their seats. Local courts were organized under military rule, and in November, 1862, a provisional court for the State was organized by the President. In April, 1863, he appointed judges of the Supreme Court. Late in 1863 an election of State officers was held in a portion of Louisiana. Michael Hahn was elected governor and inaugurated March 4, 1864, and on the 15th was made military governor likewise. In April a convention adopted a constitution abolishing slavery and providing for the education of both races, which was ratified in September, when five Congressmen (Unionists) were chosen. The legislature ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the national Constitution, but the Senators and Representatives of Louisiana were not admitted to seats in Congress, and the State was placed under military rule in 1867, Louisiana and Texas constituting one military district. Early in 1868 a convention in New Orleans formed a State constitution, which was ratified on April 17 and 18, and Henry C. Warmouth (Republican) was elected governor. By act of Congress, June 25, 1868, Louisiana delegates were admitted to seats in that body. Soon afterwards the State legislature ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the national Constitution and chose United States Senators. The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified by the same body March 1, 1869.

STATE SEAL OF LOUISIANA.

In 1903 the State had an assessed property valuation of $336,118,348; and, March 1, 1904, a total bonded debt of $11,108,300, a floating debt of $1,139,778, and an unrecognized debt of $3,953,000. The population in 1890 was 1,118,587; in 1900, 1,381,625.

In October, 1698, King William sent three ships to take possession of the Mississippi River, and prepare for planting a colony of French Protestants on its borders. Nothing came of it. In the same month Iberville and others sailed for the same river, and planted the seeds of French dominion there.

The first settlement in Louisiana was made at Biloxi (now in Mississippi) in 1699. In 1702 there were settlements begun on Dauphin Island and at Mobile, now in Alabama. The French government, wishing to promote more rapid settlements in that region, granted (1712) the whole province, with a monopoly of trade, to Anthony Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, who expected large profits from mines and trade with Mexico. Crozat contracted to send ships from France, with goods and emigrants, every year; and he was entitled to import a cargo of negro slaves annually. The French government also agreed to pay $10,000 a year for the civil and military establishments. Crozat established a trading-house on the site of Montgomery, on the Alabama River, and another at Natchitoches, on the Red River. Fort Rosalie was built on the site of Natchez, about which a town soon grew up, the oldest on the lower Mississippi. Crozat made ineffectual attempts to open a trade with Mexico, and the intercourse by sea was prohibited after the war. After five years of large outlay and small returns, Crozat resigned his patent (1717); but other speculators soon filled his place. The Mississippi Company (see LAW, JOHN) was granted the monopoly of all trade with Louisiana for twenty-five years. They attempted to introduce 6,000 white people and half as many negroes, and private individuals to whom grants of land had been made also sent out colonists. Law, having 12 square miles of

land in Arkansas, undertook to settle the domain with 1,500 Germans. The Mississippi Company resigned Louisiana to the crown in 1732.

On Oct. 21, 1764, the King of France gave orders to his director-general and commandant for Louisiana to deliver up to the King of Spain all the French possessions in North America not already ceded to Great Britain. These orders were given in consequence of an act passed at Fontainebleau on Nov. 3, 1762, by which the French King ceded to the King of Spain, and to his successors, "the whole country known as Louisiana, together with New Orleans, and the island on which the said city is situated," and of another act passed at the Escurial on Nov. 13, in the same year, by which his Catholic Majesty accepted that cession.

When Bonaparte became actual ruler of France as First Consul he felt an ardent desire to re-establish the colonial empire of his country, and with that view he obtained from Spain (1800) the retrocession of Louisiana. Bonaparte had formed a plan for taking immediate possession of New Orleans by an armed expedition. Livingston, the American minister in France, advised his government of this expedition, and declared that it would not only oppress American commerce on the Mississippi, but that attempts would be made to seize Natchez and to carry out the plan of Genet and his successors in corrupting the Western people and dismembering the Union. Before the letter of Livingston had been received, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, as if anticipating the wishes of Bonaparte, had issued a proclamation interdicting the privilege secured to the Americans by the treaty of 1795 of depositing merchandise at New Orleans. This interruption of their commerce on the great river produced a great commotion in the West. It was in this excited state of the public mind that the Seventh Congress assembled (Dec. 7, 1802) for its second session, and the state of affairs in the Southwest occupied their earnest attention. President Jefferson, alive to the interests, independence, and power of his country, wrote an able letter to Livingston, suggesting that France might be willing to cede a portion of Louisiana, especially the island of New Orleans, to the United States, and thus remove all cause for irritation between the two governments.

Negotiations with this end in view were speedily made by Mr. Livingston, assisted by Mr. Monroe. Their instructions asked for the cession of the island of New Orleans and the Floridas, and that the Mississippi should be divided by a line that should put the city of New Orleans within the territory of the United States, thus securing the free navigation of that river. To the surprise of the American minister, it was announced by Marbois, Bonaparte's representative, that he would treat for the sale of the *whole* of Louisiana. Bonaparte had already experienced serious difficulties in the way of securing French colonial dominion, especially in the West Indies. He also needed troops at home and money to carry on the war with England, rather than far-off territory held by a doubtful tenure. "Irresolution and deliberation," said the First Consul to Marbois, "are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole colony, without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States." In less than a fortnight after the beginning of negotiations in France, a treaty was signed (April 30, 1803) by Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe on the part of the United States, and Barbé Marbois on the part of France, by which the United States came into possession of a vast, and to some extent undefined, domain, containing a mixed free population of 85,000 white people and 40,000 negro slaves, for the sum of $15,000,000. Livingston and Marbois had been personal acquaintances for about a quarter of a century. "We have lived long," said Livingston to Marbois, as he arose after signing the treaty, "but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or force; equally advantageous to the two contracting par-

ties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America." With equally prophetic vision, Bonaparte said to Marbois, a few days after the negotiation was signed, "I would that France should enjoy this unexpected capital [75,000,000 francs], that it may be employed in works beneficial to her marine." The invasion of England, and the prostration of her maritime superiority, was then Bonaparte's pet project. "This accession of territory," he continued, exultingly, "strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will *sooner or later humble her pride.*" The centennial of the Louisiana Purchase is to be commemorated by a fair to be held in ST. LOUIS (*q. v.*) in 1903.

The Americans claimed that the boundary between Louisiana and Mexico was the Rio Grande, while the Spaniards limited the territory acquired from France to a narrow strip along the western bank of the Mississippi. Both sides had hitherto regarded the Sabine as a sort of provisional boundary; but the Spanish commander in Texas crossed that river with a body of irregular cavalry, in 1805, and occupied the settlement at Bayou Pierre, on the Red River, a few miles above Natchitoches, the westernmost American military station. It was deemed necessary to repel this aggression, and orders were sent to General Wilkinson, at St. Louis, then commander-in-chief of the American army and governor of the District of Louisiana, to reinforce, from posts in his territory, the 500 regulars in the Orleans Territory, and himself to take the command, to drive back the Spaniards. Wilkinson went to the Sabine, and made a peaceful arrangement that stopped the invasion. It was at this crisis that Burr's mysterious enterprise was undertaken. See BURR, AARON.

When Jackson returned to Mobile, Nov. 11, 1814, after driving the British from Pensacola, he received messages from New Orleans urging him to hasten to the defence of that city. The government officials did not give credit to Lafitte's revelations (see LAFITTE, JEAN), but the people did; and they held a large meeting in New Orleans (Sept. 16), where they were eloquently addressed by EDWARD LIVINGSTON (*q. v.*), who urged the inhabitants to make speedy preparations for repelling invasion. They appointed a committee of safety, composed of distinguished citizens of New Orleans, of which Livingston was chairman. Governor Claiborne, who also believed Lafitte's story, sent copies of the British papers to Jackson, then at Mobile. Then the latter issued a vigorous counter-proclamation, and proceeded to break up the nest of motley enemies at Pensacola. Finally, there were such omens of a speedy invasion of Louisiana that appeals to Jackson were repeated, and he left Mobile for New Orleans on Nov. 21. The patriotic governor had called the legislature together as early as Oct. 5, but there was neither union, harmony, nor confidence. The people, alarmed, complained of the legislature; that body complained of the governor; and Claiborne complained of both the legislature and the people. Money and credit were equally wanting, and ammunition was very scarce. There was no effective naval force in the adjacent waters; and only two small militia regiments and a weak battalion of uniformed volunteers, commanded by Major Plauché, a gallant Creole, composed the military force for repelling invasion or defending the city. In every aspect the situation was most gloomy when Jackson arrived. His advent was hailed with joy. "Jackson's come! Jackson's come!" went from lip to lip. He did not rest for a moment. He at once organized the feeble military force in the city; took measures for obstructing the large bayous, whose waters formed convenient communication between the city and the Gulf of Mexico; and proceeded to inspect and strengthen the fortifications in the vicinity, and to erect new ones. Fort St. Philip, below the city, was his main reliance for preventing a passage of the British ships. The expected invaders soon appeared. In fifty vessels of all sizes 7,000 land troops were borne over the Gulf of Mexico from the island of Jamaica in the direction of New Orleans, and sighted the northern coast of the Gulf, a little east of Lake Borgne, on Dec. 9. Music, danc-

ing, theatrical performances, and hilarity of every kind had been indulged in during the voyage, every man feeling that the conquest of Louisiana would be an easy task. The wives of many officers were with them, anticipating great pleasure in the western world. Believing the Americans to be profoundly ignorant of the expedition, they anchored at the entrance to Lake Borgne, and prepared small vessels for the transportation of troops over the shallow waters, to take New Orleans by surprise. They did not dream of the fatal revelations of Lafitte. Two gunboats, sent out towards Mobile Bay to catch intelligence of the coming armament, discovered the great fleet Dec. 10, and hastened to report the fact to Lieut. Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, in command of a small flotilla at the entrance of Lake Borgne, to prevent the British from landing troops. Jones's flotilla was encountered by the British (much to their astonishment) on the 13th. The British fleet was under the command of Admiral Cochrane, and many of the troops were those which had been engaged in the invasion of Maryland. It would not do to attempt to land troops while the waters of the lake were patrolled by American gunboats, and so Cochrane sent sixty barges, nearly all carrying a carronade in the bow, and with six oars on each side, and all well filled with armed volunteers from the fleet, to capture or destroy Jones's flotilla. The latter was composed of an armed sloop (the flag-ship), a tender, and five gunboats, with an aggregate of twenty-three guns and 182 men. The British barges contained 1,200 men. On the morning of Dec. 14 an encounter took place, which the little flotilla sustained against overwhelming numbers for about an hour, when it was compelled to surrender. The British had now complete control of Lake Borgne. The transports, filled with troops, entered, and the latter were conveyed in barges to Pea Island, where General Keane organized his forces for future operations. Learning from some Spanish residents of New Orleans that there was a bayou navigable for large barges to within a short distance of the Mississippi River, just below New Orleans, Cochrane sent a party to explore it. They followed this bayou (the Bienvenu) and a canal across Villeré's plantation, and when they reported favorably about one-third of the troops were taken through these watercourses. At the head of the bayou the active Lieutenant-Colonel Thornton, with a detachment, surrounded the house of General Villeré, the commandant of a division of Louisiana militia, and made him prisoner; but he soon escaped, and, hastening to New Orleans, gave warning of the invasion to General Jackson. General Keane, a gallant Irish officer, the commander-in-chief of the British land-forces, was with this advance party, with several of his officers, and felt confident that the invasion was unknown at New Orleans. The British formed a camp at Villeré's (Dec. 23), within sight of the Mississippi, and prepared to move forward. The invaders were now within 9 miles of New Orleans. A proclamation, printed in the Spanish and French languages, and signed by General Keane and Admiral Cochrane, was sent forward by a negro to be distributed among the inhabitants. It read as follows: "*Louisianians!* remain quietly in your houses; your slaves shall be preserved to you, and your property shall be respected. We make war only against Americans." While all this work of invasion was going on, Jackson had been busy at New Orleans preparing to roll it back. He had heard of the capture of the gunboats on the 15th, and he called upon Generals Coffee, Carroll, and Thomas to hasten to New Orleans with the Tennessee and Kentucky troops. They came as speedily as possible. Coffee came first, and Carroll arrived on Dec. 22. A troop of horse under Major Hinds, raised in Louisiana, came at the same time. General Villeré, soon after his capture, escaped, crossed the Mississippi, rode up its right bank on a fleet horse to a point opposite New Orleans, crossed over, and gave Jackson such full information of the position of the invaders that he marched with quite a large body of troops on the afternoon of the 23d to meet the intruders. The armed schooner *Carolina*, Captain Henley, moved down the Mississippi in the evening to within musket-shot distance of the centre of the British camp at Villeré's. At half-past seven o'clock she opened a tremendous fire upon them, killing and wounding at least 100 men. The British extinguished their camp-fires, and hurled rockets and

bullets upon the *Carolina*, with little effect. The schooner soon drove the British from their camp in great confusion. Meanwhile Jackson had pressed forward with his troops in the darkness in two columns, and, falling upon the bewildered invaders, soon achieved a victory which he dared not follow up in the gloom, and fell back. The astonished Britons were soon cheered by the arrival of reinforcements, and the advent of Gen. Edward Pakenham, one of Wellington's veterans, who took the chief command. After careful preparation, and getting his soldiers well in hand, he led them towards New Orleans. He was met by Jackson with a force behind intrenchments about half-way between the city and Villeré's, and a severe battle ensued, in which the Americans were victorious. Immediately afterwards the British withdrew to their ships and departed. See JACKSON, ANDREW; NEW ORLEANS.

In the legislature of Louisiana, assembled at Baton Rouge in special session, Dec. 10, 1860, the Union sentiment was powerful, yet not sufficiently so to arrest mischief to the commonwealth. An effort was made to submit the question of "Convention or No Convention" to the people, but it failed, and an election of delegates to a convention was ordered to be held on Jan. 8, the anniversary of Jackson's victory at New Orleans. On that occasion the popular vote was small, but it was of such a complexion that the Confederates were hopeful. The convention met at Baton Rouge, Jan. 23. The legislature had convened there on the 21st. The number of delegates in the convention was 130. Ex-Gov. Alexander Mouton was chosen president, and J. Thomas Wheat, secretary. Commissioners from South Carolina and Alabama were there, and were invited to seats in the convention; and they made vehement speeches in favor of secession. A committee of fifteen was appointed to draft an ordinance of secession. It reported on the 24th by their chairman, John Perkins, Jr., and the ordinance then submitted was adopted on the 26th by a vote of 113 against 17. Its phraseology bore the same general features as the ordinances passed by other States. Though a State purchased from France by the national government, the convention declared that Louisiana "resumed the rights and powers heretofore delegated to the government of the United States of America," its creator. At the conclusion of the balloting the president said: "In virtue of the vote just announced, I now declare the connection between the State of Louisiana and the federal Union dissolved, and she is a free, sovereign, and independent power." The convention, alarmed at the planting of cannon at Vicksburg by the Mississippians, resolved unanimously that they recognized the right of a "free navigation of the Mississippi River and its tributaries by all friendly States bordering thereon"; also "the right of egress and ingress of the mouths of the Mississippi by all friendly states and powers." A motion to submit the ordinance to the people for consideration was lost.

Prompted by advice from John Slidell and Judah P. Benjamin, then sitting as members of the United States Senate, the governor of Louisiana (Moore) sent expeditions from New Orleans to seize Forts Jackson and St. Philip on the Mississippi, below the city, then in charge of Major Beauregard; also Fort Pike, on Lake Pontchartrain, and the arsenal at Baton Rouge. A part of General Palfrey's division went down the river in a steam-vessel, and on the evening of Jan. 10, 1861, the commander of Fort St. Philip (Dart) surrendered it; but the commander of Fort Jackson (Sergeant Smith), which surrendered, gave up the keys under protest. State troops seized Fort Livingston, on Grand Terre Island, Barataria Bay, at the same time, and on the 20th the unfinished fort on Ship Island was seized and held by the Confederates. Troops left New Orleans, 300 in number, under Colonel Walton, on the evening of Dec. 9, in a steam-vessel, and on the following evening arrived at Baton Rouge to seize the arsenal, then in command of Major Haskin. He was compelled to surrender it on the 11th. By this act the Confederates were put in possession of 50,000 small-arms, four howitzers, twenty pieces of heavy ordnance, two field-batteries, 300 barrels of gunpowder, and a large quantity of other munitions of war. A part of this property Governor Moore turned over to Governor Pettus, of Mississippi. The barracks below New Orleans were seized on the 11th.

They were used for a marine hospital. The United States collector at New Orleans was required to remove the 216 patients from the barracks immediately, as the State wanted the building for the gathering Confederates. The collector (Hatch) remonstrated, and they were allowed to remain. The authorities of Louisiana also seized the national mint and the custom-house there, with all the precious metals they contained in coin and bullion, and by order of the State convention this treasure, amounting to $536,000, was placed in the State coffers. Soon after this, a draft for $300,000 was received by the sub-treasurer at New Orleans, which that fiscal officer refused to pay, saying, "The money in my custody is no longer the property of the United States, but of the republic of Louisiana." See UNITED STATES, LOUISIANA, vol. ix.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR.

Name.	Term.
William C. C. Claiborne	1804 to 1812

STATE GOVERNORS.

William C. C. Claiborne	1812 to 1816
James Villeré	1816 " 1820
Thomas B. Robertson	1820 " 1824
H. S. Thibodeaux	1824
Henry Johnson	1824 to 1828
Pierre Derbigny	1828 " 1829
A. Beauvais	1829 " 1830
Jacques Dupré	1830 " 1831
André B. Roman	1831 " 1834
Edward D. White	1834 " 1838
André B. Roman	1838 " 1841
Alexander Mouton	1841 " 1845
Isaac Johnson	1845 " 1850
Joseph Walker	1850 " 1854
Paul O. Hebert	1854 " 1858
Robert C. Wickliffe	1858 " 1860
Thomas O. Moore	1860 " 1863
Michael Hahn	1864
Henry F. Allen	1864
James M. Wells	1864 to 1867
B. F. Flanders	1867 " 1868
Henry C. Warmouth	1868 " 1872
William Pitt Kellogg	1872 " 1877
John McEnery	1872 " 1877
Francis T. Nicholls	1877 " 1880
Louis Alfred Wiltz	1880 " 1881
Samuel D. McEnery	1881 " 1888
Francis T. Nicholls	1888 " 1892
Murphy J. Foster	1892 " 1900
William W. Heard	1900 " 1904
Newton C. Blanchard	1904 " 1908

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
Thomas Posey	12th	1812
James Brown	12th to 14th	1813 to 1817
Allan B. Magruder	12th	1812
Eligius Fromentin	13th to 15th	1813 to 1819
Henry Johnson	15th " 18th	1818 " 1824
James Brown	16th " 18th	1819 " 1823
Dominique Bouligny	18th " 20th	1824 " 1829

UNITED STATES SENATORS—*Continued.*

Name.	No. of Congress	Term.
Josiah S. Johnston	18th to 23d	1824 to 1833
Edward Livingston	21st " 22d	1829 " 1831
George A. Waggaman	22d	1832
Alexander Porter	23d to 24th	1834 to 1837
Alexander Mouton	24th " 27th	1837 " 1842
Robert C. Nicholas	24th " 26th	1836 " 1841
Charles M. Conrad	27th	1842 " 1843
Alexander Barrow	27th to 29th	1841 " 1846
Alexander Porter	28th	1843 " 1844
Henry Johnson	28th to 30th	1844 " 1849
Pierre Soulé	29th	1847
Solomon W. Downs	30th to 32d	1847 to 1853
Pierre Soulé	31st " 32d	1849 " 1853
Judah P. Benjamin	33d " 36th	1853 " 1861
John Slidell	33d " 36th	1853 " 1861
	36th " 40th	1861 " 1868
John S. Harris	40th	1868
William Pitt Kellogg	40th to 42d	1868 to 1872
J. Rodman West	42d " 45th	1871 " 1877
James B. Eustis	45th " 46th	1877 " 1879
William Pitt Kellogg	45th " 48th	1877 " 1883
Benjamin F. Jones	46th " 48th	1879 " 1885
Randall L. Gibson	48th " 52d	1883 " 1892
James B. Eustis	49th " 51st	1885 " 1891
Edward D. White	52d " 53d	1891 " 1894
Donaldson Caffrey	52d " 57th	1893 " 1901
Newton C. Blanchard	53d " 55th	1894 " 1897
Samuel D. McEnery	55th " ——	1897 " ——
Murphy J. Foster	57th " ——	1901 " ——

Louisiana Purchase Centennial. See ST. LOUIS.

Loups. See MOHEGAN INDIANS.

Lovejoy, ELIJAH PARISH, abolitionist; born in Albion, Me., Nov. 9, 1802; graduated at Waterville College in 1826; edited a newspaper which advocated the claims of Henry Clay for the Presidential nomination. In 1833 he was licensed to preach after a course of theological study at Princeton Seminary, and, returning to St. Louis, established *The Observer*, a religious periodical, in which he strongly and persistently condemned the institution of slavery. In 1836 he removed to Alton, Ill., because of threats of personal violence in St. Louis, and there his printing establishment was attacked four times by a mob. On the last occasion one of his assailants was killed by the friends who were aiding him to defend his building. This caused a momentary lull in the movements of the mob, and Mr. Lovejoy, under the belief that his assailants had withdrawn, opened the door of the building, and was immediately shot, five bullets entering his body, causing his death within a few minutes, Nov. 7, 1837. The affair created widespread excitement, and was the occasion of numerous publications and speeches by anti-slavery leaders.

The Freedom of the Press.—On Dec. 8,

1837, Wendell Phillips delivered a speech at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the murder of Lovejoy and the freedom of the press, of which the following is the substance:

Mr. Chairman,—We have met for the freest discussion of these resolutions, and the events which gave rise to them. (Cries of "Question," "Hear him," "Go on," "No gagging," etc.) I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker, surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have received within these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard it asserted here, in Faneuil Hall, that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies, and we have heard the mob at Alton, the drunken murderers of Lovejoy, compared to those patriot fathers who threw the tea overboard! Fellow-citizens, is this Faneuil Hall doctrine? ("No, no!") The mob at Alton were met to wrest from a citizen his just rights—met to resist the laws. We have been told that our fathers did the same; and the glorious mantle of revolutionary precedent has been thrown over the mobs of our day. To make out their title to such defence, the gentleman says that the British Parliament had a *right* to tax these colonies. It is manifest that, without this, his parallel falls to the ground, for Lovejoy had stationed himself within constitutional bulwarks. He was not only defending the freedom of the press, but he was under his own roof, in arms with the sanction of the city authority. The men who assailed him went against and over the laws. The *mob*, as the gentleman terms it—mob, forsooth! certainly we sons of the tea-spillers are a marvellously patient generation!—the "orderly mob" which assembled in the Old South to destroy the tea were met to resist, not the laws, but illegal enactions. Shame on the American who calls the tea tax and the stamp tax *laws!* Our fathers resisted, not the king's prerogative, but the king's usurpation. To find any other account, you must read our Revolutionary history upside down. Our State archives are loaded with arguments of John Adams to prove the taxes laid by the British Parliament unconstitutional—beyond its power. It was not until this was made out that the men of New England rushed to arms. The arguments of the Council Chamber and the House of Representatives preceded and sanctioned the contest. To draw the conduct of our ancestors into a precedent for mobs, for a right to resist laws we ourselves have enacted, is an insult to their memory. The difference between the excitements of those days and our own, which the gentleman, in kindness to the latter, has overlooked, is simply this: the men of that day went for the right, as secured by the laws. They were the people rising to sustain the laws and constitution of the province. The rioters of our days go for their own wills, right or wrong. Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American—the slanderer of the dead. The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up.

(By this time the uproar in the hall had arisen so high that the speech was suspended for a short time. Applause and counter-applause, cries of "Take that back," "Make him take back 'recreant,'" "He sha'n't go on till he takes it back," and counter-cries of "Phillips or nobody," continued until the pleadings of well-known citizens had somewhat restored order, when Mr. Phillips resumed.)

Fellow-citizens, I cannot take back my words. Surely the attorney-general, so long and so well known here, needs not the aid of your hisses against one so young as I am—my voice never before heard within these walls. . . .

Men are continually asking each other, Had Lovejoy a right to resist? Sir, I protest against the question instead of answering it. Lovejoy did not resist in

the sense they mean. He did not throw himself back on the natural right of self-defence. He did not cry anarchy, and let slip the dogs of civil war, careless of the horrors which would follow. Sir, as I understand this affair, it was not an individual protecting his property; it was not one body of armed men resisting another, and making the streets of a peaceful city run blood with their contentions. It did not bring back the scenes in some old Italian cities, where family met family, and faction met faction, and mutually trampled the laws under foot. No! the men in that house were regularly enrolled, under the sanction of the mayor. There being no militia in Alton, about seventy men were enrolled with the approbation of the mayor. These relieved each other every other night. About thirty men were in arms on the night of the 6th, when the press was landed. The next evening it was not thought necessary to summon more than half that number. Among these was Lovejoy. It was, therefore, you perceive, sir, the police of the city resisting rioters; civil government breasting itself to the shock of lawless men.

Here is no question about the right of self-defence. It is, in fact, simply this: Has the civil magistrate a right to put down a riot?

Some persons seem to imagine that anarchy existed at Alton from the commencement of these disputes. Not at all. "No one of us," says an eye-witness and a comrade of Lovejoy, "has taken up arms during these disturbances but at the command of the mayor." Anarchy did not settle down on that devoted city till Lovejoy breathed his last. Till then the law, represented in his person, sustained itself against its foes. When he fell civil authority was trampled under foot. He had "planted himself on his constitutional rights, appealed to the laws, claimed the protection of the civil authority, taken refuge under the broad shield of the Constitution. When through that he was pierced and fell, he fell but one sufferer in a common catastrophe." He took refuge under the banner of liberty, amid its folds, and when he fell its glorious stars and stripes, the emblem of free institutions, around which cluster so many heart-stirring memories, were blotted out in the martyr's blood.

It has been stated, perhaps inadvertently, that Lovejoy or his comrades fired first. This is denied by those who have the best means of knowing. Guns were first fired by the mob. After being twice fired on, those within the building consulted together and deliberately returned the fire. But suppose they did fire first. They had a right so to do; not only the right which every citizen has to defend himself, but the further right which every civil officer has to resist violence. Even if Lovejoy fired the first gun, it would not lessen his claim to our sympathy, or destroy his title to be considered a martyr in defence of a free press. The question now is, Did he act within the Constitution and the laws? The men who fell in State Street on March 5, 1770, did more than Lovejoy is charged with. They were the *first* assailants upon some slight quarrel; they pelted the troops with every missile within reach. Did this bate one jot of the eulogy with which Hancock and Warren hallowed their memory, hailing them as the first martyrs in the cause of American liberty? If, sir, I had adopted what are called peace principles I might lament the circumstances of this case. But all you who believe as I do, in the right and duty of magistrates to execute the laws, join with me and brand as base hypocrisy the conduct of those who assemble year after year on July 4 to fight over the battles of the Revolution, and yet "damn with faint praise" or load with obloquy the memory of this man who shed his blood in defence of life, liberty, property, and the freedom of the press!

Throughout that terrible night I find nothing to regret but this, that, within the limits of our country, civil authority should have been so prostrated as to oblige a citizen to arm in his defence, and to arm in vain. The gentleman says Lovejoy was presumptuous and imprudent —he "died as the fool dieth." And a reverend clergyman of the city tells us that no citizen has a right to publish opinions disagreeable to the community! If any mob follows such publication, on *him* rests its guilt. He must wait, forsooth, till the people come up to it and

agree with him! This libel on liberty goes on to say that the want of a right to speak as we think is an evil inseparable from republican institutions! If this be so, what are they worth? Welcome the despotism of the Sultan, where one knows what he may publish and what he may not, rather than the tyranny of this many-headed monster, the mob, where we know not what we may do or say, till some fellow-citizen has tried it, and paid for the lesson with his life. This clerical absurdity chooses as a check for the abuses of the press, not the *law*, but the dread of a mob. By so doing, it deprives not only the individual and the minority of their rights, but the majority also, since the expression of *their* opinion may some time provoke disturbances from the minority. A few men may make a mob as well as many. The majority, then, have no right, as Christian men, to utter their sentiments, if by any possibility it may lead to a mob! Shades of Hugh Peters and John Cotton, save us from such pulpits! . . .

Imagine yourself present when the first news of Bunker Hill battle reached a New England town. The tale would have run thus: "The patriots are routed—the red-coats victorious—Warren lies dead upon the field." With what scorn would that Tory have been received who should have charged Warren with *imprudence!* who should have said that, bred a physician, he was "out of place" in that battle, and "died as the *fool dieth*." How would the intimation have been received that Warren and his associates should have merited a better time? But if success be, indeed, the only criterion of prudence, *Respice finem*—wait till the end! *Presumptuous* to assert the freedom of the press on American ground! Is the assertion of such freedom before the age? So much before the age as to leave one no right to make it because it displeases the community? Who invents this libel on his country? It is this very thing which entitles Lovejoy to greater praise. The disputed right which provoked the Revolution—taxation without representation—is far beneath that for which he died. (Here there was a general expression of strong disapprobation.) One word, gentlemen. As much as *thought* is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this hall when the king did but touch his *pocket*. Imagine, if you can, his indignant eloquence had England offered to put a gag upon his *lips*. The question that stirred the Revolution touched our civil interests. This concerns us not only as citizens, but as immortal beings. Wrapped up in its fate, saved or lost with it, are not only the voice of the statesman, but the instructions of the pulpit and the progress of our faith. . . .

Mr. Chairman, from the bottom of my heart I thank that brave little band at Alton for resisting. We must remember that Lovejoy had fled from city to city—suffered the destruction of three presses patiently. At length he took counsel with friends, men of character, of tried integrity, of wide views, of Christian principle. They saw around them, not a community like our own, of fixed habits, of character moulded and settled, but one "in the gristle, not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." The people there, children of our older States, seem to have forgotten the blood-tried principles of their fathers the moment they lost sight of our New England hills. Something was to be done to show them the priceless value of the freedom of the press, to bring back and set right their wandering and confused ideas. He and his advisers looked out on a community, staggering like a drunken man, indifferent to their rights and confused in their feelings. Deaf to argument, haply they might be stunned into sobriety. They saw that of which we cannot judge, the *necessity* of resistance. Insulted law called for it. Public opinion, fast hastening on the downward course, must be arrested.

Does not the event show they judged rightly? Absorbed in a thousand trifles, how has the nation all at once come to a stand? Men begin, as in 1776 and 1640, to discuss principles, to weigh characters, to find out where they are. Haply, we may awake before we are borne over the precipice.

Lovejoy, Owen, abolitionist; born in Albion, Me., Jan. 6, 1811; was with his brother, Elijah P. Lovejoy, when the latter was murdered. He openly violated the

Illinois State laws in holding public anti-slavery meetings. Elected a member of Congress in 1856, and remained a member through re-election until his death in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 25, 1864.

Lovell, JAMES, a patriot; born in Boston, Mass., Oct. 31, 1737; graduated at Harvard College in 1756; taken prisoner after the battle of Bunker Hill and confined in Halifax, N. S., till exchanged in November, 1776. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776–82. He favored Gen. Horatio Gates for commander-in-chief of the American army, and was very bitter against Washington. He died in Windham, Me., July 14, 1814.

Low, SETH, educator; born in Brooklyn, N. Y., Jan. 18, 1850; graduated with high honors at Columbia College in 1870; entered his father's mercantile house, and in 1875 became a member of the

SETH LOW

firm, and shortly after was elected a member of the Chamber of Commerce. Later he established the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. In 1881 and 1883 he was elected mayor of Brooklyn. Mr. Low was chosen president of Columbia College in 1890. In 1899 President McKinley appointed him one of the United States delegates to the Universal Peace Conference called by the Czar of Russia and held at The Hague, Netherlands, that year. Since his accession to the presidency of Columbia University he has been exceedingly liberal in promoting its welfare. In 1895 he offered to erect a grand university library at his own expense. This building by the time of its completion had cost him about $1,200,000. In honor of his munificence, the trustees established twelve scholarships for Brooklyn boys and twelve in Barnard College for Brooklyn girls. In 1897 Mr. Low was defeated as the candidate of the Citizens' Union for mayor of New York City; in 1901 was elected on an anti-Tammany ticket; and in 1903 was defeated on a Fusion ticket.

Lowell, CHARLES RUSSELL, military officer; born in Boston, June 2, 1835; graduated at Harvard in 1854, and when the Civil War broke out was one of the first to offer his services. He was made captain of cavalry in May, 1861, and served on the staff of General McClellan until the fall of 1862, when he organized the 2d Massachusetts Cavalry, and was made colonel in the spring of 1863. As a leader of cavalry he performed much good service in Virginia, and was made brigadier-general of volunteers on Sheridan's recommendation the day before his death. He died of wounds at Cedar Creek, near Middletown, Va., Oct. 20, 1864.

Lowell, JAMES RUSSELL, poet and diplomatist; born in Cambridge, Mass., Feb. 22, 1819; graduated at Harvard in 1838; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1840; but soon abandoned the profession and devoted himself to literary pursuits. His first collection of poems—*A Year's Life*—was published in 1841, and in 1843 he engaged with Robert Carter in the publication of *The Pioneer*, a literary and critical magazine. He published the first series of the *Biglow Papers* in 1848, the second series in 1866. He visited Europe in 1851, and in the winter of 1854–55 delivered a course of twelve lectures on the British poets. On the resignation of the professorship of modern languages and belles-lettres in Harvard by Mr. Longfellow, Mr. Lowell was chosen his successor. To fill the place successfully, he again went to Europe and studied for a year, returning in August, 1856. He edited the *Atlantic Monthly* from 1857 to 1862, and in 1863–72 was one of the editors of the *North American Review*. In 1874 the University of Cambridge, England, bestowed upon

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

him the honorary degree of LL.D. In 1877–80 Mr. Lowell was United States minister to Spain, and in 1880–85 minister to Great Britain. He died in Cambridge, Aug. 12, 1891.

Lowell, JOHN, author; born in Newburyport, Mass., Oct. 6, 1769; graduated at Harvard College in 1786; became a prolific writer, and published about twenty-five pamphlets. He was a strong political partisan, but would never take office, and he wrote severely against the supporters of the War of 1812–15. With his extraordinary colloquial powers and elegant and logical pen, he wielded great influence in Massachusetts. Mr. Lowell was a founder of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Boston Athenæum, the Savings Bank, and the Hospital Life Insurance Company. For many years he was president of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. He died in Boston, March 12, 1840.

Lowell, JOHN, lawyer; born in Newburyport, Mass., June 17, 1743; graduated at Harvard College in 1760; admitted to the bar in 1762, and settled in Boston in 1777. He held a seat in the convention which drew up the constitution of Massachusetts in 1780, and was a member of the committee which drafted that document. It was through his urgency that the clause "all men are born free and equal" was inserted. In 1783 the State Supreme Court decided that his position respecting slavery was legal and the institution was abolished in Massachusetts. He died in Roxbury, Mass., May 6, 1802.

Lowell, JOHN, philanthropist; born in Boston, May 11, 1799; was educated in Edinburgh and at Harvard College until 1815, when he was compelled to travel for the improvement of impaired health. A fine scholar, the inheritor of a large fortune, he indulged his passion for travel and books, after being engaged a few years in commercial life. He bequeathed $250,000 for the maintenance forever in Boston of an annual course of free lectures on a variety of subjects, and on this was established the Lowell Institute, which began its work in the winter of 1839–40. He died in Bombay, India, March 4, 1836.

Lowell, JOSEPHINE SHAW, philanthropist; born in West Roxbury, Mass., Dec. 16, 1843; was educated in Europe, Boston, and New York; and travelled abroad from 1851 to 1855. She married Charles Russell Lowell in 1863, and has devoted her life to charity. She was one of the commissioners of the New York State board of charities in 1877–89; and was a leader of the Women's Municipal Purity Auxiliary in 1894. She is author of *Public Relief and Private Charity;* and *Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation.*

Lowndes, RAWLINS, statesman; born in the British West Indies in 1722; was taken to Charleston, S. C., in early youth; became a successful lawyer, and in 1766 the crown appointed him associate judge. An earnest patriot, he was one of the committee of safety at Charleston in 1775, and in 1776 he was one of a committee to draft a constitution for the province. Mr. Lowndes opposed the national Constitution, and said in a speech, "I wish no other epitaph than this: 'Here lies one who opposed the federal Constitution, holding it to be fatal to the liberties of his country.'" He died in Charleston, S. C., Aug. 24, 1800.

Lowry, ROBERT, hymnologist; born in Philadelphia, March 12, 1826; graduated at Lewisburg University in 1854, and entered the Baptist ministry. He held pastorates in West Chester, Pa., New York City, Brooklyn, and Plainfield, N. J.; was Professor of Literature in Lewisburg (now Bucknell) University in 1869–75; chancellor in 1876–82; president of the New Jersey Baptist Sunday School Union in 1880–86; and a delegate to the Robert Raikes centennial in London in 1880. He

has composed many Easter and Christmas services and hymns, and edited *Chapel Melodies; Bright Jewels; Pure Gold; Hymn Service; Brightest and Best; Glad Refrains,* and other sacred music.

Loyal Legion. See MILITARY ORDER OF LOYAL LEGION.

Loyalists. See TORIES.

Luce, STEPHEN BLEECKER, naval officer; born in Albany, N. Y., March 25, 1827; entered the navy as a midshipman from New York in 1841; was first attached to the Mediterranean squadron, and then to the Brazilian. With Commodore James Biddle he circumnavigated the globe in the 74-gun line-of-battle ship *Columbus.* He was afterwards on the Pacific station in the *Vandalia,* and then was attached to the home squadron in the *Vixen.* In September, 1855, he was commissioned lieutenant, and when the Civil War broke

STEPHEN BLEECKER LUCE.

out in 1861 he was ordered to the *Wabash,* in which he participated in the attack on the forts at Hatteras Inlet. In the *Wabash* (then the flag-ship of Commodore Dupont) Lieutenant Luce engaged in the conflict at Port Royal. Subsequently he was employed in the blockade service in the *Pontiac.* In 1863, in command of the Naval Academy practice-ship *Macedonian,* he visited the ports of Plymouth and Portsmouth, England, and became deeply interested in the training system for boys for the royal navy as practised there. On his return he made a special report and recommendations upon the subject, which was followed by the adoption of a similar system for the United States navy. In 1884–86 he was president of the United States Naval War College; in 1886 was appointed commandant of the North Atlantic squadron; and on March 25, 1889, was retired as a rear-admiral. His publications include *Seamanship* and *Naval Songs.*

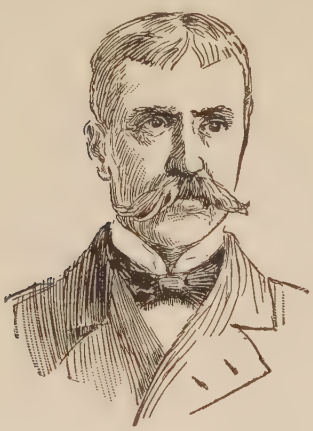
Ludewig, HERMANN ERNST, lawyer; born in Dresden, Saxony, Oct. 14, 1809; became a lawyer and settled in New York City in 1846, where he was naturalized and engaged in practice. He was the author of *Literature of American Local History; Supplement Relating to Local History of New York; Literature of American Aboriginal Linguistics,* etc. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 12, 1856.

Ludington, MARSHALL INDEPENDENCE, military officer; born in Smithfield, Pa., July 4, 1839; served in the Union volunteer army during the Civil War; was appointed captain and quartermaster, Oct. 20, 1862; promoted major and quartermaster, Oct. 24; and was brevetted brigadier-general, March, 13, 1865. He was commissioned major and quartermaster in the regular army, Jan. 18, 1867; promoted lieutenant-colonel and deputy quartermaster-general, March 15, 1883; colonel and quartermaster, Dec. 31, 1894; and brigadier-general, Feb. 8, 1898.

Ludlow, NICOLL, naval officer; born in Islip, Long Island, N. Y., Sept. 11, 1842; entered the United States Naval Academy in 1859; was promoted to ensign in 1863; attached to the *Wachusett,* of the Brazilian squadron, in 1863–65; and was on the iron-clad *Monadnock* on her remarkable passage from New York to San Francisco, in 1866. He was promoted master in 1866; lieutenant, 1867; lieutenant-commander, 1868; commander, 1881; captain, 1895; and rear-admiral on Nov. 1, 1899; and was retired on the same day. After the close of the Civil War his official duties gave him an exceptional familiarity with the construction and equipment of the vessels for the new navy, as he performed service in connection with the making and testing

of torpedoes, and at various iron, steel, and ordnance foundries. During the war with Spain, he was in command of the double-turret monitor *Terror*, attached to the squadron operating in Cuban waters, and after its close he was in command of the battle-ship *Massachusetts* till his retirement.

Ludlow, WILLIAM, military officer; born on Long Island, N. Y., Nov. 27, 1843;



WILLIAM LUDLOW.

graduated at the United States Military Academy, and commissioned a first lieutenant of engineers in 1864; was promoted captain, March 7, 1867; major, June 30, 1882; lieutenant-colonel, Aug. 13, 1895; and brigadier-general, Jan. 21, 1900. In the war with Spain he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers, May 4, 1898, and promoted to major-general on Sept. 7 following. He was honorably discharged under his last volunteer commission, and appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, both on April 13, 1899; and the last appointment was vacated on his promotion to brigadier-general in the regular army. At the outbreak of the war with Spain, in 1898, he was ordered to Cuba. He greatly distinguished himself in the battle of EL CANEY (*q. v.*), and he was in command of the 1st brigade of General Lawton's division in the attack on Santiago by the land forces. He was assigned to the 2d division of the 1st Army Corps, and in December, 1898, he was appointed the first American military and civil governor of Havana. He died in Convent, N. J., Aug. 30, 1901.

Lumber State, a popular name for the State of Maine, which abounds in immense forests of timber suitable for buildings. The inhabitants are largely engaged in cutting, rafting, and sawing the trees for lumber. It is sometimes called the "Pine-tree State" because of its forests of pine-trees.

Lummis, CHARLES FLETCHER, author; born in Lynn, Mass., March 1, 1859; was educated at Harvard College; walked from Cincinnati to Los Angeles, Cal., in 1884. This trip of 3,507 miles was made purely for pleasure and was accomplished in 143 days. He was editor of the Los Angeles *Daily Times*, 1885–87. He lived for a number of years in an Indian village in New Mexico, became familiar with the manners and customs of the natives, and has travelled extensively in the Southwest, Mexico, and South America. In 1894 he established in Los Angeles *The Land of Sunshine*, a monthly periodical. Among his publications are *The Land of Poco Tiempo; The Spanish Pioneers; The Man Who Married the Moon; The Gold Fish of the Grand Chimu; A New Mexico David*, etc.

Luna y Arellano, TRISTAN DE, explorer; born in Borobia, Aragon, in 1519; and went to Mexico about 1550. In 1559 a powerful expedition was fitted out at Vera Cruz, Mexico, for the conquest of Florida, under his command. He sailed Aug. 14 with a land force of 1,500 soldiers, many friars, and a number of women and children (the families of soldiers), to conquer and colonize Florida. He had a prosperous voyage to the Bay of Pensacola, where he anchored his ships, but a week later a storm arose which drove the vessels ashore and wrecked them. He at once sent out an exploring party in search of the fertile lands and cities plethoric with precious metals, of which he had dreamed. For forty days they marched through a barren country before they found any food. This they found at a deserted town. Word was sent back to De Luna of the abundance of food there. He had lost most of his stores with the ships. With 1,000 men, women, and children, he marched to the town. The food was soon consumed,

and great suffering followed. De Luna marched back to Pensacola, whence, in two vessels that had been saved or built there, he sent to the viceroy of Mexico for succor. Relief came, but the discontent of the remnant of his colony caused his return to Vera Cruz in 1561. He died in Yucatan, in 1571.

Lundy, BENJAMIN, philanthropist; born in Hardwick, N. J., Jan. 4, 1789; became an abolitionist about 1810. In 1815 he founded the "Union Humane Society," an anti-slavery organization, in St. Clairsville, O. During different periods of his life he established anti-slavery papers in several States. He is said to have been the first to have made anti-slavery addresses and to have founded anti-slavery periodicals. He died in Lowell, Ill., Aug. 22, 1839.

Lundy's Lane, BATTLE AT. The contest near the great cataract of the Niagara is known in history by the names of "Bridgewater," "Niagara Falls," and "Lundy's Lane." The latter is better known. On his retreat from the battle-ground at Chippewa, July 5, 1814, the British general, Riall, fled down the borders of the Niagara River to Queenston, put some of his troops in Fort George, and made his headquarters near the lake, 20 miles westward. Drummond was mortified by this discomfiture of his veteran troops by what he deemed to be raw Americans, and he resolved to wipe out the stain. He drew most of the troops from Burlington Bay, York, Kingston, and Prescott, with a determination to drive the invaders out of Canada. With a force about one-third greater than that of Brown, Drummond pushed forward to meet the latter. In the mean time Brown, after burying the dead and caring for the wounded, had moved forward to Queenston and menaced Fort George. He expected to see Chauncey with his squadron on the Niagara River to co-operate with him, but that commander was sick at Sackett's Harbor, and his vessels were blockaded there. Brown waited many days for the squadron. Losing all hope of aid from Chauncey, he fell back to the Chippewa battle-ground. On the 24th intelligence reached him that Drummond, with 1,000 men, many of them Wellington's veterans, had landed at Lewiston, opposite Queenston, with a view to seizing the American stores at Schlosser, above the falls. Brown ordered Scott to march rapidly with a part of the army and threaten the forts at the mouth of the river. Towards evening on the 24th Scott went forward with his brigade, Towson's artillery, and a few mounted men, and near the verge of the great cataract he saw some British officers leave a house, mount their horses, and ride rapidly away. Believing an advance guard of the British were near, Scott dashed into the woods to disperse them, when he was confronted by Riall with a larger force that he had at Chippewa. The Americans

SITE OF THE BRITISH BATTERY—1860.

were in great peril. To stand still would be fatal; to retreat would be hazardous, for it might create a panic in the main army. So Scott resolved to fight the overwhelming force. At sunset a desperate battle was begun, which ended at near midnight. Riall's force was 1,800 strong, posted in slightly crescent form on an eminence over which passed Lundy's Lane, a highway stretching westward from the Niagara River. Upon that eminence the British had planted a battery. Scott perceived a blank between the British left and the river, and ordered Major Jesup with his command to crawl cautiously, in the evening twilight, through the underbrush that covered the space and turn that flank. Jesup obeyed, and successfully gained the British rear and kept back reinforcements sent by Drummond. At the same time Scott was hotly engaged with Riall. Brown, apprised of the situation, had pressed forward with his whole army and engaged in the fight. Perceiving the key of the British position to be the battery on the hill, he turned to Col. James Miller, of the 27th Regulars, and asked, "Can you storm that work and take it?" "I'll try," was the prompt reply. With 300 men he moved steadily up the hill in the darkness, along a fence lined with thick bushes that hid his troops from the view of the gunners and their protectors who lay near. When within short musket-range of the battery, they could see the gunners with their glowing linstocks, ready to act at the word *fire*. Selecting two good marksmen, Miller directed each to rest his rifle on the fence, select a gunner, and fire at a given signal. Very soon every gunner fell, when Miller and his men rushed forward and captured the battery. This gallant exploit secured a victory; not, however, until a terrible hand-to-hand fight in the darkness with the protectors of the guns had ensued. The British fell back. They attempted to retake the battery (consisting of five brass cannon) but failed, even after being reinforced by 1,500 men sent forward by Drummond from Queenston. Meanwhile, General Scott had been fighting desperately but successfully, and had been severely wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder. General Brown was also severely wounded, and the command devolved upon General Ripley. The British were repulsed, and the Americans fell back to Chippewa, with orders from General Brown to return after a brief rest, before the dawn, and occupy the battlefield. The always tardy and disobedient Ripley failed to obey the order, and the British returned and took possession of the battery (excepting one piece) and the field. The battle had been fought by about 3,500 British troops and 2,600 Americans. The latter lost in killed,

JAMES MILLER'S MEDAL.

wounded, and missing, nearly one-third of their whole number; the British lost 878, or twenty-six more than the Americans. Both armies claimed a victory. Ripley, whose disobedience caused the Americans to lose the advantages of a victory won at midnight, led the army to Fort Erie, where he was soon afterwards superseded by Gen. E. P. Gaines. The exploit of Miller in capturing the battery was considered one of the most brilliant of the war. The moment that General Brown met Miller afterwards, he said, "You have immortalized yourself." Congress voted him the thanks of the nation and a gold medal.

Lunt, GEORGE, author; born in Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 31, 1803; graduated at Harvard College in 1824; became a lawyer in his native town in 1827. He took an active interest in State and national politics; and was United States district attorney during the administration of President Taylor. He wrote *Three Eras of New England; The Union, a Poem; Origin of the Late War; Old New England Traits,* etc. He died in Boston, May 17, 1885.

Lutheran Church. The first Lutherans came to New Amsterdam in 1621, but Dr. H. M. Mühlenberg is generally recognized as the founder of the Church in America, although the first Lutheran minister ministered to the Swedish Lutherans in New Sweden in 1638. In 1890 the Church consisted of 48 synods, 4,692 ministers, 70,948 congregations with a membership of 1,099,876. In 1900 the communicants numbered 1,665,878.

Luzerne, ANNE CÆSAR DE LA, diplomatist; born in Paris in 1741. Having risen to the rank of colonel in the French army, he studied the art of diplomacy, and, in 1776, was sent as an envoy to Barranca. He succeeded Gerard as minister to the United States, in September, 1779, and remained here four years, gaining the esteem of the Americans by his friendship, wisdom, and prudence. In 1783 he returned to France, bearing the cordial thanks of Congress; and after the organization of the national government in 1789, President Washington caused the Secretary of State to write a letter to Luzerne, making an official acknowledgment of his services. In 1788 Luzerne was sent

ANNE CÆSAR DE LA LUZERNE.

as ambassador to London, where he died, Sept. 14, 1791.

Luzon, the principal and most northerly island of the Philippine group; between the Chinese Sea and the Pacific Ocean and lat. 12° 30′ and 18° 40′ N. and long. 119° 45′ and 124° 10′ E.; area, 44,400 square miles; population, estimated by the United States military authorities in 1898, 3,426,000. It comprises the portion of the Philippine Islands with which Americans are most familiar because of the initial naval operations in Manila Bay and the subsequent movements of United States troops against the Filipino insurgents. The surface of the island is to a large extent mountainous, showing volcanic formations, and there are also vast tracts of swampy land which greatly embarrassed the American military authorities in their pursuit of Aguinaldo. The island is rich in economic productions, and there are also indications of mineral resources of large value that are awaiting intelligent development. These include gold, coal, copper, lead, iron, sulphur, marble, and kaolin. In agriculture Luzon and Mindoro, separated from it by San Bernardino Strait, yield crops of rice and corn, an amount usually inadequate for home consumption. The best quality and largest amount of tobacco is grown on Luzon, and in the southern portion of the island hemp and cocoanut are cultivated extensively. There is a large internal commerce between Manila and the different islands in the group, carried on al-

most exclusively by water. At the time of the cession of the islands to the United States there was but a single line of railway, built by English capital, and extending from Manila north to Dagupan, about half the distance between the extreme northern and southern extremities of the island. The roads in the immediate vicinity of Manila are macadamized and generally in good condition; elsewhere they are of dirt, and become almost impassable in the rainy season. The different provinces of the island are connected with Manila by telegraph lines, and there are cables from that city to the southern islands in the group and also to Borneo, Singapore, and Hong-Kong. Manila has a street railway, a telephone service and electric lights.

Since the occupation of the island by the United States the work of modernizing the various public activities has progressed with much success, and with a rapidity surprising in view of the natural and artificial obstacles. The Philippine Commission appointed by President McKinley became the legislative body of the archipelago on Sept. 1, 1900, with power to take and appropriate insular moneys; to establish judicial and educational systems; and to make and execute all laws necessary to Americanize the archipelago. The early results of this new governing body were seen in the establishment of new school laws; in the organization of a competent judiciary; in the improvement in the different provinces of Luzon, as well as in the other islands of the group. In no field has the new order of things worked so quickly and beneficially as in the educational. The new public school law is modelled on the methods pursued in the United States. The general superintendent of education is Dr. F. W. Atkinson, and a considerable number of teachers are, like him, from the United States. The native youth are very quick to learn, and, at the close of 1900, there were thirty-six public schools in Manila alone, under the superintendence of Rev. George P. Anderson. On June 29, 1900, a college of primary and secondary education was opened in Manila, being the first educational enterprise in the Philippines that was not under the control of the priests, and that depended for support on voluntary contributions. Over 500 pupils were enrolled at the opening. During the calendar year 1899 the imports of merchandise at the port of Manila alone aggregated $17,450,412, and, with gold and silver coin, $18,701,469.

Lyman, Benjamin Smith, geologist; born in Northampton, Mass., Dec. 11, 1835; graduated at Harvard College in 1855; studied in Paris in 1859–61, and in Saxony in 1861–62; was assistant geologist of the State of Iowa in 1859; spent several years in private geological and mining engineering work; and was assistant geologist of the State of Pennsylvania in 1887–95. Mr. Lyman has travelled extensively in the United States, Europe, India, and Japan; is a member of many scientific societies; and has published numerous papers and reports on his various employments.

Lyman, Phineas, military officer; born in Durham, Conn., about 1716. Educated at Yale College, he was a tutor there from 1738 to 1741. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, but finally became a lawyer in Suffield. There he was a magistrate for some years, and took a conspicuous part in the disputes between Massachusetts and Connecticut concerning the town of Suffield. At the breaking out of the French and Indian War he was commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces; he built Fort Lyman (afterwards Fort Edward), on the upper Hudson, and fought and won the battle at the head of Lake George in 1755. In 1758 he served under General Abercrombie, and was with Lord Howe when he was killed. He was also at the capture of Crown Point and Montreal, and, in 1762, led provincial troops against Havana. In 1763 General Lyman went to England to get prize-money for himself and fellow-officers and to solicit a grant of land on the Mississippi for a company called "Military Adventurers." He returned to America in 1774, at which time a tract near Natchez was granted to the petitioners; and thither he went with his eldest son, and died soon after reaching west Florida, as the region was then called, near the present Natchez, Miss., Sept. 10, 1774. The emigrants suffered great hardships, and on the conquest of the country by the Spaniards (1781–82) they took refuge in Savannah.

Lyman, THEODORE, author; born in Boston, Mass., Feb. 20, 1792; graduated at Harvard College in 1810; member of the Massachusetts legislature in 1820–25; mayor of Boston in 1834–35. During the latter year he saved William Lloyd Garrison from the fury of a mob, endangering his own life. He was the author of *Account of the Hartford Convention; The Diplomacy of the United States with Foreign Nations,* etc. He died in Brookline, Mass., July 18, 1849.

Lynch, JAMES DANIEL, author; born in Mecklenburg county, Va., Jan. 6, 1836; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1859; served in the Confederate army during the Civil War, and after its close practised law in West Point, Miss. Among his publications are *The Bench and Bar of Mississippi; The Bench and Bar of Texas; Kemper County Vindicated, or Reconstruction in Mississippi;* and the poems, *The Clock of Destiny; The Star of Texas; The Siege of the Alamo;* and *Columbia Saluting the Nations,* written for the World's Columbian Exposition.

Lynch, THOMAS, signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Prince George parish, S. C., Aug. 5, 1749; was of Austrian descent. His father, also THOMAS, a wealthy patriot, was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 till his death, in 1776, The son was educated in England, and returned home in 1772, when he settled upon a plantation on the Santee River and married. He was elected to fill the seat of his sick father in Congress near the close of 1775, when he voted for and signed the Declaration of Independence. His own ill-health compelled him to leave Congress in the fall of 1776. Near the close of 1779 he embarked for St. Eustatius, with the intention of proceeding to Europe, but the vessel and all on board were never heard of afterwards.

Lynch, WILLIAM FRANCIS, naval officer; born in Norfolk, Va., in April, 1801; entered the navy as midshipman in 1819. In 1847 he was sent on an expedition, proposed by himself, to explore the course of the River Jordan and the coasts of the Dead Sea. He entered upon these duties in the spring of 1848, and completed them with great success. He ascertained the Dead Sea to be 1,312 feet lower than the Mediterranean Sea. He joined the Confederates in 1861, and was made a commander in the navy, in which he served throughout the Civil War. He died in Baltimore, Md., Oct. 17, 1865.

Lynch Law, the name given to the summary operations of a mob, or a few private individuals, independently of the legal authorities. It is said to derive its name from John Lynch, a farmer, who exercised it upon the fugitive slaves and criminals dwelling in the Dismal Swamp, N. C., when they committed outrages upon persons and property which the colonial law could not promptly redress.

Lyon, MARY, educator; born in Buckland, Mass., Feb. 28, 1797; acquired with much difficulty an education that she deemed necessary to fit her to become a teacher; and, after teaching for nearly twenty years, founded at South Hadley, Mass., on a plan combining domestic labor with an advanced curriculum, the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, of which she was president till her death. The institution has since become Mount Holyoke College and the model for a number of schools for young women. She died in South Hadley, Mass., March 5, 1849.

Lyon, MATTHEW, legislator; born in County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1746; emigrated to America at the age of thirteen, and was assigned to a Connecticut farmer for a sum of money to pay for his passage. Subsequently he settled in Vermont and became lieutenant in a company of "Green Mountain Boys," in 1775, but was cashiered for deserting his post. He served in the Northern Army awhile afterwards, and held the rank of colonel while serving as commissary-general of militia. In 1778 he was deputy secretary to the governor of Vermont; and after the war he built saw-mills and grist-mills, a forge, and a mill for manufacturing paper, where he had founded the town of Fairhaven, in Rutland county. Lyon served in the State legislature, and was a judge of Rutland county in 1786. He established the *Freeman's Library* (newspaper), which he conducted with ability. From 1797 to 1801 he was a member of Congress, and gave the vote which made Jefferson President of the United States. For a libel on President Adams, in 1798, he was confined four months in jail and fined $1,000. In 1801

he went to Kentucky, and represented that State in Congress from 1803 to 1811. Ruined pecuniarily by the building of gunboats for the War of 1812–15, he went to Arkansas, and was appointed territorial delegate to Congress, but did not

NATHANIEL LYON.
(From an old daguerreotype.)

live to take his seat, dying in Spadra Bluff, Aug. 1, 1822.

Lyon, NATHANIEL, military officer; born in Ashford, Conn., July 14, 1818; killed in battle, Aug. 10, 1861; graduated at West Point in 1841. He served in the war in Florida and against Mexico, where he gained honors for gallant conduct; became captain in 1851; and when the Civil War broke out was placed in command of the arsenal at St. Louis, where he outwitted and outgeneralled the Confederates. Commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers in May, 1861, the command of the department devolved on him, June 1. He acted with great vigor against the Confederates under the governor (Jackson) of Missouri; he attacked a large force at Wilson's Creek, near Springfield, on Aug. 10, 1861; and was killed in the battle. Lyon was unmarried, and bequeathed nearly all his property (about $30,000) to the government to assist in preserving the Union.

Lyons, RICHARD BICKERTON PEMELL, LORD, diplomatist; born in Lymington, England, April 26, 1817; the only son of the first Lord Lyons; was educated at Oxford; filled many diplomatic appointments, including attaché at Athens in 1839, at Dresden in 1852, and at Florence in 1853; was envoy to Tuscany in 1858; became British minister to the United States in the latter year, and held the post till 1865, when he became ambassador to Constantinople; and was ambassador to France in 1867–87. He succeeded to the barony in 1858; became a member of the privy council in 1865; and was made a viscount in 1881, and an earl in 1887. He died in London, England, Dec. 5, 1887.

Lytle, WILLIAM HAINES, military officer; born in Cincinnati, Nov. 2, 1826; graduated at Cincinnati College in 1843; served in the war against Mexico, and was Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor of Ohio in 1857, but was defeated. In command of the 10th Ohio Regiment, he served in western Virginia in 1861, and was wounded. He was in command of a brigade under General Mitchell; was wounded in the battle of Perryville and made brigadier-general. He served under Rosecrans, and was killed in the battle of Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.